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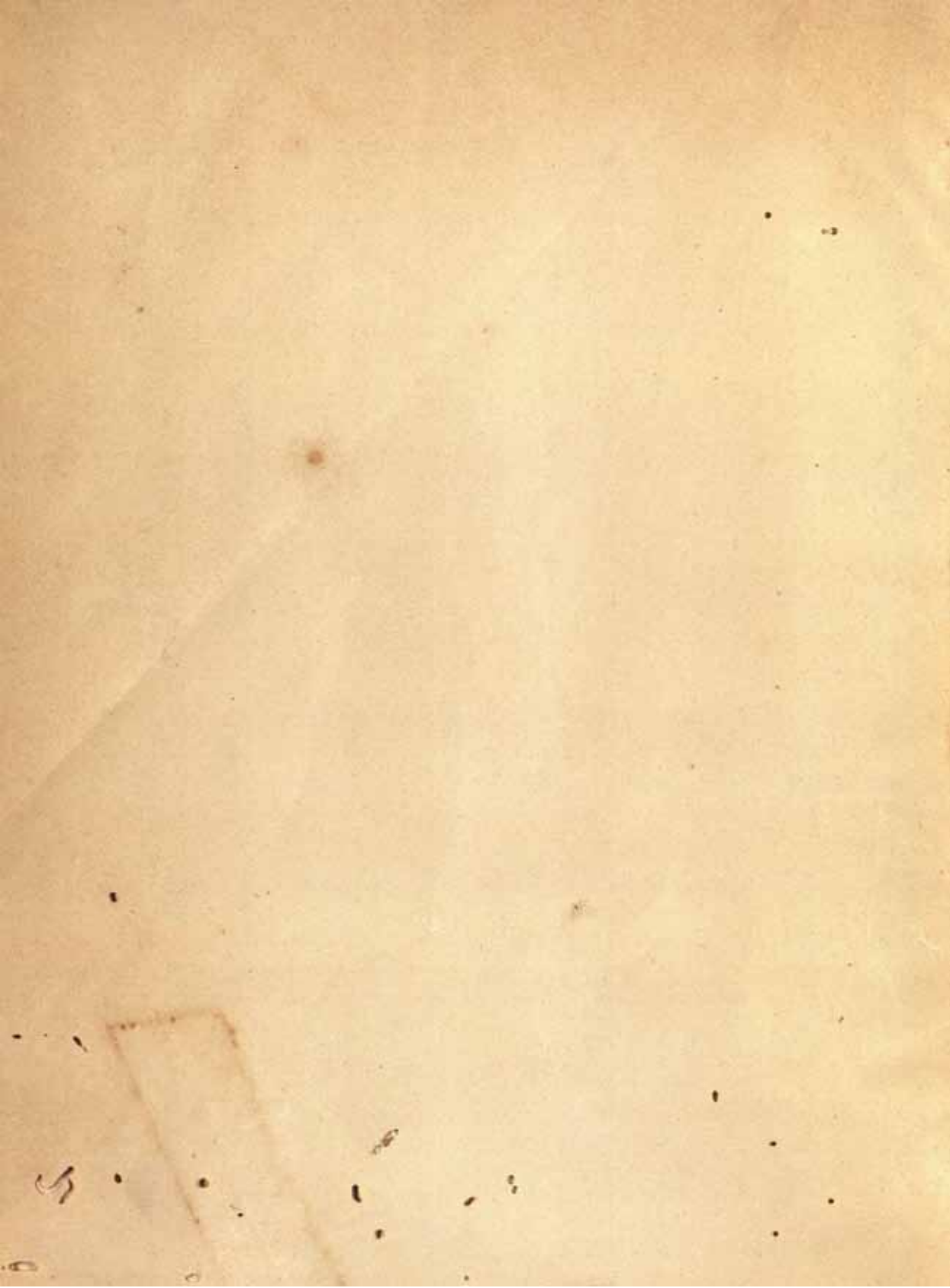
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# INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES

BY  
GEORG MORGENSTIERNE

VOL. II  
IRANIAN PAMIR LANGUAGES  
(YIDGHA-MUNJI, SANGLECHI-ISHKASHMI AND WAKHI)



OSLO 1938

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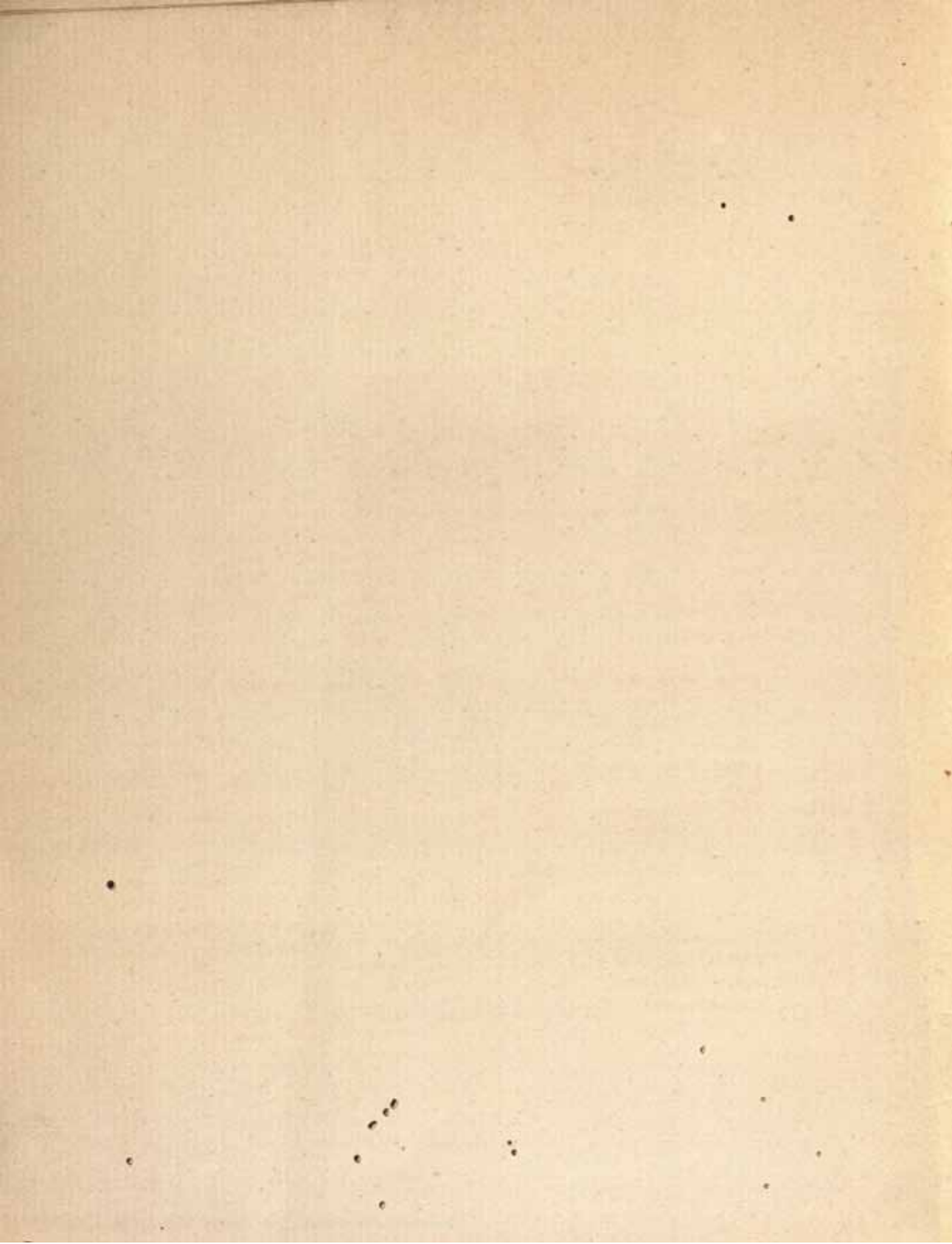
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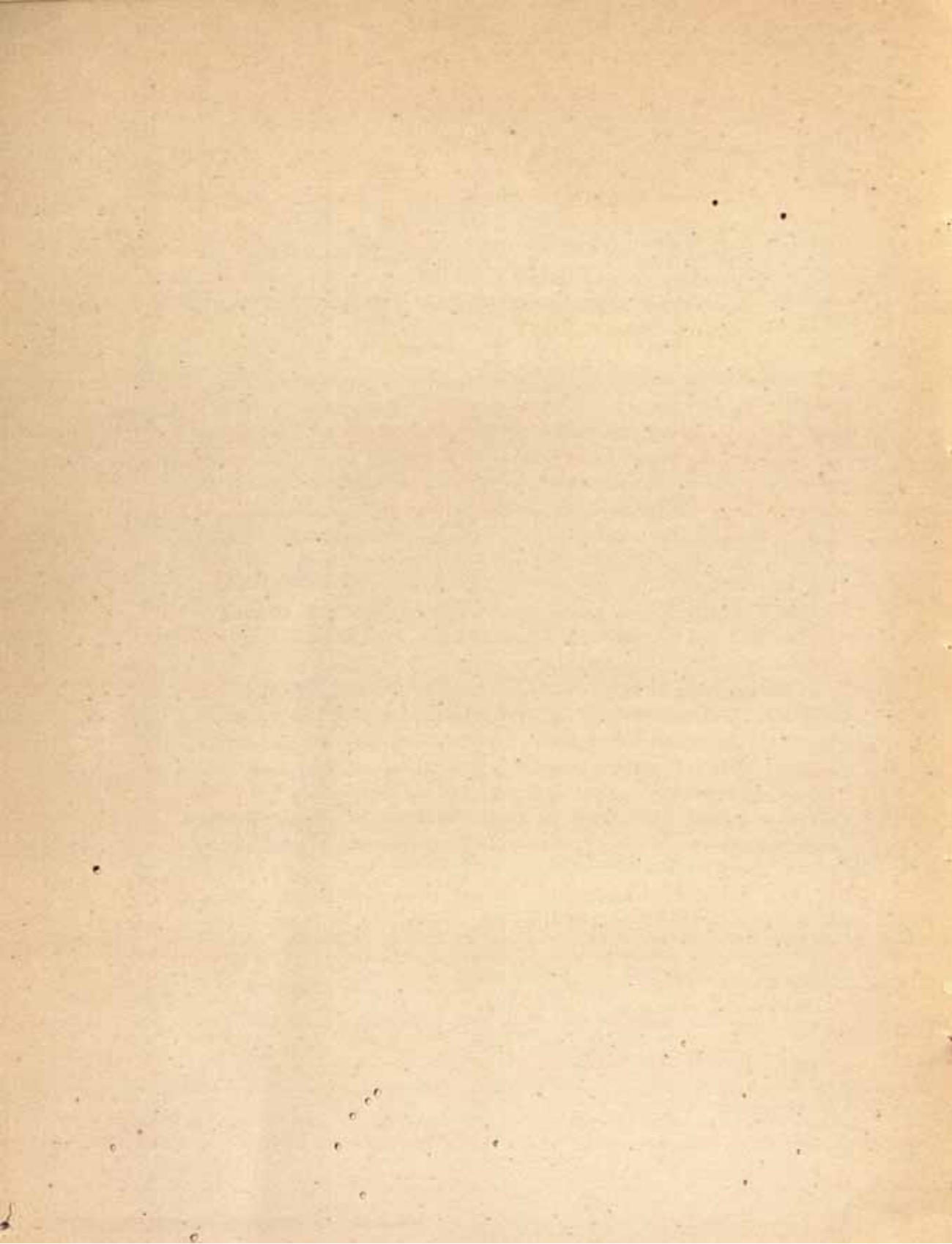


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## PREFACE

The following description of some Iranian languages of the Pamir and Hindukush regions is based mainly upon the material collected by the author in Chitral in 1929 and specified in the Introductions to the various sections of this book. To this has been added a few Shughni sentences taken down in Kabul in 1924. With the permission of the Institute and of the Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet i Lund the late Dr. Sköld's Ishkashmi and Wakhi material has also been incorporated.<sup>1</sup> And, finally, Colonel Lorimer has kindly allowed me to make use of his manuscript Wakhi Vocabulary.<sup>2</sup> Material from other, printed, sources has been utilized as far as it helps to throw light on the historical development and etymology of the languages in question.

It has not been possible to give an exhaustive survey of the Pamir dialects. And, as none of my informants were good story-tellers, the texts are restricted in quantity and not very satisfactory in quality. But it is hoped that this publication will add something to our knowledge of some highly interesting, but rapidly decaying relics of Iranian, that most important but imperfectly known branch of Indo-European. I have preferred the term 'languages' to 'dialects'

<sup>1</sup> V. H. Sköld, *Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen*, Skrifter utg. av Kungl. Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, XXI, p. VI, sq.—The editor of this work, Professor H. Smith, has included Wakhi in the *Vergleichende Wortliste* given pp. 132 sqq., to which is referred for a systematic arrangement of part of Sköld's Wakhi material.

<sup>2</sup> V. below, p. 433.



because, in spite of their numerical and cultural insignificance, these vernaculars can no more be reduced to a common standard than can for instance modern English, German and Norwegian.

The Vocabularies of the Pamir languages are of a very composite nature. The most interesting part consists of genuine Iranian words inherited within each separate language. They are of special importance because of our limited knowledge of the ancient Ir. vocabulary. Fortunately the isolated Iranian vernaculars of the Pamirs, and notably Wakhi, have preserved a number of ancient I.E. words, many of which are not known elsewhere in Iranian or Indo-Aryan. On principle I feel no diffidence in comparing words from a single Pamir tongue with such found in other I.E. languages. But opinions may differ as to how far one ought to go in including uncertain etymologies. In a work of this kind I have thought it useful to suggest even doubtful derivations for the critical examination of specialists.

Also from the purely Ir. point of view the vocabularies of the Pamir dialects are of great interest. I feel convinced that the only possible method of localizing the language of the Avesta is a minute study of its vocabulary in the light of the modern dialects, and its character appears to me to be preponderantly Eastern Ir. We may also mention the curious fact that while in Yidgha-Munji the word for 'sun' (*mīra*) goes back to *Miθra*, the neighbouring Sanglechi has preserved the name of Ahura-Mazdā in the same sense.

The loan-words of the Pamir languages are of various kinds. Some, not always easily recognizable, have come in from one of the neighbouring Ir. dialects. A few are borrowed from Turkish or I.A. But a very large and rapidly increasing number of words are of Persian origin. It would be of great interest to investigate the different strata of such loans and the various roads of invasion.

An interesting element are such Pamir-Hindukush words of unknown origin which appear to be common to several of the Ir. and I.A. languages of this region, in some cases also to Burushaski. And, finally, we find within each dialect, and especially in Wakhi, a number of apparently isolated words.

A firm basis for our understanding of the phonetical and morphological development of the Pamir languages has been laid by Geiger, and Munji and Ishkashmi-Zebaki have been dealt with separately by Gauthiot, Grierson and Zarubin. I am indebted to these my predecessors at every step in my investigation, but I have not thought it necessary or practical to quote them constantly. With the help of the new material at my disposal I have tried to carry out an historical explanation as far as possible, being well aware that much remains uncertain and hypothetical.

If the phonological and systemological view point has not been followed up as much as might be desirable, this is to a great extent due to the character of the material, which is often incongruous and insufficient for such purposes.<sup>1</sup> Especially the vocalic systems of the languages in question are not easily definable, and the swamping with loan-words makes it difficult to decide exactly what phonemes belong to the genuine systems of the dialects. Still greater are the obstacles which meet us if we try to reconstruct the phonetical system of a Pamir language at some earlier stage, in order to be able to consider the sound-changes which have taken place from a phonological point of view. Yet an attempt may be made to offer a few remarks of a more general nature.

If we look at the changes through which the Yidgha-Munji consonant system has developed from Old Iranian, we find that the most striking feature is the dissolution—as in most modern Ir. languages—of the harmony in the system of fricatives. Among the unvoiced fricatives *x* and *f* are retained, but their position in the system has been changed through the introduction of epenthetic vowels in the groups *fr*, etc., through the metathesis of *fr*, etc., and through the change of *ft* > *vd*, etc. How long *ð* has been retained is impossible to tell. We can only prove that the change into *ð* is later than the dropping of unstressed *i*,<sup>2</sup> and point to the

<sup>1</sup> In the section-headings 'Historical Phonology' the word phonology has not been used in the modern, "phonological" sense.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 172, 9.



fact that common Yd.—Mj. still retained  $\theta$ ,<sup>1</sup> just as Shgh. does to the present day. But while  $*\thetarai$ ,  $*\acute{x}rai$  '3' and  $*\acute{\epsilon}\theta\phi\ddot{u}r$ ,  $*\acute{\epsilon}\acute{x}\phi\ddot{u}r$  '4' have remained long,  $-\theta r-$  was reduced to  $-r-$  at an early date, e.g. in  $p\ddot{u}r$  'son'.

Phonetically  $\delta$  may have become  $l$  very early,<sup>2</sup> but phonologically speaking the change was not completed till it coalesced with  $l < r\delta$ , and with  $l$  in loan-words, thus forming a new phoneme, and breaking up the series  $v$  ( $\beta$ ),  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ .

Through the change of  $nd > d$ ,  $ft > vd$ , etc., and through the adoption of loan-words the voiced occlusives have again become part of the system, and new occlusives have been added by the introduction of  $q$  and the development of palatal  $k'$  and  $g'$ . A new opposition has been created through the differentiation of  $\acute{\epsilon}$  and  $e$ , but a parallel pair  $j : \acute{j}$  has not come into existence.

The system of sibilants was profoundly altered through the early change, common to many E.Ir. languages, of  $j > \acute{z}$ , of  $-\acute{s} > *-\acute{z}$  (from which Yd.—Mj.  $-y-$ , etc.), and of  $s(t)r > \acute{s}$ , opposed to  $\acute{s}$ .

It is not probable that the introduction of cerebrals in Yd.—Mj. should be due merely to the influence of Indo-Aryan loanwords, of which few, if any, appear to be of great antiquity. In most East Ir. languages ancient  $rt$  is represented by a sound which probably has passed through a common stage  $\acute{d}$ . Thus: Shgh.  $m\ddot{u}d$ , Rosh.  $m\ddot{u}g$ , Yazgh.  $m\ddot{a}g$ , Yd., Par.  $m\ddot{u}r$ , Sgl.  $m\ddot{a}l$ , Psht.  $m\ddot{a}r$ , Orm.  $m\ddot{u}ll$ , Saka  $m\ddot{u}ḍa$ , but Oss.  $mard$ , Wkh.  $m\ddot{a}rt$ , Yaghn.  $m\ddot{u}rta < *m\ddot{u}rta$ .

The intermediary stage between  $rt$  and  $\acute{d}$  may either have been  $*rd$  or  $*t$ . The latter alternative seems the more probable one on account of the treatment of secondary  $*rt < *rit$  in Shgh., Rosh.  $\acute{z}ird$ , Yazgh.  $\acute{z}ird$ , Yd.  $\acute{z}it$ , Par.  $\acute{z}it\ddot{o}$  'yellow' (and  $m\ddot{a}t$  'killed'). A development of  $rt > rd > \acute{d}$ , and of  $rit > rt > rd$  in Shgh. would imply that  $rt$  had twice changed into  $rd$ , and the tentative chronology of Yd.—Mj. tabulated on p. 109, 7)<sup>3</sup> presupposes a sonorization of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Sgl.—Ishk. § 37.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Yd.—Mj. § 127.

<sup>3</sup>  $*rt > *rd > *d$ .



*t* after *r* earlier than that of intervocalic occlusives. It is therefore, I think, more plausible to assume an early assimilation of *rt* > *t* in this group of E.Ir. dialects, and it is perhaps not excluded that Av. "š" represents an attempt to denote a cerebral sound of this type.<sup>1</sup>

In pre-Yd.—Mj. other cerebrals appeared through the assimilation of *rn*, and *rzn* > *n*, of *rn* + *t* > *nt* (*nt*), and the absorption of the variety of *t* pronounced after an *š* into the cerebral series. The subsequent fate of these early Yd.—Mj. cerebrals may be tabulated as follows:

* <i>ārtaka</i> - flour	> * <i>yāṭay</i>	> * <i>yāḍay</i>	> { Y <i>yārē</i> M <i>yōrēy</i>
* <i>arnati</i> grinds	> * <i>yēnt</i>		> { Y <i>yeikʷ</i> (= * <i>yeig'</i> ) M <i>yēn'g'</i>
* <i>arn</i> + <i>ta</i> - ground	> * <i>yanṭ</i>		> Y <i>yāgʷ</i>
* <i>arnami</i> I grind	> * <i>yānam</i>		> { Y <i>yān/n-</i> M <i>yānʷ</i> (= * <i>yān'g'</i> )
* <i>barzna</i> - long	> * <i>βan</i>		> { Y <i>vān</i> M <i>vān'g'</i>
* <i>am(a)rnā</i> apple	> * <i>amuṇā</i>		> { Y <i>āmuṇo</i> M <i>amīngʷo</i> (= * <i>amin'g'o</i> )
* <i>parna</i> - leaf	> * <i>pān</i> > * <i>pūn</i>		> { Y <i>pūn-ā</i> M <i>pūnʷ</i> (= * <i>pūn'g'</i> )
* <i>aštā</i> eight	> * <i>aštā</i>		> { Y <i>oščo</i> M <i>oškʷo</i>
	* <i>ṭangā</i> pear (lw.)	> Y <i>kyogō</i> , <i>čogō</i>	
	* <i>maṇḍ-</i> to rub (lw.)	> * <i>maḍ-</i> > Y <i>magʷ</i> .	

Also Sanglechi-Ishkashmi is characterized by the late loss of *θ* (> S *t*, I *s*), but early assimilation of *θr*, by the dissolution of the system of fricatives, the development of *š* from *s(t)r*, the opposition between *č* and *c*, the introduction of cerebrals and *q*, and by the

<sup>1</sup> At any rate no E.Ir. dialect lends any support to Junker's assumption of a "unvoiced, fricative *r*" as the intermediate stage.

development of *l* (from *rt/d* and *-š-*), which appears at present to be about to coalesce with *l*. Characteristic of Sgl. is the phonological equivalence of *-d-* and *-ḍ-*, while in Ishk. the two sounds have coalesced also phonetically.

From Wkh. may be mentioned the differentiation of *γ* and *ȳ*, and of *x* and *ḡ*. The unvoiced fricatives, which had to a great extent disappeared,<sup>1</sup> have been reintroduced in loanwords and in secondary formations. Also cerebrals have been adopted into the system.

It is not possible to reconstruct a common phonological system for all Pamir languages. Only a few sound-changes are common to all of them, and these are also shared, e.g., by Psht. Examples are *sr* > *š* (but note the preservation of *str* in Wkh.), *šm* > *īm*, etc., *ft* > *vd*, etc., *nt* > *nd*, and probably *b-*, *d-*, *g-* > *β-*, *ḍ-*, *γ-*.<sup>2</sup> Note also the tendency to avoid a vocalic initial through the prothesis of *y-* and *w-*. With the exception of Wkh. they have sonorized *sn* > *zn*, and intervocalic *-š-* > *\*ž-*, and to a varying degree intervocalic surd stops. Regarding the development of *rt* see above. The treatment of *θr* and of *št* varies from language to language.

There is a common tendency towards a relaxation in the articulation of *i* and *u*; *ai* and *au* were monophthongized, as everywhere in Middle and Modern Iranian, and it is possible that the development of *ā* > *ū* is common to the southern group of Pamir languages (Yd.—Mj., Sgl.—Ishk., and Wkh.).<sup>3</sup>

Ancient "a" appears in various forms in the modern dialects. It is impossible to decide at which stage the variations of this sound became separate phonemes.

Common Sgl.—Ishk. appears to have known four sounds developed from *a*, viz.<sup>4</sup>: 1) *o*, e.g., in Sgl. *dos*, Ishk. *das* 'ten'; 2) *a*, e.g.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wkh. § 42.

<sup>2</sup> Sgl.—Ishk. *d-* may be due to a secondary influence of Prs.

<sup>3</sup> But various instances of *a*-umlaut show that final *ā* had not become labialized before it was dropped in Shgh. and Sgl.—Ishk., and also in Parachi. Cf. p. 324; IIFL. I, p. 23, and NTS. I, p. 84. Probably it was shortened to *-a* at an early date.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. §§ 78 sqq.



in Sgl.—Ishk. *kas* 'to see'; 3) *ō*, e.g., in Sgl. *vōst*, Ishk. *vūst* 'bound'; 4) *ā*, e.g., in Sgl. *vānd*, Ishk. *vōnd* 'to bind'. In the modern dialects the quantity is perhaps not relevant, but it certainly was so in common Sgl.—Ishk. We therefore find early Prs. lws with *ō* in Class 3 (e.g. *kōr*: *kūr* 'blind'); and such with Prs. *ā* in Class 4 (e.g. *nāf*: *nōf* 'navel').

Type 1 frequently goes back to words with *a* in originally open syllable. Thus, Sgl. *dos* 'ten', *oγoð* 'came', *vōr* 'door', *xōf* 'foam', *žoð* 'killed', *moð(ak)* 'here', *novōk* 'rain'.

Type 2 may represent *a* in open syllable before an *ā* in the following syllable. Thus *kasen* 'I see' < \**kasāmi*; *xwārən* 'I eat' < \**hucārāmi*; <sup>1</sup> *fras* 'to ask'; *nav* 'to rain'; *tar* 'from' < \**tarā*, etc.

Type 3 contains chiefly words with *a* in ancient closed syllable: Sgl. *vōst* 'bound'; *γōndēm* 'wheat'; *vōš* 'rope' (< \**bastra*); *kot* 'saw' (< \**kašta*); *ōvd* 'seven'; *f'rōt* 'asked', etc.

Type 4 consists of words with *a* in a closed syllable before *ā* or *i*, both of which may have prevented labialization. Examples are: Sgl. *vānd* 'to bind'; *xānd* 'to laugh', and other verbal stems; *cām* 'eye', *pām* 'wool', *dānd* 'tooth', *mār* 'husband', from nominatives in *-ā* of ancient stems in *-n*; <sup>2</sup> *wār* 'trousers'; *zāl* 'yellow' < \**zarita*; *jān* 'woman' < \**janiči*; *āšik* 'tear' < \**asrika* < \**asrūka*; *mārcik* 'ant' < *marwiči* + *ik*.

But there are numerous exceptions, which do not fit in with this scheme.

Thus *wāt*: *waṭ* 'fell' belongs to Type 2 and not, as expected, to 3; *warf* 'snow' (< \**wafrā(h)*) to 2, and not to 4; <sup>3</sup> *ormōzd* 'sun' to 3 and not to 4; <sup>4</sup> *xuāl*: *xōl* 'six' must, in order to fit in, be derived from \**xwaššā*, but Sgl. *hōt*, Zeb. *ūt* 'eight', points to \**ašta*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But *xwōrō-i* < \**hucarati*. Cf. Shgh. *xārum*: *xīrd*; Par. *xarem* (not \**xōrem*, cf. Par. Gramm. § 189).—But Mj. (*xarem*): *xūt* prob. < \**xārt* < \**xwārt*.

<sup>2</sup> But note Yd. *cam*, *pad*, *lad*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Ishk. got its *a* from Prs. *barf*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ahuramazda(h)* may have been transferred into the *a*-declension at an early date.

<sup>5</sup> Ishk. *aṭ* with *a* from Prs. *ašt*?



In the suffixes *-ök* (< \**-akah*) and *-äk* (< \**-akā*) the vowel must have been lengthened. Especially difficult to explain are: *sor*: *sur* 'head'; *xor*: *xur* 'ass'; *tovör*: *tuvoor* 'axe'; *yöz*: *yüz* 'firewood', which belong to Type 3, although one would expect to find them together with *vör*: *var* 'door' in Class 1.<sup>1</sup> It ought, however, to be noted that we also find Wkh. *xur* 'ass'; *γüz* 'firewood'; *purk* 'rat' in contradistinction to *bār* 'door', *pārg* 'ashes'; but Wkh. also has *t̰pār* 'axe'.

In spite of these irregularities, which may partly be due to mixing of dialects, the factors mentioned above appear to be the only ones which might explain at any rate the majority of cases. And, at all events, it seems certain that common Sgl.—Ishk. must already have possessed four separate phonemes: *a*, *o*, *ā*, *ō*, all derived from ancient "a".

In the Vocabularies the words have been arranged in order of their consonants (cf. IIFL. I. p. 230).

Words quoted from other sources have as far as possible been adapted to the transcription used in this work.

Thus Shaw: *â* = *ä*, *a* = *Δ*, *ê* = *ē*, *î*, *ï* = *ī*, *ô*, *ò* = *ō*, *û*, *ú* = *ū*, *th* = *θ*, *dh* = *ð*, *sh* = *š*, *sch* = *ṣ̌*, *z* = *ž*, *khh* = *x*, *kh* = *ṡ*, *gh* = *γ*, italic *g* = *ǵ*, *ch* = *č*, *ts* = *c*, *j* = *ǰ* and *dz* = *j*.

I have also changed Sköld's and Lentz's *i*, *u*, *ts*, *tš*, etc., into *y*, *w*, *c*, *č*, etc., and *š*, *ǵ* in Shgh., etc., into *š*, *ǵ̣*.<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g., *yöc* for Sköld's *io-tš*.

I have retained Lorimer's *u* for the high, mixed vowel. Sköld himself has frequently altered the *ū* of his original notations into *ī*, but *ū* has sometimes remained unchanged.

In words taken from Bellew's and Biddulph's lists I have tran-

<sup>1</sup> Sgl. *pörk*: Ishk. *purk* 'rat, mouse' < \**pörk* < \**pork*, with early contraction < \**paruka*; but Zeb. *park* 'ashes' < \**parakā*.

<sup>2</sup> The Afghan author of the list of Shughni words in *Annuaire de la revue de Kaboul*, 1934—35, pp. 148 sqq., writes *شې* *ṣ̌*, but *غ̣* *ǵ̣*.

scribed *ā* with *ā*, *gh* with *γ*, *sh* with *š*, *ch* with *č*, and *th* with *θ*, wherever the correctness of the transcription seemed to be certain. But I. have quoted, e.g., Bellew's "*zāghit*", Biddulph's "*thurght*", and Capus' "*dghogit*, *dzogit*" 'daughter' within quotation-marks, without attempting to restore the true phonetical form (< \**ḏāγʹd*, \**ḏāγd*, and \**ḏoyʹd*?).

In a few cases I am afraid that I have not been consistent in the use of final, postvocalic *-i*, *-u* and *-y*, *-w*.

The Prs. and Khovar translations added to words and phrases in the Vocabularies are given in the exact, not always very correct, form in which they were given by my informants.

In the Yd.—Mj. Vocabulary "Y" after a word denotes that identical forms were given by Yzh, Ysh and at least two other Yd. informants. Similarly "Sgl. p." in the Sgl.—Ishk. Vocabulary means that the form is common to Sgl. p 1, 2, and 3.

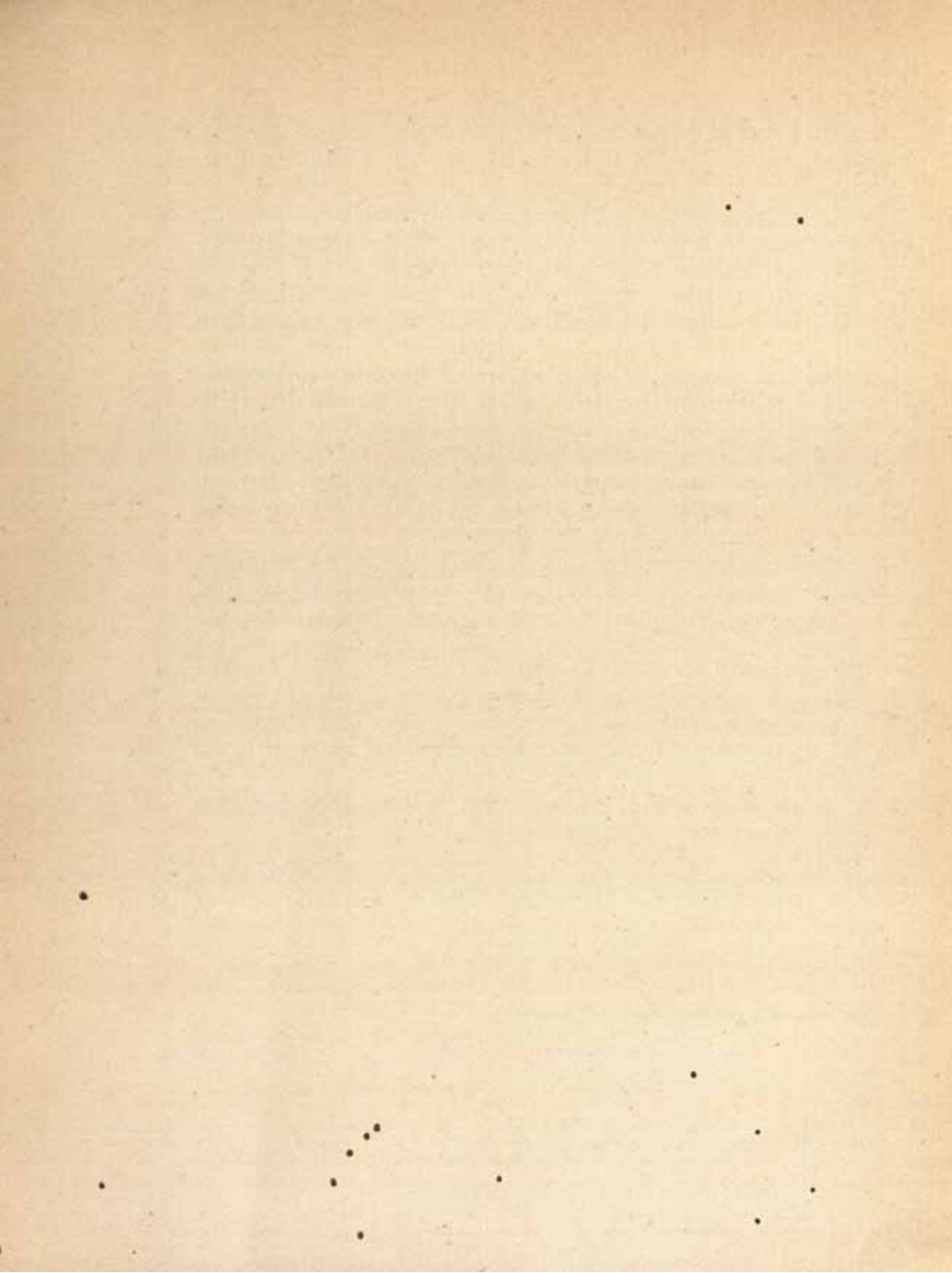
The English-Iranian Index which I hope may be of some use to Iranian scholars, has to a large extent been compiled by my wife.

My sincere thanks are also due to Professor Konow for his advise during the proof-reading, to Mr. G. K. Laycock, Lecturer at the University of Gothenburg, for correcting the English of the greater part of the volume, and to the printers and the diligent and patient compositors. I desire also in this place to express my gratitude to the authorities of Chitral, who kindly helped me and received me with hospitality during my work in the country.

The printing of this volume began in June 1936, and later publications have only occasionally been referred to.

Oslo, 7—1—1938.

G. M.





## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Languages.*

Bal.	= Balochi.	O. Prs.	= Old Persian.	S'gl).	= Sanglechi.
Bart.	= Bartangi.	Or.	= Oroshori.	Shgh.	= Shughni.
Bur.	= Burushaski.	Orm.	= Ormuri.	Sogd.	= Sogdian.
IA.	= Indo-Aryan.	Oss.	= Osetic.	Wan.	= Wanetsi Pashto.
IE.	= Indo-European.	Par.	= Parachi.	W(kh).	= Wakhi.
Ir.	= Iranian.	Prs.	= (New) Persian.	Y(d).	= Yidgha.
I(shk).	= Ishkashmi.	Psht.	= Pashto.	Yaghn.	= Yaghnobi.
Khow.	= Khowar.	Rosh.	= Roshani.	Yazgh.	= Yazghulami.
M(j).	= Munji.	Sar.	= Sarikoli.	Zb.	= Zebaki.

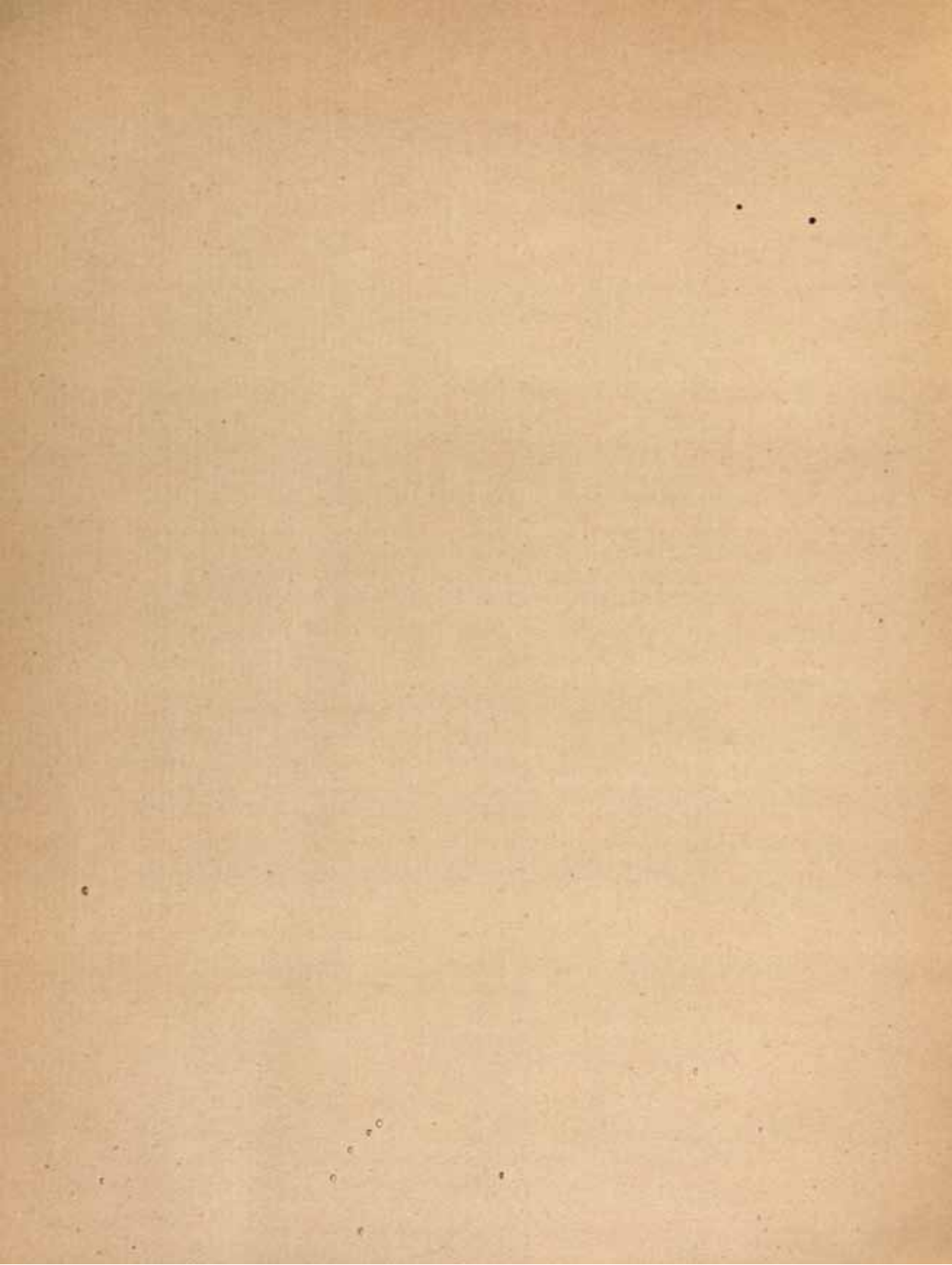
### *Books and Periodicals, etc.*

- AIM. = Herzfeld, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.  
 B. = Biddulph, Yidghah Voc., in Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh.  
 Barth. Miran. Mund. = Bartholomae, Mitteliranische Mundarten, I—VI, Sitzb. Heidelb. Ak. d. Wiss. 1916—1925.  
 Be. = Bellew, Voc. of Sārigh Cūli, Wākhi etc., in Forsyth, Report on a Mission to Yarkund 1873.  
 Benv. Gr. Sogd. = Benveniste, Grammaire Sogdienne, II.  
 Bi. = Biddulph, Voc. of Sirikol, Wakhan and Kunjoot dialects, in Forsyth, Report (v. above).  
 Burhan ud Din. Bu D. = Burxan-ud-Din-xan-i-Kuškeki, Kattagan i Badaxšan, Taškent, 1926.  
 Cap(us) = Voc. Wakhi, in Bull. de la Société d' Anthropologie de Paris, 3<sup>e</sup> Série, Tom. 12, p. 206 sq.  
 Et. Voc. Psht. = Morgenstierne, Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto.  
 G. = Gauthiot, Quelques observations sur le Mindjāni, MSL. XX, pp. 133 sqq.

- Geiger, Pamirdialekte, or Gr.Ir.Ph. = W. Geiger, Die Pämirdialekte, in Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie, I, 2.
- Gramm. = Grammophone record.
- Grierson = Sir George A. Grierson, Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami. As. Soc. Prize Publ. Fund, V.
- Herzfeld, v. AIM.
- Hjuler = A. Hjuler, The languages spoken in the Western Pamir, in: The Second Danish Pamir-Expedition, conducted by O. Olufsen.
- Houtum-Schindler = H. Sch., Beiträge zum kurdischen Wortschatze, ZDMG, 38, pp. 43 sqq.
- IIFL, I. = Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, I.
- Junker, Drei Erz. = H. Junker, Drei Erzählungen auf Yaṣnābī, Sitz. d. Heidelb. Ak. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 1914, 14.
- Kl. = S. I. Klimčickiy, Vaxanskije teksti, in: Trudy Tadžikistanskoy bazi, Tom III.
- Lentz = W. Lentz, Pamir-Dialekte, I. Ergänzungsheft z. Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung, Nr. 12.
- Lorimer, Bur. Gramm. = D. L. R. Lorimer, Burushaski Grammar.
- Mir. Man. = Andreas-Henning, Mitteliranische Manichaica (in SBAW).
- Munshi Faiz Bakhsh. = Vocabularies collected by M. F. B., and publ. by Shaw, in Ghalehah Languages, pp. 134 sqq.
- Or. Stud. Pavry = Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, London 1933.
- Ol. = Olufsen, Through the unknown Pamirs.
- Rep. (on a lingu. mission to) Afgh. = Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan.
- Rep. (on a lingu. mission to) N.W. Ind. = Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to North-Western India.
- Shgh. ABC and abc. = Inqilōbi Madani Pōndand (Shughni primer for grown up people), and Xuṣṣūni Alifbā (Shughni primer for children), Stalinabad 1932 and 1931.
- Sköld, Mater. = H. Sköld, Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen. Skr. utg. av kgl. Hum. Vetensk. samf. i Lund, XXI.
- Stein = Material collected by Sir A. Stein, and published by Grierson (v. above).
- Studia Indo-Ir. = Studia Indo Iranica, Ehrengabe für W. Geiger.
- Tomaschek = W. Tomaschek, Centralasiatische Studien, II.
- Vavilov, Agricultural Afghanistan = N. I. Vavilov and D. D. Bukinin, Agricultural Afghanistan, Leningrad, 1929 (in Russian).
- W(alde)-P(ok.) = A. Walde, Vergl. Wörterbuch d. indo-germ. Sprachen, herausgeg. von J. Pokorny.
- Zar. = Zarubin, K xarakteristike mundžanskogo yazika, Iran. I.
- Zar. Očerok razg. yaz. samark. = Zarubin. Očerok razgovornogo yazika Samarkandskix Evreev. Iran., II.

YIDGHA-MUNJI





## INTRODUCTION

1. A bibliography of the scanty literature dealing with the two closely related Iranian dialects Munji and Yidgha has been given in LSI, X pp. 509 and 518, and it has been brought up to date by Zarubin<sup>1</sup> and by Lentz.<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the present author's review of Zarubin's article,<sup>3</sup> and the short remarks about Yidgha and Munji, Report on a Linguistic Mission to N.W. India, pp. 69—72.

The material for the study of Yidgha was previously limited to the Vocabulary of some 500—600 words with introductory remarks given by Biddulph in his Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh,<sup>4</sup> and to the translation of the Parable and the Standard List of words contained in the LSI.

Munji was made known to philologists four years earlier than its sister dialect through the vocabulary of some eighty words collected by Munshi Faiz Bakhsh and published by Shaw.<sup>5</sup> This list is, however, disfigured by numerous errors and misprints.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the material published in LSI, the only contributions to our knowledge of Munji in recent times have been

<sup>1</sup> К характеристике мунджанского языка, Иран, I, 111 sqq., Leningrad, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> Pamir-Dialekte, I, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> NTS, III, 296—98.

<sup>4</sup> Calcutta 1880, pp. CLIV—CLXIX.

<sup>5</sup> On the Ghalehah Languages, JASB, 1876.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *kara* 'ass', with *k-* for *x-*; *tarávi* 'black', with *t* (ṭ) for *n* (ṇ); *pásti* 'bone', with *p* (ṭ) for *y* (ṣ); *ghaoda* 'cow', with *d* (ṭ) for *w* (ṣ); *yàrgā* 'rat', with *y* (ṭ) for *p* (ṭ); *vorah* 'goat', with *r* (ṣ) for *z* (ṣ), etc.

Gauthiot's *Quelques observations sur le mindjani*,<sup>1</sup> containing some 300 words, and Zarubin's above-mentioned article (about 850 words of vocabulary, with a valuable grammatical introduction).

Probably no part of this material has been collected in Yidgha or Munji-speaking territory. Gauthiot took down his vocabulary in Samarkand from a Kulābi peasant who was born in Wakhan in a small colony of Munjis settled there. Zarubin's material is derived from two Munji emigrants living in Ishkashim, and Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan, the chief informant of the LSI, probably collected his data about the various Pamir dialects from visitors to the capital of Chitral. Biddulph may, of course, have taken down his vocabulary of "Yidghah spoken in the upper part of the Lutkho valley and in Munjan" in Lutkuh itself, but it is perhaps more reasonable to assume that he made his diverse linguistic investigations in Chitral Headquarters.

2. As a matter of fact, very few Europeans seem to have visited Munjan, and none of them gives any information about the language spoken there. Wood<sup>2</sup> never proceeded beyond the lapis lazuli mines above Firgamu which are still in Persian-speaking territory. The only other European visitors known to me are Robertson,<sup>3</sup> who in 1892 (?) paid a flying visit to a Munjan village bordering upon Kafiristan, and the Russian botanists Vavilov and Bukinich,<sup>4</sup> who passed through Sanglech and Munjan. But Vavilov did not even notice that the language spoken in Munjan differed from that of the rest of Badakhshan.

Lutkuh, the home of the Yidgha-speaking *Idays*, is much better known, and has, owing to its belonging to the British Indian protected state of Chitral, been visited by numerous British officers. But

<sup>1</sup> MSL, XIX, pp. 133—157.

<sup>2</sup> A personal narrative of a journey to the sources of the Oxus. London 1841. V, pp. 262 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush, pp. 315 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Agricultural Afghanistan. Leningrad 1929, pp. 112 sqq.



none of them has, as far as I am aware, published anything about the local dialect.

3. My material about Yidgha was collected in the summer of 1929 partly in Chitral Town and partly at Garm Chishma and other places in Lutkuh. During a visit to the Dorah Pass I twice came through the Yidgha settlements in Lutkuh. The political unrest in Afghanistan rendered it impossible to obtain permission to visit Munjan, but I came into contact with several Munjis in Chitral. They came there as traders, and some of them used the opportunity to bring with them for sale lapis lazuli from the famous mines which under normal conditions are exploited by the Afghan government.
4. My Yidgha informants were:
  - 1) *Mahmad* from *Zhitr*. My best informant, from whom I got an Yzh extensive vocabulary, besides sentences and paradigms. About 30 years old. (I worked with him at Garm Chishma.)
  - 2) *Hawala Khan* from *Parabek*, havildar in H. H.'s bodyguard, a Yp comparatively young man.—Two short songs, and a vocabulary taken down in the fields and houses of Burbunu (with some contributions from the villagers). (Garm Chishma).
  - 3) *Bik* from *Gufti*, havildar in His Highness' bodyguard. A young, Yg brown-haired and blue-eyed, brachycephalic Homo Alpinus. Quite intelligent and willing.—Vocabulary and some sentences. (Chitral).
  - 4) *Kurban Ali*, born in *Zhitr*, but living in *Ughuti* since many Yu years. 50—60 years old, and not easy to work with.—Two tales.—(Garm Chishma).
  - 5) *Haidar Ali* from *Rubât-i-Karôn* in Munjan, but settled for the Yr last 20 years in Garm Chishma. About 40 years old.—His language was in the main Y, but interspersed with some M forms.<sup>1</sup>—Vocabulary and sentences. (Chitral and Garm Chishma).
  6. *Ghulâm Haidar*, who first asserted that he was a native of Ysh *Shahr-i-Munjan*, but later turned out to be from *Zhitr*. He

<sup>1</sup> Thus e.g. *brüt* mustache, *biwo* widow, *ojuzyo* frog, *tövistân* summer, *zimistân* winter (with M *ö*), v. Voc. s.vv.

probably thought that the dialect of a more distant place would fetch a higher price in the market.—Quite intelligent.—Vocabulary, sentences, and a long tale. (Chitral).

5. My Munji informants were:

- 7) *Ali Mahmad* from *Miāndeh* in Munjan. Ysh denied that A.M. Mm was a native of Munjan, probably in order to appear to be my—at that time—only purveyor of Munji. There can be no doubt whatever that Mm spoke good and pure Munji, and he was my chief informant as regards that dialect.—Vocabularies, sentences, and a short tale. (Chitral).
- 8) *Kurbān Mahmad* from *Gaz*, below *Miāndeh*.—Middle-aged.—Mg Vocabulary, sentences. (Chitral).
- 9) *Nawrōz* from *Gaz*.—Short vocabulary (about 300 words). (Chitral). M(g)
- 10) *Jawār* from *Tagou*.—Vocabulary. (Chitral). Mt

Besides I made quite short enquiries from the following persons whom I came across in Chitral village, or on the road:

- 11) A man from *Tili* (*Ālī*).—Vocabulary (125 words). (Chitral). Mti
- 12) *Nazar Shāh* from *Shahr-i-Munjan*.—Voc. (some 50 words). M(sh)
- 13) *Ali Nazar* from *Shahr-i-Munjan*.—Numerals only. Msh
- 14) *Kurbān Mahmad* from *Tagou*.—A few words and grammatical M(t) forms.

6. Unfortunately none of my informants were any good as story-tellers, and it was only with difficulty that I could get tales out of some of them. Moreover, the Munjis were eager to return to the harvesting work as quickly as possible, and not even the persuasive powers of my Pathan servant Yasin Khan could induce them to stay in Chitral. In most cases I could only work with the Munjis for a day or even less.

7. The origin of the name Munjan has been discussed in an article in BSOS, VI, pp. 29 sqq. Prs. *Munjān* is an arabized form of *Mungān*, cf. Sgl. *Mandēžān*. While the Munjis themselves use the Prs. form, the Y name of the valley is *Br'e'yeo*, which together



with Kati *Mr'ū-gul* and Khowar *Mirjān* (in poetry) points to original \**Mrga-* or a similar form.

The Kati name used in myths and legends is *Kēmōr*, v. op. cit. p. 442<sup>2</sup>, and cf. the name of the pass leading from Prasun to Munjan: *Kamah* (Robertson), *Kamarbida* (= *Kamār bi dā* 'on the K. Pass', Survey Map), *Komah* (Vavilov), *Kamar Bida* (Voigt, Kafiristan).

8. Munjan is mentioned for the first time in the 7th century AD by Hsüan Tsang, who says that the people depend on the Turks and that their "manners . . . resemble to a great extent the Hwoh country" (Kunduz = Tokharistan).<sup>1</sup>

Very little is known about the subsequent history of the district. Yule<sup>2</sup> has rendered it probable that the Munjan of the Arab travellers must have extended towards the north right up to the neighbourhood of Talikan and Khanabad. However this may be, the evidence of some place-names seems to indicate that Munji was once spoken further north than is the case at present.<sup>3</sup>

Whether *Melengad* (p. 131 *Melengan*) n.e. of Jurm on Burhan ud Din's map (Бадахшан и Каттаган, p. 120) contains *Mj. malanē* 'middle', is of course quite uncertain, as other "l-dialects" exist, cf. below §§ 27, 28.

In more recent times Munjan came under the sway of the Mirs of Badakhshan, and, according to Burhan ud Din,<sup>4</sup> paid a yearly tribute of two Kafir slaves. It is not quite clear how they were able to procure these slaves, since Wood<sup>5</sup> tells us about frequent Kafir inroads into Badakhshan through Munjan, and adds that since

<sup>1</sup> Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marquardt, Eranshahr, 226, 231.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. *Firgamu*, *Firghamiru* s. of Jurm, *Firgam Tal*, n. of Faizabad, etc. (cf. Voc. s.v. *fer'gāmā*), and *Gharmai*, s. of Jurm.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. p. 266.



the time of an especially violent attack some time before his visit, there had been no permanent settlers in the valley above Firgamu. This last information must be greatly exaggerated and is probably due to some kind of misunderstanding. But the peaceful and dull Munjis, who according to Burhan ud Din himself, only possess some 30—40 matchlocks and 5—6 (!) knives and swords between them, are hardly likely to have been able to capture slaves from the Kafirs, even from the meek and peaceful Prasuns. But possibly they bought Kafir slaves for the purpose.

In 1859, on the conquest of Kataghan by the Afghans, Munjan together with the rest of Badakhshan became a tributary to Kabul and, according to Burhan ud Din, agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 300 rupies. Vavilov and one of my informants state that there is a small Afghan military post in the valley.

9. Munjan is an excessively poor district. Vavilov<sup>1</sup> writes that the inhabitants gain their bread with enormous difficulties. They have few children because as they say, there is not enough food for more. The inhabitants of Tili have only sufficient bread for nine months, the rest of the year they subsist on grass and roots. Only on rare occasions do they eat meat. They cannot keep large flocks<sup>2</sup> on account of the scarcity of pasture,<sup>3</sup> but rely on agriculture.

Vavilov and Burhan ud Din agree that apricots and other kinds of fruit are of no importance. There are a few apricot-trees in the lower villages, but the fruit is bitter, and the blossoms are frequently destroyed by frost. Mulberries are not grown. The snow remains in Tili for from three to six months. Barley, millet

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for the following pp. 112 sqq. and 526 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to B. ud D. the 2500 inhabitants of Anjuman and Munjan possess 111 horses, 898 cows and asses, and 4149 sheep. Vavilov found 25 horses, 40 cows, 25 sheep, 15 goats and 4 donkeys in Tili, a village of 20 houses with 50—60 inhabitants. The position of Tili at the foot of the pass leading to Kafiristan probably accounts for the number of horses.

<sup>3</sup> Robertson (l.c.) mentions the good quality of the grazing grounds, but this may apply only to single localities. Nowhere is the exploitation of summer-pastures in the hills mentioned, nor did I hear about it.

mixed with rye, and peas form the staple crops, but "the fields are heaps of stones amongst which small patches of ground are sown with millet and barley."

The inhabitants eke out the meagre produce of agriculture by trading on a small scale. They carry on their backs salt from Faizabad to Nuristan and sell it in exchange for wool, butter, hides and felt (palas).<sup>2</sup>

But, as I had occasion to observe, Munjis also take part in the export of blocks of red Badakhshi rock-salt to Chitral, and employ horses or donkeys for its transport.

Munjan is not altogether cut off from the outer world. According to B. ud D. a "big government road" leads through Munjan from Jurm and across the Hindukush to Prasun in Nuristan (= Kafiristan).<sup>3</sup> Another road, or track, leads from Maghnawul in Munjan across the Khelargai and Dorah Passes to Chitral, without touching the inhabited part of the Sanglech valley. And finally there is a rough track from Maghnawul to the Bashgal Valley.

The road across the Hindukush to Prasun and further into the Kunar valley is of quite recent date and the traffic which it carries has as yet had little influence upon the population of Munjan and their language. The main route, at any rate in earlier times, branched off below Munjan proper, followed the Anjuman river, and crossed into Panjshir and the Kabul region.

Among the three regions which may have influenced Munjan linguistically and culturally there is no doubt that Persian-speaking Badakhshan has for geographical and political reasons played a more important part than Chitral<sup>4</sup> or Kafiristan. But there is one factor which has tended to isolate Munjan from the neighbouring districts on the same river-system. The Munjis are Ismailis

<sup>1</sup> Vavilov, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> B. ud D. p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> In Woods time the road between Jurm and Munjan was very bad.

<sup>4</sup> The trade in the small bazar at Chitral village appears to have been insignificant prior to the British occupation in 1895.



and pay their tribute to the agents of the Agha Khan, just as the Yidghs and most other Pamir tribes do, while Kuran and Anjuman, with the exception of two villages Rabat and Sekui, bordering upon Munjan and probably originally Munji speaking, are of the Sunni persuasion.<sup>1</sup>

According to Vavilov, the inhabited part of the Munjan valley extends for 22—24 km. from Shahr (-i- Munjan) to Tili. In a side valley branching off towards the east at Shahr lies "Torau", 8—9 km. from Shahr, and close to it Maghnawul.<sup>2</sup> From Tili to the top of the Prasun Pass the distance is 42 versts.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the existing maps of Munjan are far from being exact. Thus, on the map accompanying Abdur Rahman's memoirs the whole valley has been turned upside down, and on the apparently very detailed map in B. ud. D.'s book the villages have been thrown about in a most fanciful manner. And even Vavilov, who passed through the district, on both of his maps places Maghnawul and "Torou" in the main valley *below* Shahr!<sup>4</sup> The information I received about the position of the villages agrees in the main with the Survey of India maps.

10. Our only material for determining the number of inhabitants in Munjan is to be found in the particulars given by Vavilov and Burhan ud Din. Burhan ud Din estimates the population at 1500 persons, and the number of houses at 237.<sup>5</sup> He does not, however,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. u. D., l.c.—According to my informants *Robāt* now speaks Farsi, but place-names such as *Tuyakaf* are evidently of Mj. origin.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Vavilov's map, p. 113, 10 versts, a little over 10 km. from Shahr.

<sup>3</sup> This agrees fairly well with the Survey of India map: 17½ m. (29 km.) from Shahr to Tili, and 26 m. (= 43 km.) from Tili to the pass. Vavilov gives the height of Shahr as 2900 metres, of Tili as 3025 metres, and of Maghnawul as 3340 metres.

<sup>4</sup> Vavilov (p. 115) violently attacks Sir G. Robertson to whom, without any foundation in fact, he attributes the absurdity of including Munjan orographically in Kafiristan.

<sup>5</sup> Exclusive of the summer kishlak of Nao with 6 houses.



mention the villages of Wulf, Mianshahr and Wayo. Vavilov counts 464 houses, and as he reckons 2—3 inhabitants to each house (in the case of Tili), this would give us a population of some 1200 persons. It ought, however, to be noted that he does not mention the villages left out by B. ud. D., and, besides, he gives no information about Ghaz and Shah Pari. In details the calculations of the two authors as to the numbers of houses in each village vary, but Vavilov is no doubt the more reliable source. But on the whole we shall not go very far wrong if we assume that the total Munji-speaking population amounts to something between 1000 and 1500 persons.

While it is probable that Munji once extended over a wider area, there is nothing, either in written history, or in local tradition, which refers to the immigration of the Munjis into their present home. Probably the growth of the population in the lower valleys, and may be also political disturbances, forced their ancestors to extend their settlements up to the highest possible limit. But we have no means of knowing when Munjan first became inhabited. The archaic character of some place-names (cf. *Tili*, *Wulf*, *Miliyeg*, etc.)<sup>1</sup> points to a comparatively early date.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. List of Names s.v.v.

11.

*List of Villages in the Munjan*

Indian Survey (and other official sources)	Vavilov	Burhan ud Din
Skarzer (left bank)		Iskarzer, 40 houses
Yoim (right bank)		
Sekwao		Sekui, 16 h.
Razar		
But (r)		
Kalaomir (r)		
Toghakaf (l)		
Robāt		Rabat, 20 h.
Shahr-i-Munjan	Šar, 2 900 mètres, 100 h.	Šaran, 80 h.
Doão (Survey)		
Deh Ambe (Mil. Rep.)	Diombe, 30 h.	Deh-i-Ebnai, 15 h.
Wilu (r)	Villo, 30 h.	Vilav, 10 h.
Ghaz (l)		Gez (غز), 20 h.
Shui Pari (r)		Šah Pari, 12 h.
		Čauni (Post), 9 h.
Sar Jangal (l)		Sar-i-Džengel', 10 h.
Waio (l)		
Mian Deh(a) (r)	Mionbe, 30 h.	Miyan Deh, 25 h.
Yakhdak (l)	Yagdak, 12 h.	Yagdek, 15 h.
Panam (r)	Pano (Pako), 12 h.	Penam (Pekam), 15 h.
Kala-i-Shah (r)	Kala-i-Šau, 200 h.	Kal'a-i-Šah, 10 h.
(=Gulbakaf, Kurbakaf)		
Thali, Tuli	Tli, 3025 m., 20h., 50—60 inh.	Teli, 30 h.
Nāo (r)	Nao, 2 huts	Tav (تڤ), 6 h.

*Villages in the Eastern Side*

(Šahr-i- Munjan)		
Mianshahr (= Kash Kāri)		
Peip, or Wulf	Torau, 3 130 m.	Tekab
Maghnawul	Magnaul, 3 340 m., 30 h.	Megnul

} 10 h.

## Main Valley (from North to South)

Y r	Y sh	M t	M(g)	
Skörzer	Skarzer (l)			
16) Iwīm	Yu'wīm (r)			
17) Səkvō	4) 'Skəwo (r)			
15) Purwōs?	In Kərōn			
14) Rāzer		3) Rāzer (l)		
18) Ka'la				
19) Tuγakaf		2) Tuγakaf (r)		
20) Ru'bōt		1) Rubāt		
4) Šār	Šāhar	1) Šahr	Šō'rōn, Šāher	Šār-i-Munjān M (sh)
5) Dēambī	Wilu	2) Dēambeh	Dīam'bē	
6) Wilū		3) Wilu	Wilu	
7) Γāz		4) Γaz	Γəz (Prs. Aiyāz)	
(Šah-i-Parē)		5) Šāi Pa'rē	Šō-i Pa'ri	
8) Sarjaṇ'gāl				Sarjaṇ'gāl M m
(Wayo)		6) Wayo		
9) Miān'dēo		7) Miān'dēa	Miān'dīa	Miāndeh M m
10) Iγ'dak		8) Iγ'dāk	Yuγ'dāk	Yuγ'dāk M m
(Panam)		9) Pa'naū	P <sup>h</sup> a'nō	
11) Kale-i- Šō		10) Ka'lā	K <sup>h</sup> ala-i- Šō	
12) Tə'li	Tə'li	11) Tə'li	Thri'li	Ti'li=Šu'li M ti
13) Nōu		12) Nau	Nōu	

## Valley (from West to East)

4) Šār				
	= Miliγeg?			
3) Ta'gōu	Tagōu	Tagōu		
2) Wulf	Wulf		Wulf	
1) Maγna'vul	Maγnawul	Maγnawul		



12. The territory inhabited by the Yidgha-speaking tribe in Lutkuh<sup>1</sup> is more inviting than Munjan. The altitude of the inhabited parts of the valley is considerably less, from 2 400—2 500 m. (7 600—7 900 feet) as compared with 2 900—3 340 in Munjan. Wheat and maize are grown,<sup>2</sup> apricots and possibly other fruits ripen, and walnuts are at any rate abundant at Izh, at the lower extremity of the Yidgha-speaking district. The so-called Parabek plain especially is both fairly wide and well cultivated, and compares favourably with most parts of Chitral. The houses and their inhabitants did not give the impression of extreme poverty, at least not when seen on a smiling summer day. The houses are built of stone, as there is no forest in the inhabited part of the valley. Higher up there is some birch and willow jungle, and still higher there are apparently rich hill-pastures abounding in a variety of alpine flowers and surrounded by extensive shrubs of briar which cover the hill-sides below the Dorah Pass.

The rain-fall is scanty, but there seems to be quite sufficient water for irrigation coming from the numerous hill-nullahs that drain the snow-fields.

The continuous Yidgha settlements do not extend for more than about 10 km. (6—7 miles) from Burbunu to Birzin, but there are a couple of hamlets, *Goik* and *Imirdino*, a few miles higher up.<sup>3</sup> Below Burbunu the population speaks Khowar, and between Imirdino and the foot of the Dorah Pass there are a few small settlements, dating from the nineties, of Kati refugees from the upper Bashgal valley.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grierson in LSI gives *Loṭkuh* as the correct pronunciation. I heard Khowar *Loṭkuh*, *oḷkuṭ*, meaning the large (*loṭh*, *loṭh*) valley or district (*kuḥ*). *Lutkho* is an incorrect form, due to the association of the word with *Turi-kho* and *Muli-kho*, the home-valleys of the *Kho*<sup>1</sup> tribe.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Gurdon Lutkuh counts among the richest wheat-growing districts in Chitral.

<sup>3</sup> V. Map.

<sup>4</sup> According to Bruce, *Twenty Years in the Himalayas*, p. 264, there was before that time a small settlement of Prasun Kafirs at the foot of the pass.

13. The following particulars about the Yidgha speaking villages are taken from official reports (of 1904) by Captain B. E. M. Gurdon, which I have got permission to use. His two lists of the number of houses and families are probably derived from different sources.

*List of Villages of Northern (Left) Bank of the River (from below).*

Gurdon	Survey Map	Yidgha
Burbunu 10 (9) houses	Burbunu	<i>Burbu'nū</i>
J(h)itru 15 houses, 21 families	Itr	<i>Žitr, Žitr</i>
Rui 12 h., 12 f.	Rui	<i>Rui</i>
Gistini, Ge° 6 h., 21 f.	Gastinu	<i>Gistini</i>
Gulugh 4 h., 6 f.	Ghalok	<i>Gulyū</i>
Ughuti 7 h., 7 f.	Ughuti	<i>Avyato</i> (Khow. <i>Uyuti</i> )
Gohik 9 f.		<i>Go'ik</i>
Imirdin 3 (12) h., 7 f.	Imirdit	<i>Imirdino</i> (Imurjin)

*Villages on the Right Bank.*

Gurdon	Survey	Yidgha
W(h)arth 6 h., 5 f.	Warth	<i>Wart</i> (Khow. <i>Waxt</i> )
Parabek 3 h., 6 f.	Parabek	<i>Parəuko</i> (Khow. <i>Parabek</i> )
Gufti 4 h., 8 f.	Gufti	<i>Guxtio</i> (Khow. <i>Guḡti, Guxti</i> )
Birzin 10 h., 12 f.	Birzin	<i>Birzin, Br'zin</i> <sup>1</sup>
80 h., 110 f.		

According to Gurdon's calculations, the total population would at that time have amounted to not more than 6—700 persons, and Biddulph<sup>2</sup> can hardly be right in putting the number of families

<sup>1</sup> Besides Yu mentioned *Arḡiko* (above Imirdino?) and *Xūyiko* (below Parəuko?).

<sup>2</sup> P. 64.



at one thousand. I was told that there were now 2—300 Yidgha-speaking houses (about 800—1 000 persons), and it is quite possible that the population has increased so much during the last thirty years of peace.

14. The name of a member of the tribe is *Idəy*, pl. *Idyë* (Mj. *Yidg*, pl. *Yidgi*). This is also the name of the tribe itself and the valley it inhabits (Biddulph *Yidokh*, usually in the obl. pl. *Idyef*), while the language is called *Yed'yā*, Mj. *Yid'yūn*, or also *Yidgānə rōi*. Phonetically *Idəy*, *Yidg* points to an ancient form *\*Indug* < *\*(H)induka*,<sup>1</sup> and it is possible that this name was first given by the Munjis to those of their fellow tribesmen who settled on the Indian side of the mountains.

According to my informants, Yidghs live also below Burbunu, at Droshep, Chirwul (near Garm Chishma) and Murdān, but do not speak the language any longer.

The religious centre of the tribe lies just outside the area in which Yidgha is spoken, close to the bridge at Izh, and it is quite a picturesque Maulai shrine with pretty woodcarving and surrounded by fine trees.

According to Biddulph<sup>2</sup> the Yidghs "claim to have migrated from Munjan<sup>3</sup> seven generations ago, in consequence of an invasion of that district by the rulers of Badakhshan in which the Meer of Munjan was slain". This information has every appearance of being precise and trustworthy and fits in well with the linguistic facts. Gurdon believes that they came from Munjan, Kuran and Ishkashim, but I doubt whether there are any grounds for including the last mentioned district. I was not able to get this tradition about their origin confirmed. Yu, my oldest informant, did not

<sup>1</sup> Cf §§ 118, 164. *Injigān* is probably the Badakhshi form < *\*Indigān*.

<sup>2</sup> Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Tomaschek (BB., 7, p. 195) writes that they came from Yamgān, but I do not know his source for this statement.



know when the tribe had settled in Lutkuh, nor had he heard about any immigration from Munjan. According to him, the Yidghs originally came partly from Badakhshan and partly from Turikho in Chitral. Yzh did not believe that his ancestors had come from Munjan or any other part of Badakhshan. He said that there was no intermarriage or relationship between Lutkuh and Munjan. His own family (*Gažandorë*) had come from Turikho, he did not know how long ago.

The names of the Yidgha speaking villages are of foreign origin.<sup>1</sup> They cannot be proved to be Khowar, but they show at any rate that the valley was inhabited before the arrival of the Yidghs at some unknown date.

It ought, however, to be noted that names such as *Šoyoyo* and *Munio*<sup>2</sup> seem to have entered Yidgha at an early date, and it can scarcely be assumed that the names of these insignificant villages had become current among the ancestors of the Yidghs while they were still inhabiting Munjan. The name of Chitral (*Čitrēyo*) is a different case.

15. At present the Yidghs are included among the Faqer Maskin, the poorest class in Chitral. They are divided into clans like the Khos, the principal ones being *Haidardorë* in Gistini and Parabek, *Gažandorë* in Žitr and Imirdino, *Danguladorë* in Gurti, *Sumāldorë* in Žitr (Bālā), *Šixāidorë* in Žitr, *Ġalamāndorë* and *Šexāmāndorë* in Burbunū, *Mērātdorë* in Birzin, and *Sumbaldorë* in Wart.<sup>3</sup> Thus there are nine clans to some 80 houses!

Apparently the Yidghs have to a great extent been assimilated into the Kho population, and they never seem to have enjoyed any political independence or to have produced any powerful chiefs. Their position on the ancient trade-route between Chitral Headquarters and the Dorah Pass may have contributed to their complete submission to their masters.

<sup>1</sup> With exception of *Xūyiko* 'the Well' mentioned only by Yu., and possibly of *Rūi*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. List of Proper Names, s.vv.

<sup>3</sup> The suffix *-dor* is of Khowar origin.

<sup>2</sup> — Kulturforskning.

16. As might be expected, there is practically no dialectic variation within the limited territory in which Y is spoken. Ysh had a tendency to nasalize his final vowels, and he pronounced *kōfila* 'caravan' and *pæg-* 'to break' as against Yzh *kāfila* and *pēcag-*, and Yg had *war* 'oath', while Yzh, sb, and r all pronounced *wōr*. A pellet-bow was called *xəsmānek* in the lower villages, but *səxmān(ek)* higher up, and similar discrepancies occur in a few other words. But on the whole the dialect of the few hundred Yidghs is homogeneous.

17. Munji, on the other hand, is divided into several sub-dialects, which differ mainly in some phonetic details.<sup>1</sup>

They may be roughly divided into two groups. One includes the dialect of Miandeh (Mm) and the dialects of Zarubin's and Ganthiot's informants.<sup>2</sup> It is characterized by having *-g-* for ancient *-k-*<sup>3</sup> and, in a number of words, *ū* for ancient *ā*, corresponding to *γ* and *i* of other M dialects and of Y. Examples are e.g. Mm. *čfūr* 'four', *rūgo* 'vein', but Mt, etc. *čšir*, *rīya*, Yd. *čšir*, *rīyo*.

In this group the tendency towards the assimilation of *nd*, *mb*, *ng*<sup>4</sup> is stronger than in the rest of Munji, and G and Z goes still further than Mm. Thus Mm, Z, G have *loq* 'tooth' corresponding to *lōnd* of other Mj. dialects, and Z, G have assimilation also e.g. in *yodum* 'wheat': Mm etc. *yōndum*. Y has assimilated forms in both cases.<sup>5</sup> The dialect described in the LSI. has *d* in *lād* and *ū* in *čfūr*, but *γ < k*, e.g. in *yauya* 'water'. We may therefore assume that it belongs to a part of Munjan situated below Miandeh and the homes of Z and G, but above Ghaz, possibly to Wayo.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rep. N.W. Ind., pp. 70 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Ganthiot's informant was a native of Wakhan, but his dialect evidently originally belongs to some locality in upper Munjan, possibly to Kala-i-Shah.

<sup>3</sup> G. gives *γ* in a few words, but also in *ayūškva* 'finger' where it can hardly be correct. Cf. § 117.

<sup>4</sup> V. §§ 115 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 118.



The dialect on which Mullah Faiz Bakhsh's short vocabulary is based agrees with that of the villages of lower Munjan (Ghaz and Shahr) and of the Tagou valley, but has retained the nasal in *ankardia* (read \**angaskia*?) 'finger' where all other varieties of Mj. have the assimilated form.

A curious fact, which I am at loss to explain, is that the dialect of my informant from Tili, the uppermost village of all, is in line with that of Lower Munjan, and not with Mm, Z and G. Thus we find e.g. Mti *rīya* 'vein' (with *ī* and *γ*), *lōnd* 'tooth', and, besides, *ōskiy* 'roof' (Mt, etc. *askiy*, but Mm, G, Z *yēskig*, etc.), *yimayeka* 'moon' (Mg, etc. *yumayika*, but Mm, G, Z *yumago*, etc.) Mti also agrees with lower Munjan in having a long *ō* in *yōrza* 'beard' and in some other words. It is, of course, possible that Mti was really a native of one of the lower villages.

Apart from the divergences in the treatment of *nd*, etc. Mm differs from Z in some particulars. Thus, e.g.:

Mm, *t yūr* 'ground': Z *yēn'g*.

Mm *vzēd* 'knew': Z *vzē(n)d*, Mt *vzēnd*.

Mm *lvēd* 'winnowed': Z *livy*, Mt, (g) *lvēy*.

Mm *wujuzgo* 'frog': Z, G *wuyzaga*, Mt, etc. *ujizga*.

18. Mm shares with Y, and to some extent with Z, the fem. ending -o, -ā, corresponding to -a, -ā of other M dialects.

The villages of upper and lower Munjan being isolated from each other, certain phonetic variations and some differences in the formation of past stems have arisen.

But as a whole M is quite distinct from Y in phonology, morphology and vocabulary, although, as we have seen above, some innovations in M dialects are shared also by Y. Thus the transition of *ūg* into *īy* may have taken place in lower Munjan before the emigration of the Yidghs to Lutkuh.

19. Among the phonetic differences separating M as a whole from Y, the most important are:



Anc. <i>rt</i>	results in Y <i>r</i> but M <i>r</i> (v. § 124).			
<i>št</i>	—	—	<i>šč</i>	— <i>škʷ</i> (v. § 109).
<i>rn</i>	—	—	<i>n, n</i>	— <i>ŋʷgʷ</i> , etc. (v. § 133).
<i>rd</i> (in sec. contact)	—	—	<i>dr</i>	— <i>ler</i> (v. § 127).
<i>w, v</i> (in some cases)	—	—	<i>b</i>	— <i>v</i> (v. §§ 88, 107).

Note also the Y tendency to drop *w* before *u* (v. § 81), and Y *i*-corresponding to Mj. *yu*- (§ 84). Regarding the different development of ancient *a* in Y and M v. § 139.

Owing to special factors or more sporadic changes we find Y *āyury* egg, *iščiy* roof, *avlāsto* sleeve, *čkən* puppy, *čšir* four, *dīr* other, *fšarm* shame, *laxsərə* ice, *rišpən* iron, *šinjo* needle, *tīč-* to fall, *vrī-* to break, *xīrd-* to shave, *yečko* duck, *zevirjo* birch-tree; but M *aryūg*, *yęškig*, *alvosto*, *skən*, *čfür*, *yūdūr*, *šforʷm*, *yaxsəriy*, *yuspʷn*, *šično*, *čič-*, *vrīr-*, *xred-*, *yälko*, *vəzvergo*, or similar forms.

The morphological differences between Y and M are not numerous. The most important concern the genus inflection of adjectives<sup>1</sup> and the preterite of intransitive verbs.<sup>2</sup> The difference between Y *vto* and M *flo* 'thee', and between Y *wulo*, pl. *wuli* 'wife' and M *wula*, *wuli*, etc., is due to phonetic factors.

20. It is in their vocabularies that Y and M diverge most widely from each other. We must, of course, bear in mind that our knowledge of the vocabularies of the two dialects is far from being complete, and that in many cases the absence of a word in one dialect may only be apparent. But, taken as a whole, the evidence of the vocabularies clearly shows how the separation of centuries and the difference of outside influences have drawn the two sister-dialects apart.

In a great number of cases M, as is only natural in consideration of its geographical and political position, has adopted a Prs. term where Y has retained the genuine dialect word, or has borrowed from Khowar.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 195. <sup>2</sup> Cf. § 234.

21. Examples abound in the Vocabulary. Here we shall mention only a few characteristic ones:

M (from Prs.): *nāxun* nail, *anār* pomegranate, *guzar* ford, *xōkovo* first watering, *laḡōm* bridle, *bārān* rain, *daro* valley, *naxš* song, *toko* alone, *bohōr* spring, *gušicōr* earring, *g'ro* knot, *duzd* thief, *qala* fort, *mō* month, *xargūš* hare, *kus* vulva, *qasam* oath, *naxčir* male ibex, *sīl* flood, *ḡigar* liver, *xərs* bear, *araq* sweat, *barg* leaf, *rūšān* bright, *axtaxāna* stable, etc.

But Y: *anaxno*, *alāno*, *pīlf*, *avzino*, *awlān*, *nōvo*, *koša*, *fagyikē*, *fkyiyiko*, *fsidro*, *ḡūārikē*, *ḡursč*, *ḡāl*, *lizo*, *mux*, *sīḡ*, *šrno*, *wor*, *žūmānē*, *yogo*, *yēyən*, *yarš*, *xūl*, *pūnuk*, *orunyo*, *aspəlan*, etc.

Corresponding to M (from Prs.) *amsāyaga* neighbour, *darūn* belly, *našpotiy* pear, *dasta* handle, *haud* lake, *tilā* gold, *taḡio* pillow, *šamšēr* sword, *nugra* silver, *xušō* ear of corn, *biwəya* widow, *garm*, *suzōn* hot, we find Y (from Khowar): *grambešu*, *ūžūt*, *kyogō*, *hostaganu*, *žōi*, *svorum*, *vrazidinē*, *xugor*, *droxum*, *sor*, *uāsərwo*, *prč*.

In some cases Y and M have borrowed different forms of Prs. words, Y usually through the medium of Khowar. Examples of such words are: M *āino* mirror, *āsān* easy, *b'rinj* rice, *ketōb* book, *tiramā* autumn: Y *šišoḡo*, *askān*, *grinj*, *ketiu*, *pāiz*.

22. Very rarely M has retained a genuine word which has been lost in Y: M *yūi* husband's brother, *zoyno* chin, *z'ḡərīy* thirsty, *yuvazgo* plough-wedge: Y *x<sup>u</sup>sur*, *zanax*, *trušnē*, *ačardinē*.

Corresponding to M *ōš* 'porridge' and *juāna* 'calf, one to two years old', which are of Prs. origin, Y has the Ind. loan-words *aṭilē* and *bakiṇḍa*, but the exact source of these words is unknown. *pāpəs*, etc. 'lungs' is one of the very few words of Ind. origin occurring in both dialects. A curious case is M *souno* 'co-wife', which appears to be an IA. loanword,<sup>1</sup> although I am unable to explain how it has penetrated into M. Y has the Prs. word *ambōy*.

Loan-words from Kafiri are Yd. *plac* cheese, *kīṭayē* almond (prob. borr. from the Lutkuh Kafirs), and possibly Y—M *č'ra'ū* male markhor, v. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voe. s.v.



23. Khowar loan-words are very rare in Munji. I have only come across *bānj* 'holly-oak' and *droxum* 'silver' and do not feel at all sure that these words are really in common use in M.

Y, on the other hand, contains, besides those mentioned above, a great number of Khow. words, which denote plants, implements, etc. unknown in Munjan, or the correspondent forms of which have not been recorded in M. Some of the Khow. loan-words in Y are in their turn of Ir. origin, and it is worthy of note that even Y, the dialect of a small and outlying district of Chitral has to some extent contributed to the vocabulary of Khowar.<sup>1</sup>

24. Of special interest are those cases where the difference of vocabulary between Y and M is not due to one of the dialects having borrowed, from Prs. or M, but where each of them has chosen a different word of dialectal origin. To some extent there may be, or have been, a slight difference in meaning, but we must also reckon with the possibility of real homonyms existing in original Y—M, due to ancient mixing of dialects.

The possibility of some of the words co-existing in both dialects should, of course, not be ruled out.

Examples of such words are:

M *āgung*<sup>9</sup> dough: Y *lavaza*.

» *yōba* dance: Y *drūda*.

» *frayingo* she-goat, one y. old: Y *preñjo*.

» *yūelo* yoke-rope: Y *frāiyo*.

» *sam'lasiko* neckrope of the bullock: Y *sabə'ranj*.

» *pa'težo* she-calf, one y. old: Y *miščoyo*.

» *p'rivur* cow-house: Y *yiyio*.

» *kosk* barley: Y *yeršio*.

» *šino* anus: Y *yumino* (but *šino* vulva).

» *nāmyo*, *yistōn* felt: Y *livzīn*.

» *škyui* neck: Y *šilē* (v. Voc. s.vv.).

» *sasto* hill-side: Y *paifar*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my treatment of this subject in Iranian Elements in Khowar, BSOS. VIII, 657—671.



M *yurv* mouth: Y *p<sup>2</sup>korë*.

» *kupor* lip: Y *poršik*.

» *zôb* gums: Y *soškë*.

» *puma* avalanche: Y *rešk*.

» *ken-* to dig: Y *nikanā(w)*.

» *vrind-* to be standing: Y *fsāy*.

25. But on the whole, in spite of the divergences mentioned above, Y—M forms a well-defined group clearly distinguished from all other Ir. languages by a series of characteristics.

The vocabulary contains a great number of words peculiar to this dialect group. As regards the morphology we may mention the formation of masculines in Y *-ë*, M *-iy*, the feminines in *-o*, *-a*, the obl. sg. in *-en*, the pronouns *za*, *zo* 'I' and *māf*, *mof* 'you', and the personal ending 3 pl. in *-et*, *-at*.

Among phonetic features peculiar to, or characteristic of Y—M may be mentioned the preservation of *xš* and *fš*,<sup>1</sup> the distinction between ancient *-š-* and *\*-šš-*,<sup>2</sup> the development of *ð* into *č*<sup>3</sup> and of *št* into *škʷ*, *šč*,<sup>4</sup> and the tendency towards the assimilation of *nd* and similar groups of consonants.<sup>5</sup> Also the combination of features found separately in other dialects tend to give Y—M a phonetic structure entirely of its own, thus e.g. the development of *ð* and *rd* > *l*, of *rt* > *r*, *r*, and of *-t* and *-š-* > *y*.

On the other hand, we find the usual E.Ir. tendencies prevailing, e.g. the change of *č* > *c*, of *xt* > *γd*, *ft* > *vd*, of *sr* > *š*, of voiced stops into voiced fricatives, the loss of *h*-, the prothesis of *w-* and *y-*, and the frequent reduction of *i* and *u* to a mixed vowel of the *a*-type.

The morphology and the vocabulary are also of a decidedly E.Ir.

<sup>1</sup> V. § 94 sq.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 75.

<sup>3</sup> V. § 65.

<sup>4</sup> V. § 109.

<sup>5</sup> V. §§ 115 sqq.

type. Note e.g. typical E.Ir. words such as *miž* day, *pišcan* thigh, *pīč* arrow, *šīyo* female, *yādē* blind, *wulo* wife, *wulēyo* span, *zaviy* tongue, *yeršio* barley, *imoyo* moon.<sup>1</sup>

26. Gauthiot<sup>2</sup> has asserted that Y—M ought to be separated from the Pamir languages and ranged among the north-western Ir. dialects. In a review<sup>3</sup> of Zarubin's essay on Munji I have tried to show that this theory cannot be upheld, and that the points of agreement between Y—M and Central Ir. dialects are less significant than is assumed by Gauthiot.<sup>4</sup>

There can in fact be no doubt that Y—M is on the whole closely related to the Pamir dialects, although on several points it stands apart from them.

27. Within the range of the Pamir dialects Y—M shows little special affinity to the Shughni group.<sup>5</sup> The connection between Y—M and Wakhi chiefly consists in the occurrence of a few words with  $l < \delta$ —probably loanwords—in Wkh. About the relation between our group and Saraghlami nothing is known, except that one of the three words known from this dialect points to a transition of  $\delta > l$ .<sup>6</sup>

But between Y—M and Sgl.—Ishk. there are several points of resemblance.

Thus we find a considerable number of words which are, as far as is known at present, peculiar to these two neighbouring groups of dialects, or which appear here in a form elsewhere unknown. Cf., e.g.: Y *ābūya* moraine: Sgl. *ambol*; Y *uščeno*: Sgl. *uštīn*; Y *āwusp*

<sup>1</sup> Several of them are found in the Avesta. But this only shows that the Av. language is based upon E. Ir., as I hope to be able to prove from a detailed study of its vocabulary.

<sup>2</sup> MSL, XX, 133 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> NTS, III, 296.

<sup>4</sup> Very few, if any, Y—M words are of a decidedly W. Ir. character. *xšīra* 'milk' has its correspondent in Ossetic.

<sup>5</sup> Note, however, Y *niž*, Shgh. *neθ* 'to sit down' < \**niθδ*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Zarubin, Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Sciences, Série B., 1924, p. 79: *woliké* 'water'.



ploughbeam: Sgl. *āwišp*; Y *leso* wild oats: Sgl. *došin*; Y *ixō* sister: Sgl. *yəxōai*; Y *mīryo* meadow: Sgl. *mēry*; Y *niya* sour milk: Sgl. *nīduk*; Y *nov* rain: Sgl. *nav*; Y, Sgl. *pīx* span; Y *woɾo* trousers: Sgl. *wāl*; Y *lib* to card wool: Sgl. *dəmb*; Y *as*: *ayoi* to come: Sgl. *is*: *āyad*; Y *is*: *yāi* to carry: Ishk. *uss*: *wud*; Y *tī*: to enter: Sgl. *atīy*; Y—M *vri(r)* to break: Sgl. *vrēl*.

There are also some common morphological features, e.g. in the system of demonstrative pronouns,<sup>1</sup> in the existence of a particle *vo*, *va* denoting the definite object, and in the termination of the 2nd pl. in *-əf* which from Sgl.—Ishk. has also entered Western Wkh.

On the other hand, the two dialect groups present no special similarities as regards their phonetic development. But the correspondences of vocabulary and morphology can hardly have been developed under modern conditions when communication between Munjan and Sanglech appears to be insignificant, and is at any rate carried out by the medium of Persian. We are therefore, perhaps, justified in assuming that Y—M and Sgl.—Ishk. were once in much closer contact than in the case at present, probably at a time when the phonetic differences between both groups was not yet strongly accentuated.

28. If we look outside the range of the Pamir dialects Pashto appears to be the nearest relative of Y—M. Not only do we find the change of  $\delta > l$  in both languages, but the Wanetsi dialect of Pashto distinguishes between ancient *-ḍ-* and ancient *-t-* in exactly the same way as Y—M.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, we must not forget that the tendency to change  $\delta$  into *l* was probably once widely spread in E.Ir. and that the treatment of  $\delta$  and  $\theta w$  differs in Y—M and in Psht. A few words are characteristic of both languages, cf. e.g. Voc. s.vv. *āyd* to dress, *yāl* thief, *la* with, *wāro* summer, *yēyon* liver.

At any rate the special relationship or contact between Y—M

<sup>1</sup> V. § 206.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NTS. IV, 160.

and Psht. must go back to an early date, before the period when Saka tribes brought the Ir. dialect from which Psht. is descended into Southern Afghanistan.

The points of resemblance to Sogdian are limited to a few words, cf. Voc. s.vv. *drāv-* to dance, *poršik* lip, *yuxs-* to learn. Also with Parachi, its Ir. neighbour south of the Hindukush, Y—M shares a few words and forms (cf. s.vv. *lišč* saw, *amuno* apple, *yūr* fire) but on the whole this dialect is of a different type, and has developed along other lines.

29. As far as we can see, Y—M has occupied its present position for a very long period. It has probably lost territory in the north,<sup>1</sup> but it has since immemorial times had Kafir dialects as its neighbours south of the Hindukush, and it is quite possible that the linguistic frontier between Ir. and IA. has not always followed exactly the highest mountain ridge.

Now we find a transition of  $d > l$  in Prasun, the most isolated Kafir dialect, which has certainly occupied its present home close to Munjan for a very long time. It is therefore very tempting to follow Gauthiot in his assumption of a connection between the developments in both languages, especially as it seems probable that intervocalic *-t-* disappeared in Prasun, while *d* remains in the shape of *l*. This state of things reminds us strongly of Y—M, while it differs completely from the tendencies prevailing elsewhere in Kafiri and IA.<sup>2</sup>

Of more doubtful value is Gauthiot's comparison between the M (but especially Y!) tendency to assimilate  $nd > d$ , etc., and the Kafiri development of  $ant > \hat{a}t > at$ . The phonetic processes are not identical, and the change in Y—M is evidently of recent date. But we may perhaps compare the Prasun transition of  $nd > d$  and of  $mb > b$  with the development in Y—M. We must

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Kalasha with  $-d > \theta$ , but  $-t > -l-$  (V. Rep. II, 67).—In Y—M and Prasun *d* was changed into *l* before any weakening of intervocalic stops took place.



remember that Munjan and Prasun are only separated by a not too difficult pass.

This circumstance also explains the existence of a few words common to Y—M and Kafiri. Cf. M *frayomīy* and Kati *promə*, Prasun *pāmə* kid; Y *\*stuy*: Prasun *štyak* lock of hair; Y—M *šū*: Prasun *üčü* (< \**črū*) horn. It is doubtful whether *niya* 'sour milk' is borrowed from, or influenced by Kafiri or IA. Regarding loan-words from Kafiri cf. above § 22.

30. On the whole Y—M, is, in spite of influences from various sides, and in spite of several special phonetic innovations, an Ir. dialect of a highly archaic type, which in its relative isolation has preserved many ancient and interesting forms and words. Its possible connection with the ancient Ir. language of the Tokharians remains, for the time being, a matter of speculation.

# PHONETIC SYSTEM

## Consonants.

31.	Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive . . . . .	<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	( <i>t, d</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	<i>k', g'</i>	<i>k, g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate . . . . .		<i>c</i>	( <i>č</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	<i>č, ĵ</i>			
Fricative . . . . .	<i>f, v</i>			<i>š</i>	<i>x, γ</i>	<i>χ, γ</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>h</i>
Sibilant . . . . .		<i>s, z</i>	<i>š, (ž)</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>š, ž</i>			
Nasal . . . . .	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	( <i>n</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	[ <i>ɲ</i> '] <sup>2</sup>	<i>ŋ</i> <sup>3</sup>		
Rolled & Lateral .		<i>r, l</i>	( <i>r</i> ) <sup>1</sup>				
Semivowels	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

32. The consonant systems of Y and M are in the main the same. Characteristic of both, as compared with those of other Pamir languages is the absence of *ɖ* (either as a phoneme—as in Wkh. and Shgh.—, or as a variant of *d*—as in Sgl.), and the existence of *š* and of *k', g'*. But M does not possess the retroflex series (with the exception of *š*), and the palatal *ɲ'* (which is hardly a separate phoneme in M) is unknown to Y. In both dialects velar *ŋ* is a mere variant of *n* before *g* and *k*.

The surd plosives are unaspirated in Y, but at any rate to some extent aspirated in M. Some of my informants (e.g. Mti) appeared

<sup>1</sup> Only in Y.

<sup>2</sup> Only in M.

<sup>3</sup> Phoneme variant.



to aspirate  $p^1$  only, while  $M(g)$ —but not  $Mg$ —aspirated strongly all surd stops (and  $\check{c}$ ) in accentuated syllables. Thus, e.g. *phōns'* '5', *khiryā* 'lien', *qhō* 'bull', *thi'nek* 'shallow', *chō<sup>n</sup>* 'eye' (and *chōrda* '14' < Prs. *chāhārda*).<sup>2</sup>

This tendency towards aspiration is characteristic of several Pamir languages<sup>3</sup> and of Badakhshi Prs., and it occurs also in Turki.<sup>4</sup> It is of course a theoretically possible, but not a very convincing hypothesis that the aspiration in E.Ir. and Turki should be due to the influence of some common, unknown substratum.

The absence of aspiration in Y may be accounted for by the negative influence of Khowar. This language possesses a separate series of aspirates—parallel to that of other IA languages—and Y, in adapting its sound system more or less to that of the dominating language—of Chitral, had to choose between the unaspirated or the strongly aspirated series of surd plosives.

- 32 a. Y  $t$ ,  $d$  and  $\check{c}$  are found only in loan-words, but appear to belong to the phonological system of the language. Also  $q$  is a foreign sound, and with some speakers  $k$  is substituted for it.

$k'$ ,  $g'$  ( $k^v$ ,  $g^v$ ) must probably be considered as separate phonemes both in Y and in M.<sup>5</sup> In M  $k'$  occurs also in the combination  $šk'$ , which is different from  $šk$ .<sup>6</sup> Regarding  $\check{c}$  <  $k'$  v. § 41.

$\check{j}$  is to some extent interchangeable with  $\check{z}$ ,<sup>7</sup> but it is at any

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the situation in Prs., and in Psht., where  $p$  is more strongly aspirated than  $k$  or  $t$  (v. BSOS. V, 54).

<sup>2</sup> In some words the aspiration has not been noted, but that may be due to inexact notation.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, e.g., in Sgl. About aspiration in Shgh. v. NTS. I, 36 (and Voc.), and Sköld, Materialien, Voc. Reg. Ossetic cf. Munkácsi, Blüten der ossetischen Volksdichtung, 7.

<sup>4</sup> I thought I heard aspiration in several Turki dialects of W. and E. Turkistan which I had occasion to listen to in Chitral. In Kokand final  $-t$  even results in an affricate: *uts* 'fire', *ots* 'horse'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 41.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. § 60, and v. Voc. s.vv.

rate by way of being a separate phoneme. *j* is a rare variant of *z*, v. Voc. s.vv. *urzu*.

In M I heard bilabial *ɸ* before vowels in several words (a.g. Mm *čqür* '4', *qiya* 'spade'). But in Y, and partly also in M, it is dento-labial. *v* is a dento-labial fricative, with lips and teeth in rather loose contact, and unrounded, except before *o*, where it was sometimes not easily distinguishable from *w*.

33. There can be no doubt that *š* and *ʃ* are separate phonemes, but it is not always easy to distinguish between them, and it is possible that some speakers of M use a neutral *š* for both through the influence of Prs. phonology. *ž* is only found in Y and is of rare occurrence. *š*, *ž* and *č* have usually a very palatal character, and I have sometimes written *čʷ*, *žʷ* in my notes. In Y *šč*, M *škʷ* and in Y *čšir*, *što*, etc. the acoustic impression was still more palatal, but I do not believe that *š* (*š'*) in these positions constitutes a separate phoneme.

Y—M *ǰ* is a lisping, palatal sound which could not easily be mistaken for *x*, and which sounded quite different from Wakhi or Shgh. *ǰ* (= *š*). It was really a palatal *θ*, but I have kept Gauthiot's notation.

Uvular *x* and *ɣ* were only heard in Yd. *x̄to* 'n. of a shrub' and in Y *q̄iāɣ*, M *kuwoɣ* 'bull' and they are probably variants of *x*, *ɣ* (conditioned by the influence of *i* and *qʔ*).

Y—M *h* is an unstable sound, cf. Voc. s.vv. But still I believe that it ought to be considered as a phoneme, the forms without *h* being aberrations from the 'standard' pronunciation. But this is by no means certain. Note the existence of final *h* (*loh*, *yura<sup>h</sup>*).

Similarly there can be no doubt about the existence of a phoneme *w*, but nevertheless we find vacillation before *u*, e.g. in *urw*, *urzu*, *wulo*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the phonological value of initial *y* cf. § 83.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 81.



The final sound in M *zɪlʷ*, *zɪlʷʷ*, etc. 'heart' is probably a combination of *l* + *y* and not a separate, simple phoneme.

Cerebral *n* is a phoneme in Y, but *n* is substituted by some speakers, except where *n* is conditioned by a following *d*.

Probably connected with the rounding of *v* before *o* mentioned above is the phenomenon expressed in the occasional notations, e.g. *ay<sup>w</sup>oi* 'came'; *noy<sup>w</sup>or* 'came out'; *k<sup>w</sup>os* 'to search'; *x<sup>w</sup>oi* 'own', etc., especially in Y words.

34. A final voiced consonant usually becomes unvoiced. Thus, e.g.: *koh*, *kop* 'little'; *aʒəp* 'wonderful'; *γälvʷ*, *γölv*, *γölɸ* 'dog'; *g<sup>w</sup>ip* 'lost'; *riv*, *rɪf* 'rhubarb'; *oyury<sup>x</sup>*, *əyurx* 'egg'; *yɪʒ*, *yɪʃ* 'snake'; *zɪk*, *zɪŋ* 'knee', etc. On the other hand we may hear *-z* for *-s*, *-d* for *-t* in sandhi: *woz γurd* 'now he seized'; *k<sup>w</sup>ed vɪo* 'was doing'. And, in the pronunciation of Ysh, *xoi* 'own' frequently was sonorized into *γoi* after a proclitic *vo*, *wo*. Cf. also Mg *nā-moy* 'nobis' with *-y* instead of *-x* before voiced sounds.

Characteristic of Ysh is also the frequent 'cerebralization' of final *r*, chiefly after *ū*. Thus: *pūr* 'son' (also Yg); *axūr* 'manger'; *\*stūr/r* 'big'; *avār* 'bring', but *pūrān*, *avre*, etc.

Ysh, and to a lesser degree Yzh, have a tendency to nasalize final vowels. Thus, e.g.: *uxʃō̄*, *avdō̄*, *aščō̄*, *nōū*, *wisʰtō̄* '6, 7, 8, 9, 20'; *poγō̄* 'hair'; *ʃəʎē̄* 'neck'; *rūī̄* 'bowels'; *vizγā̄* 'arm'; *pɪʃkədrī̄* 'dung', etc., etc. This nasalization has been omitted in the following description of Y.

In M(g), on the other hand, final *-m* was reduced to a sometimes scarcely audible sound in the 1st pers. of verbs, e.g. in *γūwum*: *γivdu<sup>m</sup>* 'I spin', 'span'; *lōra<sup>m</sup>* 'I have'; *xesā<sup>m</sup>* 'I pull', etc. Cf. also *čhō<sup>m</sup>* 'eye' (but *γōndəm* 'wheat', etc.).

The 'morphological' changes of consonants are mainly restricted to the variations between present and past stems of the verbs, for which v. §§ 225 sqq

## Vowels.

35. As far as I was able to detect, the vowel-system of Y appears to be quite simple and to consist of the following six phonemes:

<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
	<i>ə</i>	
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
	<i>a</i>	

But, as in most other E.Ir. dialects, especially in Psht.<sup>1</sup> and Wkh.,<sup>2</sup> the amplitudes of variation are exceptionally great. First of all there are variations of quantity. I am inclined to believe that these are conditioned by stress, or by the influence of following consonants or groups of consonants, and that vowel-quantity is phonologically irrelevant in Y. And the Vocabulary contains a large number of variations between *o*, *a* and *ō*, *ā* in the same words.

But it is really impossible to settle the question without a profound knowledge of, and a proficiency in speaking the language which I was very far from attaining, and it is quite possible that at any rate *i* and *u* are true phonemes.

Also the quality of the vowels is strongly influenced by neighbouring consonants, and it varies further according to length and stress.

*a* is usually palatal [a] and easily becomes *ä* through the influence of an *i*, e.g. in Yzh *wäriyo* (Ysh *wa<sup>o</sup>*) 'rain'; *pälästiko* 'armlet', etc. In unstressed position [a] is heard, but has not been consistently noted.

*o* is wide [ɔ]. In final position it is sometimes slightly diphthongized in Yd. [ɔ<sup>u</sup>]. Besides *ō* [ɔ:], *ā*, *ä* has been noted, but chiefly in lw.s from Prs.<sup>3</sup> I am not quite certain whether this *ä* is a separate phoneme, or if I may have been influenced in my notation by associations from Badakhshi Prs. in using this symbol.

<sup>1</sup> BSOS, V, 58 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> CL Wkh. Phon.

<sup>3</sup> *ä* occurs in 43 lw.s and 9 genuine dialect words; *ō* in 9 lw.s and 38 genuine ones.



*u* has an unstressed variant *ʊ*, and *i* in unstressed position (but also in other cases) is articulated as *ɪ*. A mid-palate *ɪ̃* is heard in some words (in contact with *x*?).

I am not certain whether *ĩ* and *ũ* are true phonemes, separate from *i* and *u*. After *y* we find *ũ* or *ü*. E.g. Yu *yũ*, Ysh *yũ* 'one', Ysh *dārũ(i)* 'medecine'. A diphthongization of *-ĩ* was noted once in Ysh *rə'sēĩ = rə'sĩ* 'arrived'.

*e* and *ɛ* are probably variants of one phoneme, and I even heard *xayo = xeyo* 'bridge'.

In many cases *ə* is simply a reduced form of *a*, *e*, *u*, etc. But it is nevertheless probably a separate phoneme, characteristic of a number of words. Of the two variants *pərs* and *pɹs* 'ask', the first one is probably the phonologically correct one.

In final position Yzh *-ĕ*, with retracted *e* approaching *ə*, corresponds to *ə* of some other speakers.

36. Diphthongs are rare (cf. *nāilā*, *sāil*, *dau'let*, *mailis*) and possibly form no part of the system. In the Vocabulary I have written *-ōĩ*, *-āĩ* where Zarubin, possibly phonologically more correct, has *-ōy*, *-āy*.

The overshort vowels, *ə*, *ʊ*, *ɪ*, *ɛ*, are difficult to classify phonologically. Their quality is completely dominated by that of the surrounding full vowels, and they may possibly be considered as variants of *ə*. But it is a question whether they are really always perceived as real vowels, or whether the prothetic and svarabhakti vowels<sup>1</sup> are not as phonologically irrelevant as are the vowels in the Indian pronunciation of *st*, etc.

37. The influence of surrounding sounds on short vowels may be exemplified by: *yursiligo*, *yursuligo* 'shoe-string'; *nəyūyəm* 'I hear'; *nuxāšəm* 'I comb'; *nižim* 'I sit down'; *noyo* : *nəyavd* 'to bite'. Cf. also the variations between *-əm*, *-um*, etc., conditioned by the nature of the preceding vowel.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. *səplĩ*, *əstūy* (v. § 103), *surʷu*, *tuɣʷum*, etc.

3 - Kulturforskning.

Cf. also Ysh *maf čī žāf* 'ye shall not say', but *tu ču žuī* 'thou shalt not say'. Note also Y *mai* 'these', but *yāi*, *woi* 'those' (cf. §§ 206, sqq.).

38. The vowel systems of the various dialects of M appear to vary a great deal, and none of them is sufficiently well known to permit any analysis of them being made.

In Mm we find a long *ā* and a final *-iy* unknown to Y, and also in other cases *ī* appears to be a separate phoneme. The relevance of quantitative differences appears to be better established than in Y, and it is possible, with all due reservations, to construct the following chart of Mm vowels:

Short Vowels		Long Vowels	
<i>i</i>	<i>u, ʊ</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>ə</i>			
<i>e, ɛ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
( <i>āʔ</i> )			
<i>a</i>		<i>ā</i>	<i>ā, ā</i>

### Stress.

39. Word stress is weak, and to some extent dominated by sentence stress.

Thus, e.g.: Ysh *wulo* 'wife', but *yū wu'lō* 'one wife'; *pisto wo zinī'ef* 'she asked the daughters-in-law', but *zi'nī'ef pi'stō* 'the daughters-in-law asked'; *muz'durə kən* 'serve'; but *muzdu're yū'rum* 'I take service'.

Although they describe very closely related variants of M, Gauthiot and Zarubin differ considerably from each other as to the place of the accent—the Frenchman inclining to accentuate the last syllable—. My own notations, rightly or wrongly, often disagree



with those of both of my predecessors, and are not always consistent. Cf. §§ 162 sqq.

Thus, e.g.: G *ayus<sup>h</sup>k'a* 'finger'; *wyze<sup>h</sup>ga* 'frog'; *γāwa* 'cow'; *kā<sup>w</sup>ūya* 'pigeon'; *mayūsa* 'fly'; *namol'ya* 'salt'; *xšī'ra* 'milk', etc. But in some cases Y agrees, completely or partially, with G as against other forms of M. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *ag'min* 'honey'; *imo'yo* 'moon'; *i'xō* 'sister'; *iz'ma* 'fire-wood'; *kiri'o* 'hen'; *urzuγ*, *ur'zūγ* 'straight'. Also in words not recorded by G we often find that Y stresses a later syllable than M. Thus: *o'γuzo* 'walnut'; *i'li'r* 'belly'; *a'larsinē* 'threshold'.

In a few words Z and G are alone in stressing the final syllable: G, Z *amin'g'a*, etc. 'apple': Y *ā'muno*, Mm *'aming'o*, etc.; G, Z *stō'rəy* 'star': Y, M *'stārē*, etc.

### Groups of Consonants.

40. Through the loss of unstressed vowels of the first syllable and through borrowing, numerous groups of initial consonants have arisen in Y—M.

Thus we find, e.g.: *pč*-, *pk*-, *pr*-, *ptr*-, *ps*-, *pš*-, *fk<sup>w</sup>*-, *fx*-, *ft*-, *fš*-, *fš*-, *tf*-, *kr*-, *kγ*-, *kt*-, *xr*-, *xš*- (or *xšš*-), *čk*-, *čš*-, *čf*-, *čp*-, *tr*-, *sp*-, *sk*-, (*ʔ*)*st*-, *šp*-, (*ʔ*)*št*-, *br*-, *bγ*-, *vr*-, *gr*-, *dr*-, *dw*-, etc.

But after voiced sibilants, and usually also after voiced fricatives, svarabhakti vowels are developed. Thus, e.g.: *z<sup>h</sup>γ*-, *z<sup>h</sup>n*-, *z<sup>h</sup>v*-, *γ<sup>h</sup>n*-, etc.

In internal and final position yet other combinations (with decreasing aperture) have become possible through recent adjustments, e.g. groups beginning with *r*, *l*, nasals, *z* and *ž*, groups consisting of velar fricatives and a nasal, etc.

Through these developments the aspect of Y—M has departed considerably from that of general Ir. and of most other Pamir dialects. And it may perhaps be said that it has in some respects approached the phonetic aspect of the Kafir dialects.

## HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

### Consonants.

#### Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

41. Initial *k*- remains in *kōi* 'who', *ken*- 'to dig', *ken*- 'to do', *kap* *k*- 'fish', *kero* 'knife', *kirio* 'hen', etc. V. Voc. s.vv.

In a number of words we find, especially in Y, a palatalized *kʲ*. This development of initial *k*- is in accordance with the general tendency of Y—M towards palatalization, but it seems impossible to determine the exact conditions of the change. A similar change appears in Yazgh., e.g. in *k'an*- 'to dig', *k'ažabac* 'magpie', and also in Shgh.<sup>1</sup>

A certain number of the words in *kʲ*- are or may be, lw.s from *kʲ*-Prs. Thus, e.g.: *kyof*- 'to groan', *kyahrë* 'anger', *kʲelëu* 'key', etc. (v. Voc.), cf. also *Kʲi'lam* Kulum (in Nuristan). From M I have noted *k*- and *kʲ*- (but also Mti *čāliye* 'key'). Other Prs. lw.s have *k* in Y too, cf. *ka'būt* 'blue', etc. *Kʲ* might perhaps be assumed to belong to an earlier stratum of Prs. lw.s, but this is quite uncertain.

Nor is the origin of *kʲ* clear in all genuine Y—M words. In Yd. *kyo'gō* (čō) 'pear' *ky*- is developed regularly from *t*-,<sup>2</sup> and *kʲem* 'who' and *kʲei* 'house' may be derived from *\*kayam*, *\*kayay*.<sup>3</sup> But why *kʲemalyo* 'skull', *kʲifo* 'hump', *kʲunyo* 'magpie', while we find *k*- before *i* in *kirio* 'hen', *kinčika* 'girl', *kišča* 'plough', etc.?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Notes on Shughni, Voc. s. *K*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 46.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. reg. *gʲ* § 53.



42. I heard *q* in *qasam* 'oath', *qissa* 'tale', *qačio*, *kačio* 'scissors', *q* etc. But in several words of foreign origin I heard *k*- instead of the expected *q*-. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *kāk* 'dry', *kəlf* 'lock', *kīmat* 'price', *kurūt* 'thick milk'. To some extent this may be due to mis-hearing on my part, but there is probably a certain vacillation in the use of *q* according to the degree of education of the speaker, and in some words *k*- may actually have ousted the foreign sound. The same is the case in other Ir. dialects.

In *q'āy* 'bull' *q*- appears in a genuine Y word.

Regarding the prothetic *a*- in *a'kadē* 'thorn' cf. § 167.

43. Initial *t*- remains. V. Voc. s.vv. *tu* 'thou', *tuγ<sup>m</sup>* 'grain', *tīro* 'darkness', etc. Cf. also the encl. pron. 2 sg. *-t*, in secondary intervocalic position.

Z. gives *day*, obl. *daf* as facultative pl. forms of *yā* this. In this word *d*- is a weakened form of *t*- (prob. after early loss of *ai*-),<sup>1</sup> cf. Prs. *dā*, *daya* 'this'.

Initial *p*- remains. V. Voc. s.vv. *po* 'on', *pīo* 'rotten', *pādo* *p*- 'road', *palo* 'foot', *pīlf* 'ford', etc.

44. Initial *č* remains unchanged in a number of words. V. Voc. s.vv. *čam* 'eye', *čəšo* 'pin of a spindle', *čur<sup>m</sup>mō* 'three days ago', Y *čšir*,<sup>2</sup> M *čfūr* 'four', *ča'min* 'how much', *čarxo* 'falling stones' (lw?), *čapē* 'door-frame', *čū(v)*- 'to pick, choose', M *čkyūgo* 'urine', *čiy*- 'to freeze' < \**čāh*-, etc.

There is no certain instance of a genuine Y—M word retaining *č* before ancient *i*. *čirē* 'apricot', *Čitreyo* 'Chitral', *čirūy* 'lamp', and *če* 'what' are lw.s (or *če* < *čahya*?), while Yd. *činur<sup>y</sup>o* (M *cənur<sup>y</sup>o*, etc.) 'starling' is of unknown origin.

But we find *c*- before ancient *i* in *cē*, *ces*, *cə'min* 'what', etc., and in *cēb*- 'to pinch': Wkh. *čip*-. It is therefore possible that *či*- was differentiated into *ci*-, but the evidence is not strong. In Saka

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 208.

<sup>2</sup> With dissimilation *cšir*.

the development took a different turn,  $\check{c}$  becoming  $c$  except before  $i$ .<sup>1</sup>

The origin of *cigyerē* 'mushroom' and *cipō* 'to wink' is unknown, but these words may go back to forms with ancient  $\check{c}i$ . *cərox* 'spark' is common to most neighbouring dialects, *calan'durē* 'window' is borr. from Khow., and *c'raū* 'markhor' probably from Kafiri. In Y *c'ke'na* (= M *skən*)  $c$  is of secondary origin. The only word with  $c$  before ancient  $a$  is *caroyo* 'bustard', but also this word may be a loan-word.

At any rate there is no regular change of  $\check{c}$  into  $c$  in Y—M, as in most other Pamir dialects, Psht. etc.

If *'šti* 'something' goes back to  $*\check{c}ti < \check{c}it + ?$ , the contraction may be earlier than the change of  $\check{c}i > ci$ .

#### Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.

45. In the varieties of M described by Gauthiot, Zarubin, and the LSI, and also in Mm, postvocalic  $-k-$  results in  $g$ . In the rest of M territory and in Y it has weakened further to  $\gamma$ , thus coalescing with ancient  $-g-$ .<sup>2</sup> It will be noted that the preservation of  $-k-$  as a voiced occlusive shows the greater power of resistance of the velar as compared with the dental and the labial surd stops.<sup>3</sup>

Examples are:

- Y *av'yuš* 'embrace, lap': M, Z *yivguš*  $< *upa-kaša-?$   
 » *ləyan-*, *nəyān-* 'to throw away': Mm *liyād* (pret.)  $< *ni-kan-$ .  
 » *bruγus*, Mt *Priγus* 'sickle': Mm *Prēγus*  $< *drāti-kusa-$ .  
 » *moyuso*, Mt *maγasa* 'fly': Mm *mogusa*  $< *makasā-$ .  
 » *noγo* 'to bite': Mm *nəgō-*, Z *nigōw-*  $< *ni-kap-$  (?)  
 » *puyo* 'woman's hair': Mm *pugo*  $< *pūkā-$ .  
 » *riyo*, Mt *riya* 'vein': Mm *rūgo*  $< *rākā-$ .  
 » *səy<sup>4</sup>o*, Mg *səyiya* 'sand': Mm *sīg<sup>o</sup>*  $< *sikātā-$ .

<sup>1</sup> V. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 25. Cf. also the parallel development in Marathi.

<sup>2</sup> This change is later than that of  $γγ > g$ .

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the development in Sgl.



Y *ʹsuyiko*, M(g) *ʹsɨyikā* 'a tale': Mm *sūyo* < \**saukā*.

\* *vulʹyōr*, Mg *wurʹyār* 'shoulder-blade': Mm *wurʹgar*.

Note Mm *Yidg* 'a man from *Yidʹyūn* = Lutkuh': Y *Idəy*. Cf. also Y: *ʹstūy* 'long hair', *ʹyīyio* 'cow-house', *sūy* 'street', *vedāy* 'to mix' and *čir-yiščē* 'dried apricot' which probably all have ancient *-k*.<sup>1</sup> Y *muyō*, Mm (*stur*)*mugo* 'vetch' is probably borrowed from IA \**mugga*, and not derived from \**mūka*. The origin of *suy* 'leather-strap' is unknown.—Mm *šayur* 'hedgehog' is probably a lw. (cf. Sgl. *šaʹyor*).

Gauthiot, who generally has *g* for *-k*, writes *γ* in *pəya* 'hair', *mayūsa* 'fly', *namālʹya* 'salt'. This is probably due to mixture of dialects. Mm *pory* 'mouse': Z *porg*, G *pork* may be misheard.

Y—M *-γ/-g* has been absorbed into a preceding *ū* (*o*) in some words, but the exact conditions causing this loss are not apparent.

Examples are: M *zəʹvū*: Y *zəʹvīy* 'tongue' (< \**zəʹvūg* < *-āka*-); M *qīo*, *quwo(γ)*: Y *qīo* 'bull';<sup>2</sup> Y *cəʹaʹū*: M *cəroug/γ* 'markhor'; Y *žū(u)*: M *žūg* 'hide' (\**jauka*-?); Yd. *Gulyū* 'Gulugh'. But cf. also Y *hūy* 'money'.

In M *šiko* (Y *šiyiko*) *g* (or *γ*?) has probably been lost through palatalization.

In a large number of words with ancient suffix *-kā* we find Y—M *g/γ*. Thus, e.g.:

*imoyō*, *yumago* 'moon', *vriyo*, *vriyo* 'eyebrow', *wulya*, *wulʹga* 'kidney', *sīy* 'hare', *urzuγ*, *urzug* 'straight', *Idəy*, *Yidg*, etc. Cf. §§ 181, 188, 190.

Regarding the development of *-aka* into Y *-ē*, M *-īy*, cf. § 182. With *-ē/-īy* (e.g. in Y *yādē*, *-ə*, Mm *yōdīy*, *g yāndīy*, *ti -i*, (t) *-īy*, t *-iyy*, Z *yāʹdəy*, G *yāʹdəy* 'blind') cf. the parallel development into *-ai* in Psht.<sup>3</sup>

Postvocalic *k* appears in Y—M in the suffix *-(i)ko*; <sup>4</sup> in lw's (e.g.

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Poss. also M *wālu* 'feast': Y *wāly*?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zar. p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 189.

'kāka 'top of the head', *ka'kūk* 'cuckoo', M(g) *ēikrī* 'rhubarb';<sup>1</sup> through secondary contact with a voiceless sound (e.g. Yd. *γuskən*, M *γūs'kun* 'cow.dung');<sup>2</sup> and in comparatively recent compounds (*nikanā* 'to dig').

46. Intervocalic *-t-* results in Y—M *-y-*, or is lost. This development is common to many Ir. dialects, but only in Y—M and Wanetsi Psht. is it combined with the conservation of *-d-* in the shape of *-l-*. The two series may be illustrated thus:

*-t-* > *-d-* > *-ḍ-* > *-y-*  
*-d-* (*-ḍ-*) > *-l-* > *-l-*

The intermediate stage *-ḍ-* (< *-t-*) is perhaps only a theoretical one, *\*-d-* having been weakened direct to *-y-*, because no voiced dental fricative existed in the phonetic system of the language at the time when *\*-b-* (< *-p-*) became *\*-β-* (*-v-*).<sup>3</sup>

Examples of the treatment of intervocalic *-t-* are very numerous. Thus, e.g.:

Y *līi*, M *līy* 'gave'; *vī* 'was', *āyōi*, *ayay* 'came', and other preterites in postvocalic *-ta*.<sup>4</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Y *astio* 'abuse' (?); *abrūo* 'pear'; *γīyio* 'cowhouse'; *kovio* 'pigeon'; *k<sup>v</sup>ei* 'house'; *k<sup>v</sup>em* 'which'; *lūi* 'smoke'; *lruyus* 'sickle'; *mayoyo* 'mare'; M *nāmyo* 'felt'; Y *niya* 'sour milk'; *pīo* 'rotten'; *rū'i* 'guts'; *sū'i* 'slate'; *sēyio* 'sand'; *spī* 'white'; *səziyo* 'jujube-tree'; M *tūi* 'mulberry' (early lw. ?); Y *vrai* 'brother'; *wūi* 'wind'; *wu'lēyo* 'span'; *wīya* 'willow'; *xīryo* 'watermill'; *yeyā* 'bridge'; *zamai* 'son-in-law'; *ža-*, M *žāy-* 'to say'.

More doubtful cases are M *kaləy* 'soot' (*\*kata-dūta* ?); *wi'en* 'to untie' (*\*wi-tan* ?); *xeyo* 'wall' (*\*xatā* ?); *yūyo* 'one (of several)' (*\*yūtaka* ?); M *yūi* 'husband's brother' (*\*yāta* ?).

Cf. also the 3 sg. Pres. in *-ē*, *-i* < *-ayati*,<sup>4</sup> *Breyeyo* 'Munjan' < *\*Mrgatā* (?).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *kəkyaro* 'dagger', etc. with *k<sup>v</sup>* < *t*. V. § 62.

<sup>2</sup> And in Y *pəkorē* 'mouth' < *\*pat(i)karaka* ?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 235.

<sup>4</sup> § 231.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BSOS. VI, 442.



The Khovar place-names *Četrār* 'Chitral', *Šoyor* 'Shogot' and *Manūr* appear in Y as *Čitrēyo*, *Šoyoyo* and *Munio*, and have probably been borrowed at a time when Khov. had intervocalic -*ḍ* < -*t*-, not at a still earlier stage. Also Y *g<sup>er</sup>*-, Mj. *giyar*- 'to pass, to forgive' has probably been borrowed from Middle Prs. \**g<sup>er</sup>idār*,<sup>1</sup> and M *kaliyo*, Y *k<sup>er</sup>lēu* 'key' probably goes back to Prs. *kiliḍ*.

*yo* 'this' is derived through \**eyo* < \**aita*-, \**aiša*-. Reg. *day*, *daf* cf. above.<sup>2</sup> In *ti(y)*- 'to enter' < *ati-i* the *t* became initial at a very early age.<sup>3</sup>

The unstressed prefix *pati*- has lost its dental completely in *po*, *pusur*, *pčūrma*, etc.<sup>4</sup> In secondary contact with another *t* we find *t* < \**tt*: *potišč*- 'broke' < \**pati-trsta*-, *žūt* 'speaks' < \**jatati*. Cf. also *pəcog*- 'to break', if from \**pati-synda*-.

47. Through early syncope -*t*- was saved in *wisto*<sup>5</sup> 'twenty' and *mištor* 'mehtar' < \**masyatara*-.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly *t* remains in secondary contact with *r*, which became unvoiced and was lost.<sup>7</sup> Thus *zīt* 'yellow' < \**za<sup>h</sup>rt* < Av. *zairita*-,<sup>8</sup> *xūt* 'eats' < \**xwart* < *x<sup>h</sup>araiti*, and other 3 sg. pres. forms of roots in *r*.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly the syncope took place after the change of ancient *rt* > \**rd*, but before the sonorization of intervocalic *t*.

But secondary *nt* developed along with original *nt*. Thus: *ved* 'brought' < \**βant* < *upanīta*-, *vedō* 'to warm' < \**abi-han-tap*- (?), *wid* 'sees' (with occasional unvoicing of the final consonant *wīt*) < *vaēnaiti*, etc.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But note Madaglashti *gyāšt*, pret. of *guzār*- 'to leave behind', which shows the possibility of a local Prs. loss of -*ḍ*-.

<sup>2</sup> § 43.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. reg. *č* § 50.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. *paifar*, *paixō* cf. § 152.

<sup>5</sup> As in all Ir. languages except Oss., Psht. and Wanetsi.

<sup>6</sup> Scarcely *Boyušt* < \**Bayāšita*, cf. Index of Names, s.v.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Khov. *ʔt* < *rt*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Par. *zītō*.

<sup>9</sup> V. § 124. Cf. also Konow, *Saka Studies*, 23.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. § 115.

If *kədi* 'which' is derived from *\*kənd* < *\*kəmd* < *\*kadm°* < *\*katamaka*, *rīmd* 'pleased' and *ptrəmdo* 'seized' must be analogical forms.

48. Intervocalic *-p-* results in *-v-*, just as ancient *-b-*.

-p-

Thus: Y *av'yuš*, M *yivguš* 'embrace' < *\*upa-kaša* (?); *āvāz* 'to bring' < *upa-az*; *koviō*, etc. 'pigeon' < *\*kapauta*; M *nəliv*: *nuvōst* 'to lie down' < *nīpad*; M *nivīlo* 'bedding' < *\*nīpadyā*; *nuvāš* 'to comb' < *\*nī-pāšš*; *nuviš* 'to write' < *\*nī-pisya* (or. ancient lw.); *p<sup>ra</sup>-ra*, *prāv* 'to find, obtain' < *\*pari-ap*; *parvažin* 'round, knee-cap' < *\*pari-paḍanya*; *rov* 'to bark' < *\*rap*; *šuv* 'to suck': Wkh. *šap*; *tuvo* 'axe' < *\*tapara*; *va* particle denoting the acc. < *upa*; *v<sup>ro</sup>* 'after' < *aparəm*; *və'dō* 'to warm' < *\*upa* (?) *han-tap*; *vəzežo* 'pregnant' < *\*upa-zadyā*; *xəšovo* 'night' < *xšapā*; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi*; M *yūvərsən* 'upper door-sill' < *\*upari-sayana*.

This *v* has a tendency to lose its friction and be merged into *w*. Thus, e.g., in M *γīw* (Y *γī*) 'to spin', *zī'γīv*, *zəγīw* (Y *zī'γē*) 'to twist' < *\*(uz-)gaip*. And in the causatives we find *-āv-*, *-āw-* (*-ōv-*, *-ōw-*), but also *-ā-* (*-ō*).<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Y *īdou* 'fever', if < *\*hantāpa*; *yāuyo*, etc. 'water' < *\*āpakā*; Y *rūso*, M *raūso*, etc. 'fox' < *\*raupasā*; *woru* 'upper' < *\*u(v)ar* < *upara*, etc.

*nowīsa* 'nephew', *rikau* 'stirrup', Y *ketiu* 'book' are loan-words from Prs. forms in *v/w*.

In Y *fsidro* 'spring', *flō* = *v<sup>tō</sup>* 'thee', and probably in *fxa(w)* 'to shear', *v* < *upa* has become unvoiced before a voiceless consonant. *ag'mīn* etc. 'honey' has been assimilated from *\*angivīn*, etc.

Y *rufo* 'broom' (cf. Sgl. *rēf*); *šifōn* 'clay used for plastering'; *trif* 'to steal'; and prob. Zar. *tšōw* 'to put fire to' have got their *f*'s from early forms of the preterial stems: *\*ruft*, *šift* and *\*taft*.<sup>2</sup>

49. Y—M *-p-* is mainly found in lw.s: *pap* 'grandfather'; *pāpəs* 'lung'; *rūpāyo* 'rupie'; *čop* 'left', etc. Also *kap* 'fish' is possibly a lw.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 227.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Av. *huxšvafa*.



from Wkh. or a similar dialect. In *apīr*, *skapīr* 'before' the *p* may be due to recent composition. Possibly the prefix *p(ə)* in some cases goes back to *paiti*.

50. Intervocalic *-č-* results in *-ž-*. Thus:

-č-

*lūž-* 'to milk' < \**dauča-* (Par. *dūč-*, etc.); *lažino* 'pile of firewood' < \**ni-čayanā-*; *namiž-* 'winking' < \**ni-miča-* (v. s.v.); Y *nišāž-* (M *nišāš*) 'to show' < \**ni-časa-*; *paržin* 'enclosure for sheep' < \**pari-čayana-*; *pərwīž-* 'to sieve' < \**pari-waiča-*; *rūžen* 'smoke-hole' < *raočana-*; Y *šinjo*, M *šižno*, 'needle' < \**sučani-*; *tiž-* 'to cut' < \**tāčaya-*. Probably also *yoži-* 'to stumble', cf. Wkh. *gač-* 'to totter'; *kužke* etc. 'hair' < \**kauči-*; *patsžo* 'she-calf, one year old' < \**pati-tači* + *ā* (?); *Stužun* 'the Ustich Pass' < \**stuč(a)na-* (?). *čužiya* 'chicken' is prob. an early lw. from Badakhshi *čuča*.

After *n* we find *j* in *prenjio* 'young she-goat' and in *sabrān* 'neckrope of the bullock', possibly derived from the fem. suffix *-či*.

Words of uncertain derivation, in which *-ž-* may go back to either *č* or *j* are e.g.:<sup>1</sup> *križyo* 'dirty'; *mūž-* 'to move in the wind'; *noyūžē* 'snipe'; Y *pāži* (Zar. *pōwi*) 'all'; M, G. *rāžan* 'language'; *šiž*, *šuž* 'vulture' (Sgl. *šūž*); *šižo* 'cotton'; *tažia* 'heron'; *Gažan-dorē* 'n. of a Y clan'.

Y *mažoyo* 'female markhor' is a Khov. lw., and *kužo* 'crooked' and *sarf<sup>2</sup>rāže* 'ornaments' are probably borrowed from Prs. *kaž*, *kuž* and *sarf<sup>2</sup>rāzi*.

In *ža* 'from' (cf. *ž<sup>2</sup>kū* 'whence') < \**ha'ča* the *č* was sonorized before the loss of initial (*h*)*a*.<sup>2</sup> But in *tiž-*, *čiž-* 'to fall' (< \**ča'hō-* < \**ha'čahida-*), *čpāč* 'behind', and possibly in *čəyū-* 'to return' the loss of *ha-* occurred earlier, owing to the more complete absence of stress in polysyllabic words.<sup>3</sup>

51. *-č-*, *-č̣-* appear in a number of lws from Khov., e.g. in *bučayi* 'bud'; *hoč* 'boiled fat'; *pič* 'hot'; *m<sup>2</sup>reč* 'mulberry'; *pičili* 'n. of a plant'; *tačingē* 'Kafir boots'. With M *mačio*, Y *ma'čio* 'she-dog'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *və*, *pə* < *upa*.

<sup>3</sup> *špāč* prob. < *čpāč* (cf. *štāhān* 'below'), and not < \**čp<sup>0</sup>*.

cf. Badakhshi *mōča*. Y *vroč*- 'to fry' is perhaps derived from an imperative *vroč* < \**vroj* < \**vro/ənj*, cf. Khow. *venjē*.<sup>1</sup>

Altogether uncertain is the derivation of Yd. *āričo* 'strawberry', and also of *mrkič* 'carded wool'; Zar. *ničōd*- 'to moisten thoroughly'; *γaričōy*- 'to creak'; Y *γuričā*- 'to swallow'.

-c- occurs in Y in the lw.s *plac* 'cheese' (fr. Kati); *blacā*- 'to collect' (fr. Khow.); cf. also Y *macio* 'she-dog',<sup>2</sup> and *pelicio* 'fire-tree, torch' which may perhaps have borrowed from an early form of Khow. *pūič*. In Y *pēcag*, etc. 'to cut, cleave' c is probably derived from *t* + *s*.<sup>3</sup>

### Voiced Stops and Affricates.

52. The general E.Ir. tendency to change voiced stops into fricatives has prevailed completely in Y—M where we find, at least in initial and intervocalic position, *γ*, *l* (< *ḍ*), *v* (< *β*) and *ž*.

It is possible that this change first affected intervocalic voiced stops,<sup>4</sup> it being in fact the first stage of the Ir. weakening of intervocalic consonants. And it might perhaps be assumed that the initial *d*- in *dāl*- 'to give' is due to a preventive dissimilation dating from a time when *dadā*- should regularly have become \**ḍadā*-. But the preservation of *d*- in a single, or at the utmost a small number of words, is not very likely. The dissimilation has probably taken place at a later period, \**ḍadā* becoming again \**dadā*-. In *livden* 'fire-place' < \**ḍēγḍān* the dissimilation went the other way, just as in Psht. *lid* 'saw' < \**ḍid* < \**ḍiḍ* < \**ḍid* < \**ḍita*-, and in Sogd. *ḍwādas* 'twelve'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Yd.? Cf. BSOS, VIII, 664.

<sup>2</sup> V. above § 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 46.

<sup>4</sup> And initial ones in sandhi after a word ending in a vowel.

<sup>5</sup> I do not understand Benveniste's remark, Gramm. Sogd. II, 146. Oss. *duwadās*, *diwa* (not *duwā*!) can without difficulty be traced back to \**duwāḍasa* and correspond to Psht. *dwālas*, *duwālas*.



53. Initial *g-* appears as *γ-* in *γū* 'ear'; *γāl* 'thief'; *γādēm* 'wheat', etc.<sup>1</sup> Also *Gharmai* 'n. of a village in Yamgān' is probably of Munji origin. Most words in *γ-* are of genuine Y—M origin. But there are also some lw.s (e.g. *γūlak* 'pelletbow', *γar* 'adulterer', etc.) and a few words of unknown derivation (e.g. *γānigo*, etc. 'sneezing'; *γaza* 'a room'; *γuzγap* 'dirty'; *γus-* 'to feel troubled'). *g<sup>er</sup>-* 'to walk, pass' and *g<sup>ib</sup>-* 'lost' are early lw.s from Prs.
54. Ancient *-g-* results in *-γ-* in *ayoi* 'came'; <sup>2</sup> *āγ(u)d-* 'to dress' < *-g-* *\*ā-gunda-*; *o'γuzo* 'walnut' < *\*āgauzā-*; Y *a'zuzγo*, M *wuγzəga*, etc. 'frog' < *\*wazaga-kā-*; *brāyiko* 'sparrow' < *\*mγgi + kā-*; *frāiγo* 'yoke-rope' < *\*fra-yugā-*; Y *feryāmə*, etc. 'he-goat' < *\*fragāmaka-*; *mēy* 'cloud' < *maēya*; *nəγuy-* 'to hear' < *ni-gauš-*; *nuyōz-* 'to swallow' < *\*ni-gāz-*; *poruy* 'bolt of a door' < *\*pati-ruga-*; *yūy* 'yoke'. Probably also *Pərāyo* 'Nuristan', and *Pōruy* 'n. of a village in Sanglech' go back to forms in *-g-*, cf. Sgl. *Pa'rōy*, *Pōroy*.
- Words of uncertain origin are: *loyn-* 'to lie down'; *əγū(w)-* 'to return' (< *\*hač-a-gaub-??*); *loyoi* 'entered' (v. s.v. *ti-*), *vəlyo* 'above', and *zuy-* 'to pour out'.
- The development of *-g/-γ-* in *līvden* 'fireplace' < *δēyḏān* is quite irregular.
55. Y—M shares with Psht. and some dialects of Sogd. the change of *d* through *ḏ* into *l* in most positions. It is perhaps also characteristic of Saraghlāmi.<sup>3</sup> Sporadically we find *l* < *ḏ*, *d* also in Wkh., and in Prs., probably in words of E.Ir. origin. But cf. also Kurd. *Xulā* 'God' and Bakht. *leva* 'mad'. In the main the tendency appears to be centred in north-eastern Iran, perhaps especially in *Badaxšān*, *Balaxšān*. It is impossible to decide whether the *l* was developed separately in Y—M and in Psht.—Wanetsi, or if it belongs to a common ancestor of both dialect groups. Regarding the parallel change of *d* < *l* in Prasun cf. 29.

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.<sup>2</sup> And in other preterites in postvocalic *-ta-*, v. § 235.<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 27.

56. Initial *l* < *d* occurs in a large number of words. Thus, e.g.: *d-lūi* 'smoke'; *lad* 'tooth'; *luydo* 'daughter'; *līo* 'gave'; *los* 'ten'; *lūž* 'to milk', etc.<sup>1</sup>

Y Bidd. *lānawo* 'wise' must, if correct, be an early lw., but *last* 'hand' may be a genuine dialect form.<sup>2</sup>

*lyoxē* 'itching' is of unknown origin, and the *l* of Y *laxsərə* 'ice' (M *yaxsəriy*) is unexplained.

Regarding *dāl* 'to give' and *lūr* 'to flee' v. §§ 136, 137.

57. Y—M *l* from intervoc. *-d-* (and *-dy-*) occurs in: *olo* 'there' < *-d-* *avada*; *ilīr* 'belly' < *\*udarya*; *alarsinē* 'threshold' < *\*adara-sayanaka*; *alāno* 'pomegranate' < *hadanaē(patā)*; *aspəlan* 'stable' < *\*aspadāna*; *aveli* 'both' < *\*ubā-ducai* (?); *avlasto* 'sleeve' < *\*abi-dastā*; *awelān* 'bridle' < *\*aiwi-dāna*; *dāl* 'to give' < *dadā*; *γāl* 'thief' < *gada*; *kəla* 'when' < *kaḍa*; *la* 'with' < *hada*; *lūr* 'to flee' < *raod* (?); *molo* 'here' < *\*imadā*; *malen* 'half-full' < *madəma*; *Miliyeg* < *\*Madya*<sup>3</sup>; *məlān* 'waist' < *maidyāna*; *malax* 'locust' < *madaxa* (or lw. ?); *nəl* 'reed' < *\*nada*; *nāilō* 'to circumcise' < *\*niž-dab* (?); *nəliv*, etc. 'to lie down' < *ni-paidya*; *nəmalyo* 'salt' < *\*namaḍ(a)kā*; *palo* 'foot' < *pād*; *pol* 'footprint' < *paḍa*; *plār* 'to sell' < *\*parā-dā*; *pəlarz* 'to wrap' < *\*pati-darza*; *pālāstiko* 'armlet' < *\*pati-dasta*; *poruylan* 'hole for the door-bolt' < *\*dāna*; *šilē* 'neck' < *\*uṣadaka* (?); *šəlo* 'near': Soyd. *šə* (?); *wul* 'to throw' < *\*wid*; *wolo* 'irrigation channel' < *vaiḍi*; *wulo* 'wife' < *vaḍū*; *wulēyo* 'span' < *\*widāti*; *xul* 'perspiration' < *\*xəḍa*; *xulo* 'embroidered cap' < *xəḍa*; *zəyal* 'to run away' < *zəgad*.

Of uncertain or unknown etymology are: *fyēli* 'a lie'; *γūelo* 'yoke-rope'; *kulyā* 'a wild growing vegetable'; *pelicio* 'fir-tree';<sup>3</sup> *selxiko* 'sorrel'; *velico* 'lightning'; *vulγōr*, *wurgar* 'shoulder-blade'; *wulid* 'foot-print'; *wulai* 'open'; *waly* 'feast' (< *\*wadu-ka* ?); *wulyeyo*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Et. Voc. Psht., s.v. *lās*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 51.



'a small shrub'; *yelu* 'stack of grain'; *yila* 'a little'; M *yälko* (Y *yežko*) 'duck'.

*pa'lan* 'saddle' and *xäl* 'taste' are probably lw.s. Regarding *pələk* and *poləm* v. Voc. s.vv.

In *nič-* 'to sit down', *tič-*, *čič-* 'to fall', and possibly in *yēčio* 'nest', an early contraction has resulted in  $*h\delta > *θ > \check{x}$ .<sup>1</sup> Note also *uščeno* 'hay-stack'  $< *wāštānā < *wāstra-dānā$ .

Ancient  $\delta$  ( $d$ ) in secondary contact with  $d < t$  resulted in  $*\delta > l$ . Cf., e.g., *drl* 'he gives'  $< dadati$ .<sup>2</sup> Regarding  $t + t$  cf. § 47.

58.  $b > \beta$ ,  $v$  occurs e.g. in *vio* 'was'  $< būta$ ; *vad-* 'to tie'  $< band$ ; *b-ven* 'root, bottom'  $< buna$ ; *vän* 'long'  $< baršna$ , etc., cf. Voc. s.vv.

Words of uncertain origin are M, Z *vaynew* 'yield of grain'; *viščo* 'steep hillside'. It is possible that *vār*, *vēr* 'time' was borrowed from Prs. at a time when this language has still  $\beta$  from  $w$ . In that case *pūzē* 'falcon' may be a later lw., borrowed from Prs. *bāz*, while Y—M had as yet no initial  $b$ .

At present  $b$  is quite common, chiefly in lw.s, but also in native words with original  $*ham-b$ .

59. Examples of  $-v < -b$  are: *āver-* 'to bring'  $< ā-bar$ ; *avlānd* 'hem of a cloak'  $< *abi-dāmantā$ ; *avlasto* 'sleeve'  $< abidastā$ ; *avelān* 'bridle' (note  $w$ !)  $< *aiwidāna$ ; *yurv-* 'to seize'  $< *grb$ ; *drūv-* 'to dance'; Sogd. *δr'wβ*; *lō-* 'to graze'  $< *law < *dab$ ; *nov-* 'to rain', *niv* 'rain'  $< nab$ ; *nəvyo* 'beak'  $< *nabakā$ ; *nəvor* 'to take out'  $< niš-bar$ ; *riv* 'rhubarb'  $< *rāba$ .

In secondary contact with a voiceless sound we find  $f$ : *afseno* 'whet-stone'; *afsinjo* 'ladder'; *afsirnē* 'summer-wheat'  $< *abi$ . Cf. also the unvoicing of  $-v < *biš$  in the obl. pl. in *əf* and in *maf* 'you'.<sup>3</sup>

Note Yzb *aveli*, M, Z *avel'yi* 'both', but Y sh *abeli*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shgh. *neθ*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 231.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. §§ 199, 203.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 88.

In loan-words we often find *v* (or *w*) for Standard Prs. *-b-*, but in most cases the fricative probably belongs already to Bad. Prs. Examples are, e.g.: Y *ketiu* 'book'; (M *kētōb*); *dīwēūw* 'torch'; *dūōva* 'second watering'; Y *rikau* (M *rikib*) 'stirrup', etc. Note also *Parəuko* = Khw. *Parabek*, n. of a village in Lutkuh.

60. Initial *ž-* < *j-* occurs in *ž-* 'to speak' < \**jat-*; Y *žio* (M *jūiko*) *j-* 'bowstring' < *jyā-*; *žilo* 'hail' < \**jārdā-* (or lw. ?); *žīŋko*, *žin(k)a* 'woman' < *jaini-*. Y *žaro* 'poison' is probably a lw. from Khw. *žū(u)*, *žūg* 'leather' seems to go back to \**jauka-*, but, in spite of Skr. *gav-* (Kalasha *gao*) 'leather', it is perhaps doubtful whether it is permissible to assume a form with *e*-vowel of this root.

*žib-* 'to rise'; *žaf-* 'to chew'; *žīŋgo* 'n. of a bird' and *žunayē*, etc. 'boy' are of uncertain origin.

In Y—M, and also in Psht and Sgl., we find *ž-* < *j-*, but *c-* < *č-*.<sup>1</sup> Evidently the dentalization of palatals in these dialects is later than the loss of occlusion in voiced stops (and *j*). In Saka, on the other hand, *j-* results in *j-* (written *js* and *dž*),<sup>2</sup> in Wakhi probably in *j-*,<sup>3</sup> and in Shgh. etc. in *z-* < *j-*.<sup>4</sup> Also Ossetic probably has *j-*, but the examples are few.

The indigenous sound *ž-* and Prs. *j-* appear to be more or less interchangeable, and ought probably to be regarded as being variants of one and the same phoneme. Cf., e.g., s.vv. *jīgar*, *žiga'rēn*; *žahānd*; *jwāna*, *žūwān*; *žirabē*.

61. Examples of *ž-* are: *iž-* 'snake' < *aži-*; *mižāyiko* 'mist' < \**mižā-*; *mūž-* *j-* 'to move' < \**ham-auž-* (?); *užer-* 'to look' < \**awa-žaraya-*. *pižām-* 'to entrust' is possibly borrowed from Khw. *pežem-*, in its turn of Ir. origin.<sup>5</sup> The derivation of *raža* 'platform' is uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> In many, if not in all cases. Cf. above § 44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 25; *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, 11.

<sup>3</sup> In *jōi* 'bow-string'.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. in *zin-* 'to beat'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BSOS, VIII, 663. But notice Yr *pečām-* < \**pati-jām-*?



## Cerebrals.

62. In words of Ir. origin cerebral sounds have been developed from *rt* > Y *r* (M *r*); *rn* > Y *n* (M *ng<sup>v</sup>*); *s(t)r*, *rš* > *š*.

In lws from IA, especially from Khow., all types of cerebrals occur in Y. Thus, with *t*: *tok* 'wild pear' < Khow. *tōng*; *tfo* 'n. of a bird' < *tif*; *parəpaŋi* 'boil, sore' < Khow. *parpaŋ*; *čōtē* 'knuckle' < Khow. *čot*; *koŋinē* 'hammer' < Khow. *koŋin*; *kito'ri* 'dried mulberries' < Khow. *kiŋōri*; *būto* 'boot', *kūŋ* 'coat' < IA. < Eng. Cf. also *škūt* 'tasteless'; *ŋake* 'n. of a part of the plough'; *pāt* 'bent, crooked'; *piŋio* 'necklace'; *aŋilē* 'porridge'; *gaŋ* 'roof-beam'; *yoŋ* 'dumb'.<sup>1</sup> In *latrək* 'chive' < Khow. *laŋruk* the *t* has been dissimilated by the following *r*.—*d* occurs in *diŋanwo* 'cotton thread' < Khow. *diŋōnu*; *bādīr* 'sledge hammer' < Khow. *beŋir*, and *n* in *čuna* 'lime' < IA, *nd* in *bakiŋda*, *bakēnda* 'male calf'; *baŋdux* 'a kind of handmill'; *kuŋdūk* 'wooden bowl' < Khow.; *laŋdik*, *laŋdūk* 'fat'; *siŋd* 'two-storied house' < Khow.; *milkoŋdi* 'n. of a flower' < Khow. *milkoŋ*.

We find *ž* in *žāžiro* 'chain' < Khow. *jan'jer*; *Iž* 'n. of a village' < Khow., but also in *žoržo*, *žoržo* 'partridge', and *žimmež*, *žimež* 'to pull up weeds'. Reg. *č*, *r* and *l* v. §§ 79.

In a few, probably relatively old, lws from IA *k<sup>v</sup>* has been substituted for *t* in Y: *kyo'gō*, *čō'gō* 'wild pear' < Khow. *tōng* (cf. *tok* above); *kəkyaro* 'Kafir dagger' < IA. *kaŋaro*, etc.; Y *pok<sup>v</sup>* 'husks' < Khow. *phōŋ*; Y *kūk<sup>v</sup>a*, M *kuŋyo* 'short': Wkh. *kəŋ*, etc. < IA; *kāk<sup>v</sup>*, etc. 'to boil' < \**kaŋ* (?); *rešk* 'avalanche' < Khow. *reŋŋ*. *nd* probably became \*(*n*)*g<sup>v</sup>* in *mag<sup>v</sup>* 'to rub'.<sup>2</sup> Cf. the change of *rt* through \**d* to Sar. *g*, and the transition of a cerebral into a velar in the childish pronunciation of E. Norw. *onŋli* (written *ordentlig*) as *onkli*.

<sup>1</sup> With Ir. *γ* and IA *t* in the same word.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 121.

4 — Kulturforskning.

## Surd Fricatives.

63. Ancient *x*- remains in *xo'd* 'to laugh'; *xūyo* 'a spring'; *xoro x* 'donkey', etc.<sup>1</sup> *xof* 'scum, foam' and *xoš* 'to pull' have *x* < *k* in other Pamir dialects, too.<sup>2</sup> Reg. *x* < *xw* v. § 98.
64. Intervocalic *x*- remains unchanged. Thus: *max* 'we'; *max* 'peg' *x* < \**maixa*; *anaxno* 'nail' < \**ā-nāxanā*; *pīx* 'span': Sgl. *pēx*; *woco* 'root-fibre' < \**waixā*, etc. Reg. other words with suffix *-xā* v. § 98.

Words of uncertain origin are: *pərxāw* 'to eat with a spoon'; *fxaw* 'to shear'; *fxot* 'to seize'; *vox* 'to itch'; *poxyak* 'temples'; *fərx* 'to stool' < \**fra-rix* (?); *šūrox* 'to shy'.

*šāxo* 'branch' and *rōx* 'cheek' are borrr. from Prs., and *gox* 'hole'; *muxan* 'veranda'; *tux* 'steam'; *braxā* 'to knock'; *krox* 'scab'; *nax* 'floor'; *o'rox* 'spark' are borrowed from Khow., or resemble Khow. forms.

In sandhi we find a sonorization of *x* in *Y vo yoi* < *vo xoi* 'own'.

65. Characteristic of Y—M is the palatalization of *θ* into *š*, a sound *θ* which is probably also designed by Saka *th̥h* in *hath̥ha* 'true' < \**hadya*.<sup>3</sup> In initial, antevocalic position the only example of *š* are *šūmānē* 'male ibex', a word of uncertain etymology, and the place-name *Šuli* 'T(h)ili'.
66. Postvocalic *θ* occurs in *yū'reš* 'knot' < \**graθa*; *miš* 'day' < \**māθya*; *mōšē* 'stick' < \**māθaka*; *pīš* 'arrow' < \**pāθa*; M *pašəy* 'wide' < \**paθaka*; *parvašin* 'knee-cap' < \**pari-paθanya*; *pešiko* 'snare' < \**pāθyā + iko* (?). It is uncertain whether *pəzeš* 'young male sheep', *vəzāšo* 'womb', and *zāško* 'child-bearing' contain ancient *-zaθa* or \**zaθya*.<sup>4</sup>

Reg. *niš* 'to sit down', *t/čiš* 'to fall', and *yēšio* 'nest' < \**nihid*, *hača-hid*, *ā-hadya*, with *hδ* > *θ*, v. § 57.

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Reg. *xu'gor* 'sword' v. BSOS, VIII, 668.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Anc. Prs. *hašiya*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 155.



The derivation of *yežio* 'handmill' and of *pčič-* 'to break' is uncertain. *pižoyo*, *pižyo* 'saliva' (< \**pðu-*?) shows the affinity between *ž* and *š*.

*yoh* 'excrements'<sup>1</sup> is probably borrowed from some other dialect. *ləmī-*, pret. of *lmōn-* 'to rub' is scarcely the regular phonetic outcome of \**nimađita-*, from which we should expect \**lməži-*, but an analogical formation.

67. Also initial *f-* is of rare occurrence. Examples are: *fīa* 'wooden spade'; *fār-* 'to catch': Prs. *fāridan* 'to want'; *f'sko* 'nose': Sgl. *fusek*; *fiz* 'breast': Wkh. *pūz*.

*fāru* 'mill-broom' is dissimilated from \**frāruv*. *fusfesiya* 'small locust' looks like an onomatopoeical formation, and *fagyikə* 'song' is of uncertain derivation.

68. Intervocalic *-f-* remains in: *kʷifo* 'hump' < \**kaufā-*; *nif* 'navel'; *-f-xof* 'scum'; *wāf-* 'to weave'; *kʷof-* 'to groan': Prs. *kafidan* 'to crack'; *puf-* 'to blow'; *xof-* 'to cough'; *təfōv-* 'to put fire to' < \**tafya-* (?), etc.

Cf. also *vrōf-* 'to fly'; *žof-* 'to chew'; *jōf-* 'to send, command'. In *šift-* 'to plaster', etc. the *f* is of secondary origin, cf. § 228.

Other words with *-f-* are: *paifar* 'steep hillside'; *sofo* 'earthen jar'; *zifkyän* 'rolling pin' (*v* + *k*?); *šafšiyän* 'armpit'; *Frastufi* 'n. of a lake'; *šefloč* 'hoof'.

#### Sibilants.

69. Ir. *s-* remains in *sayo* 'shade'; *sīy* 'hare'; *sāl* 'year' (lw. ?); *s-šēyi'o* 'sand'; *surv* 'hole', etc.<sup>2</sup>

A number of words in *s-* are of uncertain etymology. Thus, e.g.: *səbrīm* 'boiled fat'; *sofo* 'earthen jar'; *suγ* 'strap'; *selxiko* 'sorrel'; *suniko* 'wooden shovel'; *sīniya* 'sole'; *sāro* 'below'; *sosē* 'heap of sheaves'; *sasto* 'hillside'; *sizalyo* 'tarantula'.

Reg. *s-* < *š-* in *šinjo* cf. § 135.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *γumino* 'anus'.

<sup>2</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

70. Also *-s* remains unchanged. E.g.: *as* 'to come' < \**ā-isa*; *is*, *-s* *yīs* 'to carry' < *yās*; *yīs* 'thread made of goat's hair' < *gaēsa*; *yuskən* 'cow-dung' < \**gau-sakana*; *kōs* 'to search for' < *kaš* (?); *los* '10' < *dasa*; *lēso* 'oats': Sgl. *dəsīn*; *nusiγ* 'the shady side of a valley' < \**nīsāya*; *pusur* 'head' < \**pātisārah* (?); *ros* 'to arrive' (lw. ?); *rūso* 'fox' < \**raupasū*; *wos* 'now, then': Psht. (*w*)*ōs*, etc.

Of uncertain origin are: *loso* 'rope' (Prs. *dasa* 'fringe' ?); *ces* 'what'; *γus* 'to worry'; *kuso* 'maize-stalk'; *sosē*, *sors* 'heap of sheaves'; *wosa* 'wide', etc.

In *nezγo*, *niγzo* 'mucus of the nose' *s* has been sonorized before *γ*. *Y karyəz* (M *kargas*) 'a kind of eagle' corresponds to Prs. *kargas*, but *z* appears in other dialects, too (v. Voc.). Cf. also *yuwiz* 'double bridle': Khw. *iwis* (with *-s* < *-z* ?); *bayaz* 'bellowing': Sgl. *bayas*; *ramūz* M. LSL 'deer': Psht. *rāmūsai*. It is impossible to determine the special causes of the sonorization of *s* in these words.

71. Initial *z* remains. Thus. e.g.; *zīk* 'knee' < *zānuka*; *zīl* 'heart' *z* < \**zγdyā*; *zamai* 'son-in-law' < *zāmātar*; *zōmbā* 'jaw' < \**zambā*; *zoyno* 'chin' < \**zanaxā*; *zəmgirē* 'lizard' < *zamarə-guz* (or lw. ?); *zīt* 'yellow' < *zairitā*; *zaxmo* 'field' < \**zamaxā*; *zūčko* 'child-bearing' < \**zaḡdā* + *ko*; *zīy* 'to bear' < *zaya*.

*zāyo* 'crow' is probably a lw. from Prs., and *zōm* 'to yawn' from Khw.<sup>1</sup> Reg. last 'hand' < \**ḡasta* < *zasta*, cf. Et. Voc. Psht. s.v. *lās*.

72. Words with intervocalic *-z-* are too numerous to be given in full *-z-* here. Examples are: *a'vāz* 'to bring' < *upa-az*; *iziko* 'yester-eve'; *azīto* 'barberry' < \**ā-zaritā*; *azuzγo*, *wuyzəga* 'frog' < *vazayā* + *kā*; *diz* 'to bury' < \**han-daiz*; *lizo* 'fort': Prs. *diz*; *nuγōz* 'to swallow'; Wanetsi *γōz* 'to drink'; *miz* 'to urinate' < *maēz*; *ne'riz* 'to lick' < *ni-raiz*; *pəzežr* 'male sheep, 1—2 y. old' < \**pati-zaḡyaka*; *vuza* 'he-goat' < *buzā*; *vəzb* 'to tighten' < \**abi-zamb*; *vīzγa* 'arm above elbow' < *bāzu* + *ka*; *vəzān* 'to know' < \**upa(?)zan*; *vəzāžo* 'pregnant' < \**upa-zaḡdā*; *wuzā* 'to be tired' < \**wi-zāya*; *wuziā(w)*.

<sup>1</sup> BSOS. VIII, 662.



'to extinguish' < \*uz-aya- (caus.); *wuzîr* 'yesterday' < *uzayara*; *ẓirizen* 'the day before yesterday' < \*ðrita-azana; *zo* 'I' < *azəm*.

Of uncertain origin are: *γaza* 'room'; *niaskē*, *niāzγīla* 'yawn'; *sizalyo* 'tarantula'; *wizinga* M Z cotton thread. Reg. *pūzē* 'falcon' cf. § 58. Reg. the suffix -γuz v. § 193.

73. In the following words Y—M *š*- corresponds to Av. *š*- (< \*qy-, *š*- \*ks-), or to *š*- of other Ir. dialects: *šūi* 'went, became' < *šuta*; *šam*- 'to drink' < *šam*-; *šifē(ik)o* 'waterfall': Prs. *šiftan* 'to trickle'; *šifōn* 'clay for plastering', *šift*- 'to plaster': Bal. *šēfay* 'rod for applying collyrium', etc. (but v. s.v.); *šām* 'ripe': Bal. *šam* 'moist'(?); *šuv*- 'to suck': Wkh. *šap*-; *šē* 'vulture': Sgl. *šūž*. Cf. also *šilē* 'neck': Av. *ušadā* (?).

A number of words with *š*- are lw.s, or of unknown origin.<sup>1</sup>

74. In E.Ir., and among W.Ir. languages in Kurdish, there is a *š*- tendency to sonorize intervocalic *š*, and the resulting \**š̌* is subject to further changes. There is evidently some connection between this development and the sonorization of intervocalic surd stops. We find that Sogd., Yaghn. and Wkh., which preserve intervocalic tenues, do also retain *š*- as an unvoiced sound.<sup>2</sup> But the problem remains why Ir. *š* was more exposed to assimilation than *s*-, while in European languages the opposite seems to be the case.<sup>3</sup> Probably the back articulation of Ir. *š*- weakened its resistance against the influence of the surrounding vowels. The resulting *š̌* has been preserved in earlier Saka, in S.Psht. and in Shgh. (*š̌*). But it was an unstable sound, which in N.Psht. changed into *g* (Ghilzai also *γ*), in Roshani into *u*, and in Sgl. and Sar. into *l*, *l*. In later Saka and in Par. it tends to disappear completely, while in Orm. and Y—M it developed probably through a sound resembling the

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Oss. retains unvoiced *š*- < *š*-, but sonorizes *t*- > *d*-, etc., thus developing on parallel lines with most W.Ir. dialects in this respect.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chuwash (Turkish) *š*- > *l*-, v. Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique*, 206<sup>1</sup>.

'cerebral *y*' of Burushaski,<sup>1</sup> into *y*, which has in many cases disappeared in Y—M. It may be noted that \**y* < *š* has no palatalizing effect on the preceding vowel, cf. *ābrūo* 'pear' < \**hamraulā*, but *špūo* 'louse' < *spiš*. The intermediate stage *ž* has been preserved through early metathesis in *yaržo* 'beard' < \**raižā* (< \**raišā*), from which also Psht. \**žairā* > *žira*.

Examples of *y*, *o* < -*š*- are: *ābūya* 'moraine': Ishk. *ambol* < \**hampiša(ka-)*(?); *friyo* 'flea' < \**frušikā*; *fərmō* 'to forget' < \**framuš-* (v. Voc. s.v.); *γū(i)*, etc. (Mm *γūl*?)<sup>2</sup> 'ear' < *gaoša*; *mūo*, *mīyo*, etc. 'sheep' < Av. *maēši-*; *ni-* 'to go out' < \**niš-i*; *nəyuy-* 'to hear' (G. *nuyūš-?*) < \**ni-gauš*; *niāst* (*nič*) 'sat down' < \**ni-šasta-* (or \**ni-hasta-?*); *nāilā*, *nīyalōv* 'to make to sit down' < *ni-šādāya*; *nəro'u*, *n'rowīy* 'black' < \**an-arušaka-*(?); *spūo*, *spuyā*<sup>3</sup> 'louse' < *spiš*; *vri-* 'to break' < \**braiš*; *yo* 'that' < *aēša*; *ywv* 'arrow' < *išu* + *ka*; *yūga* 'ear of wheat' < \**aušaka*; *zriŋo* 'daughter-in-law' < \**snušā*.

Words of more uncertain or unknown origin are: *gūy-* 'to knead' (v. Voc.); *γəniŋo*, *xniŋa* 'sneezing' < \**x(š)niša-*; *šūiko* 'collar-bone': Bal. *srōš* 'elbow'(?); *kiō* 'labour, ploughing'; *qīāy*, etc. 'bull'.

*uxšo*, etc. '6' is probably derived from *xšvaš*, not from \**xšwaša*,<sup>4</sup> note the different accent in *avdo*, *aščo* in some forms of Y.

Reg. *šilē* (< *ušaḏā*), cf. §§ 164, 109.

75. In a great number of words we find Y—M -*š*-. Most of these words are borrowed from Prs. or Khow., others contain an original group *sr* (> *š*, *s*).

But in some cases -*š*- appears to go back to Ir. \*-*šš*- (< *ks*, *qy*), which in Av. is written *š*, thus coalescing with *š* < *s* (after *i*, *u*, *r*).

Thus *diš* 'to think' could be derived from \**han-dišša*- (< \**dik-s(k)e-*), but \**han-disya-* is also possible; *nuvāš* 'to comb' points to \**ni-pašša*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lorimer, Bur. Grammar, 6.

<sup>2</sup> G.'s *γūš* can scarcely be a correct dialect form.

<sup>3</sup> Y *sh*, r *špūo* with early assimilation of *spiš* > \**špiš*??

<sup>4</sup> Gauthiot, JA. 1916, 244.



< \**ni-pekse-*, and *nišāž-*, *ni)āš-* 'to show' to \**ni-čašša-*, Av. *čaš-*, *nuviš-* 'to write' is probably a lw.; but *koša* 'valley' can scarcely be borrowed from Prs. *kaš*, and ought to be derived from \**kaššaka-* (v. Voc. s.v.). Also *avyuš*, *yivguš* 'lap' possibly contains \**kašša-*. Cf. also *firšōn-* 'to shake' < \**fra-ššan-*.

Words which possibly contain ancient *šš* < *qy* are: *frušē* 'muzzle':<sup>1</sup> Av. *fraša-*; *pšāi* 'ripe' < \**paššaka-* < \**pačya-*. Also *xašəy* 'friend'; *kaš* 'piebald' (Shgh. *čūž*, etc.); *yašē* 'good' (Prs. *gaš*) may have original *-šš-*, but the origin of these words is unknown. Nor is it possible to determine the original form of *γūš* 'meat'. Regarding *čes* 'not', which Gauthiot would connect with Av. *aēša*, v. Voc. s.v.

Other words of unknown origin containing *-š-* are: *nišōk* 'jaw'; *kurušo* 'Angelica'; *ašasto* 'a kind of small berries'; *ušun-* 'to neigh'. In some of these words *š* may be incorrect for *š̌*.

#### Nasals.

76. Initial and intervocalic nasals remain, except in the cases when *n* is dissimilated into *l* (v. § 136).<sup>2</sup>

Examples of *n-* are: *no* 'not'; *nōu* '9'; *nəb* 'dew'; *nif* 'navel', *n-* etc. *anaxno* 'nail' has a 'prothetic' *a-*. The nature of the relation between *dūr* 'to-day' and Sgl. *nēr*, etc. is unknown.

Intervocalic *-n-* remains in *ken-* 'to do', 'to dig'; *mən* 'my'; *-n-γunia* 'hair'; *aspəlan* 'stable'; *nānoyo* 'grain' < \**dānakā-*; *stīnyo* 'supine' < \**ustānakā-*; *wīn-* 'to see', etc. Note M *stun(ek)* 'throat': Psht. *stūnai*, but Y \**stūya* with apparent loss of *n*.

Initial *m-* in: *mā-* 'to measure'; *moyuso* 'fly'; *məlān* 'waist'; *mər-* *m-* 'to die', etc.

Intervocalic *-m-* occurs in *frayāmə*, etc. 'he-goat'; *lāmo* 'village'; *-mlando* 'hem'; *lōmago* 'snare'; *nəmālyo* 'salt'; *rīm-* 'to please'; *sām* 'yoke-peg'; *šam-* 'to drink'; *zamai* 'son-in-law', and also in *mo* 'this' < *ima-*; *max* 'we' < *a(h)māxam*.

<sup>1</sup> From which Khov. *froš*.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. *mr-* > *br-*, y. § 120.

In *ind* 'so much' (\**imanta-*); *avlānd* 'hem of a cloak' (\**abidāmāntā-?*); *frayingo* 'she-goat' (cf. *frayāmə*) *m* has been subject to assimilation. The etymology of *s'mtə* 'blunt' is unknown.

### Liquids.

77. Initial *r* remains. E.g.: *rūi* 'bowels'; *rīyo* 'vein'; *rūy<sup>n</sup>* 'clarified butter'; *rok* 'colour', etc.

If *rin'g'a* 'slippery' is derived from \**rixšnaka-* or a similar form, *r-* corresponds to *l-* in Prs. *lašn*. Note also *ne-riz-* 'to lick'. *lār* 'to flee' is transposed from \**rūl*.<sup>1</sup>

The *r-* in Y *rīspən* 'iron' (M *yuspen*) is unexplained.

Intervocalic *-r-* occurs in *imār-* 'to count'; *yar* 'stone'; *yary* *-r-* 'heavy' < *gouru-*; *lār-* 'to have'; *āvər-* 'to bring'; *čšir*, *čfūr* '4'; *parguščē* 'finger-ring', etc.

Reg. *t* < *rt* in secondary contact cf. § 125. In *fro-* 'to melt', and possibly in *fərx-* 'to stool', *-r-* has been lost through dissimilation (< \**fra-ri*, \**fra-riz-*).

*da* 'in, into' may be a lw. from Bad. Prs., but Y—M loss of *-r* in an unstressed word is equally possible.

*zūl* 'difficult' may have got its *l* from *zulāwar* < *zōrāwar*.

78. Y—M *l-* is found chiefly in words beginning with ancient *d-*<sup>2</sup> *l-* and in lw.s. There are a few words of unknown origin, such as: *līngōn* 'handmill'; *langau* 'bucket'; and we find an unexplained prothetic *l-* in Y *laxsərə* 'ice' (M *yaxsəriy*), and, according to Gauthiot, in *lišk<sup>n</sup>ūn* 'female breast' (M *yīšk<sup>n</sup>una*, Y *iščīn*, etc.). But there is no instance of IE *l* > Y—M *l*.

79. Y *l* renders Kati *r'* in the lw. *plac* 'cheese'. But we usually find Y *r* (or the variant *l*) for Khaw. *l* (*ḍ*). Thus, e.g.: *blacā-* 'to collect'; *bamboḷi* 'beard of a maize cob'; *brok*, *blok* 'knuckle'; *keṛē* 'shield'; *kāriak* 'yoke-peg'; *kṛinsar* 'walking stick'; *kalakəri* 'wrinkles';

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 137.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 56.



*krabərē* 'lamb's wool'. Cf. also *loh-rīn* 'double': Khov. *jurin*; *pa'koro* (*pa'kōl*) 'woollen cap'; *krox* 'scab, incrustation'; *luū, lū* 'pine-marten' < Khov.??

## Glottal.

80. Initial *h-* has been dropped, as in most E.Ir. dialects.

*h-*

Thus, e.g. in *avdo* '7'; *ušk* 'dry'; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi-*; probably also in *idou* 'fever' < *\*han-tāpa* (?); *ābrūo* 'pear' < *\*hamrautā*; *ābūya* 'moraine' < *\*hampišaka*; *ida* 'slave' < *\*hantaka* (?); *yürzun* 'millet' < *\*(h)ärzana* (?); Y *Idəγ*, M *Yidg* < *\*Hinduka*.

With loss of the initial vowel we find: *ža* 'from' < *hača*; *čiš-* 'to fall' < *\*hača-hida*; *baxš-* 'to divide' < *\*ham-baxš-* (or. lw.); *diz-* 'to bury' < *\*han-daiž-* (and some other verbs in *d-*); *gūy-* 'to knead' < *\*han-gauš-* (?), cf. *āgunḡ* 'dough'.

*h-* has been dropped also in some lw.s. Thus: *avda*, *abda* '17'; *amsāyo* 'neighbour'; *ālq* 'throat'. But note also *(h)oč* 'melted fat' (from Khov.); *hasa'ine*, *osa'inē* 'handkerchief' (from Khov.), *hazār*, *azōr* '1000', etc.

The result of this recent introduction of *h-* has been that, just as in some Psht. dialects, a 'Cockney' *h-* has been introduced in some words where it is devoid of any etymological signification. In fact Yd. *h-* is probably phonologically insignificant. Cf. e.g. *hūy* 'money'; *(h)adamə* 'limb'; *hadē* 'slave'; *hənadiy* 'out of breath'; *(h)ory* 'work'; *harko* 'back'; *huro*, *wuro* 'there'.

Intervocalic *-h-* likewise is lost: *sīy* 'hare' < *\*sahaka*; *mux* 'month' *-h-* < *\*māhaxa*; *wāro* 'summer' < *\*wāhrtā*; *xā-* 'to thresh' < *\*xah-*; *ino* 'blood' < *\*vohuni*; *hūy* 'price' < *\*wahāka* (or lw.?).

Reg.  $h + \delta > \vartheta > \dot{x}$ , v. § 57.

## Semivowels.

81. Antevocalic *w-* is preserved as a semivowel in a great number of words. Thus, e.g.: *wūi* 'wind'; *wāf-* 'to weave'; *wofšio* 'wasp'; *wulya* 'kidney'; *win-* 'to see', etc.

Before *u* there is a sporadic loss of *w-*, frequently in Y.—especially in Yg, r and B—more seldom in M. We find, however, that forms with and without *w-* may be used by the same person, and it looks as if *w-* had no phonological significance before *u*.<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. *wulai*, *wulo*, *wurw-*, *wurž*, *wuž*, (*w*)*ušiyo*, *wuzā-*, *uščeno*. In *wūi*, *wulya*, *wulēyo* and *wury* I always heard *w-*. Reg. *hūy* < (*w*)*ūy*, cf. Voc. s.v.

*wisto* '20', *wul-* 'to throw', *wulēyo* 'span', etc., prove that *w-* was preserved before original *i*. *yiston* 'felt' can therefore, even apart from other reasons, scarcely be derived from *\*wi-star(a)na-*. (*y*)*lino* 'blood' presents special problems in Y—M, just as in most other Ir. dialects.

*vžān-*, *v/wžōn-* 'to know' < *\*wi-zan-* (? v. Voc.) possibly has *vž-* < *wž-*.

82. Initial *y-* remains in *yōu* 'grain'; *yūy* 'yoke'; *yēyān* 'liver'; *yuxs-* *y* 'to learn'. Cf. also *yūi* 'husband's brother' < *\*yāta-* (?); *yečio* 'handmill' < *\*yaθra-* (?); *yūy(-yāmo)* 'three days hence' < *\*yuta-* (?). But the function of *y-* has changed its character through the development of prothetic *y-*.

*yāmo* 'the day after to-morrow' and *yōba* 'dance', etc. are of unknown origin. Note *axlən* besides *yaxlən* 'cold'.<sup>2</sup>

Prothetic *w-* and *y-*.

83. Common to the Pamir dialects is the tendency, to some extent Proth. *w-* also shared by Psht., towards the development of *w-* or *y-* before initial vowels. This tendency, which betrays a weakness of phono-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below § 83.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. *laxsərsə* 'ice' v. § 78.



logical, if not of a phonetic nature of original *w*- and *y*-,<sup>1</sup> had not been fully developed before the period of complete separation between the various dialects. Therefore the results of the common tendency vary from dialect to dialect, and also within Y—M itself.

Thus we find, e.g.: Y *yasto* 'bone'; *yürzən* 'millet'; *yārē* 'flour'; *yašk* 'tear'; Wkh. *yašč*, *yīrzn*, (*yūm*), *yašk*, but Sgl. *wastuk*, *wuždān*, *wuļōk*, *āšik*.

Prothetic *w*- is rare in Y—M. It occurs before *u*, and in a few words only, chiefly in M:

*wurzey* Mm, Z, G 'straight': (*h*)*urzey*, Mm, g, Y.

*wušk* Mm, g, Z, G, Ysh, r 'dry': *ušk* Yzh, g, B.

*wušk'* M(g) Z 'to rise'.

*wuzir* Mm, etc. Z, Yzh, etc. 'yestereve': *uzir* B.

*wušōu* Mg, (g), Z 'to call': *uša(w)* Mm, G, Y.

But the unstressed initials in *ustušč* 'to jump', *usxūbun* 'sleepless', etc. are always without *w*.

84. Prothetic *y*- plays a more important part in Y—M than *w*-, Proth. *y*- probably owing to the general palatalizing drift of this dialect-group.<sup>2</sup> It is universal before accentuated *ä*-. Thus, e.g.: *yādē* 'blind' < *anda*-(*ka*-); *yasto* 'bone' < *ast*-; *yārmē* 'arm above elbow' < *arēmō*°; *yāšk* 'tear' < \**asruka*-; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi*-; *yān*- 'to grind' < \**arna*-; *yāuyo* 'water' < \**āpakā*-; *yūr* 'fire' < \**ārta*-; *yürzun* 'millet' < \*(*h*)*ärzana*-; M *yüspən* 'iron' < \**āspana*-, etc. Before ancient *ai*, *au* and *ɤ*: *yeya* 'bridge' < *haētu*-; *yūya* 'ear of corn' < \**aušaka*-; *yars* 'bear' < *arəša*-.

In *yū* < *ā*-, *au*- the prothesis must have taken place before the vowel had reached the stage *ū*. *yüversən* 'upper door-sill' is perhaps derived from \**āupari*- not from *upari*-.

*yurv* 'mouth' and *yūmenä* 'n. of a plant' are of unknown derivation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the somewhat similar phenomena in the Slavonic languages. V. e.g. Meillet, *Le Slave commun*<sup>2</sup>, § 40.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gauthiot *MSL*, XIX, 140.

The prothesis does not occur in an unaccented syllable. Thus we find *yēršio* 'barley', but *aršə'min* 'barley bread'; and similarly *yūrzun* 'millet', but *arə'min*; *yasp* 'horse', but *aspəlan*.<sup>1</sup> Other examples are: *ā'būya* 'moraine'; *ā'brūo* 'pear'; *a'gıdro* 'grape'; *agı'min* 'honey'; *o'guščo* 'finger'; *o'yuzo* 'walnut', *o'yoı* 'came', etc. Cf. also *av'dō* '7', *aš'čō* '8' (Skr. *saptā*, *aṣṭāu*?).

Y *afseno*, M *yufse'no*, *fšēune* 'whetstone' is a special and difficult case.

While Y on the whole has an aversion to initial *yi-*, this combination is quite frequent in M, especially in Mm and G, and in some words M *yu-*, with differentiation, corresponds to Y *i-*, irrespective of the original nature of the initial.

Thus, with ancient (*h*)*i-*: Y *imar*: M *yumar* 'to count' (but also B *yūmra* < *hišmar*; Y, Mg, Z *izə*: Mm, ti *yijya* 'goat skin bag' < *\*izyaka*; Y, Mti *Idəy*, etc.: Mm *Yidg* 'member of the Yd. speaking tribe'. A differentiation may have taken place in M *yī-*. In *Yed'gā*—with *e* through umlaut?—*y-* has been retained in Y.

With ancient *u-*: Y, Mt, g *ilir*: Mm *yilar*, etc. 'belly' < *\*udarya*; Y, Mt *imoyo*: Mm *yumago* < *\*uxšmah* + *kā*.

With ancient *a-*: *iž*: *yīž* 'snake' < *aži*; *dir*, *idūr*: *yudūr* 'other' < *\*antūra*; *ida*: *yuda* 'slave' < *\*han-taka*. Note *Yucim*: *Iwim* 'n. of a village in Munjan'; *yuwiz* 'double bridle' (Y!): Khw. *iwīs*.

Cf. also s.vv. *imoyō*, *ino*, *iryojo*, *is-*, *iščiy*, *iščin*, *ixo*, *ixiko*, *ixčogo*, *izma*, *Iydek*, and *ken-* (*iken*: *yiken*).

85. Intervocalic *-w-* has been retained in: *γawo* (and *yawo*) 'cow'; *-w-* *nawoyo* 'new'; *nawoyo* 'mill-race'; *pərwīž-* 'to sieve'; *təw-* 'to stir' < *\*tāwaya-* (?); *ušā(w)-* 'to call' < *\*us-srāwaya-*; with loss of initial vowel in *wo* 'that' < *awa-*; *wāst-* 'to place' < *\*awa-stā-*; cf. also *huro*, *wūro* 'there' < *awaθra* (in unstressed position).

Final *-w-* becomes vocalized, or forms part of a diphthong in *liu* 'bad'; *yōu* 'grain'; *nōu* '9'.

<sup>1</sup> With recent change of accent. Cf. *āyd-* 'to dress' < *\*ā'und-*.



In *lərovə* 'illness', *lurvə* 'ill' < \**a-druwaka-*; *ləro'vo*, *lərawä* 'reaping': Prs. *dirau*; *γurvo*, *γərwa* 'throat'; *γavo*, *γawo* 'cow' the semivowel shows a tendency to change into a fricative. This explains the *f* of the enclitic pron. 2 pl.,<sup>1</sup> and of *fkyiyiko* 'alone' < \**ēfk-* < \**ēwk*. The development of \**aiwa* > *yū* 'one' has parallels in other Ir. dialects. Cf. § 152.

Intervocalic *-y-* occurs in *pōya* 'sour milk'; *oyim* 'I go' (3 sg. *yī*) *-y-* < \**ayayami*; *š<sup>h</sup>roi*, etc., '3' < *šrāyō*; *frāiyo*, *f<sup>h</sup>rāyo* 'yoke-rope' < \**fra-yugā*. But *sāyo* 'shade' < \**sāyakā*. In unstressed position, or in compounds, *aya* coalesced with *ai*: *pīstan* 'udder' < \**payah-stāna*; *lažino* 'pile of wood' and *paržin* 'hedge' (< \**čayanā*); *a'larsino*, *yūvārsin* 'threshold', 'upper door-sill' (< \**sayanā*).

### Groups of Consonants.

86. Groups of consonants have been subject to changes and modifications through the usual factors: assimilation, differentiation, metathesis, epenthesis, etc. In most cases it will be quite clear which principle has been at work, and it will be more convenient for the purpose of presenting a general survey of the phonetic development in Y—M to arrange the material according to the nature of the ancient Ir. groups of consonants. I have chosen the first consonant of the group as a basis for the classification.

No groups of consonants beginning with a surd occlusive existed in Anc. Ir., and the only example of a group beginning with the surd palatal affricate is Av. *čvant*, represented by the possibly genuine M *čad* 'how many' (Y *čand* is borrowed from Prs.).

Reg. recent combinations of surd occlusives with other consonants cf. § 40.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 231.

## First Component a Voiced (Stop or) Fricative.

87. We have no means of deciding whether *luydo* 'daughter' is *gd* derived direct from a *dugədā*, *duyda*, or from *\*duxtā*, with regular change of *xt* > *yd*.<sup>1</sup> The same remark applies to some of the preterites in *yd*.<sup>2</sup>

There is no certain instance of ancient *gz*. *mayz* 'marrow' is *gz* prob. a lw. *royz* 'woman's cloak' is of unknown origin.

Original *gn* (*yn*) is retained, but with development of a svarabhakti *gn* vowel, in *rūyon* 'clarified butter'; *na'yen*, *ən* 'bread' < *\*nayna*; *xu'yēyeno* 'sister-in-law' < *\*xwahā-gnā*. The placename *Maynaucul* may possibly contain Av. *mayna* 'naked'; but ancient *xn* is also possible in this word and in *yəmil* 'to bleat'. Reg. *y'nigo* 'sneezing', v. § 96.

In *gr*, too, a svarabhakti vowel is developed: *yurēx*, *y'rōx* 'knot' *gr*- < *\*grāda*; M *y'ruvd*, *y'rivd* 'seized' prob. < *\*grifta*; <sup>3</sup> *yurvo*, *yirwa* 'throat' < *\*y'riwā* < *grivā*; *yuroi*, *y'rāi* 'earth': Yaghn. *y'rik*, etc. Reg. *y'ričōy* 'to creak' v. Zar. p. 145 f.

Just as is the case in many other Ir. dialects, internal groups *-gr* with *r* as the second component are transposed. In this manner it is possible to avoid a hard group without adding a vowel, as is necessary in initial position. The only example of *-gr* is *tiry* 'sharp'.

Ancient *gw* is possibly contained in *Provo* 'illness', *lur'vë* 'ill', *-gw*- if < *drigu*. But v. Voc. s.vv.

88. Ancient *-dn* possibly in *k'al-yereno* 'bald-headed eagle' if < *dn* *\*grdnā* (??). Reg. *afsrnë* 'summer-wheat', v. s.v.

The epenthesis in *\*dr* must be older than the change of *δ* into *l*, *dr*- since we find *lār* < *\*dr*-, and we can scarcely assume a development *\*dr* > *\*lr*.

Examples are: *l'ri* 'to reap' < *\*drūy*. (?); *Provo* 'reaping' < *\*drawā*; *ls'rafšo* 'awl': Prs. *dirafš*; *Pruyus* 'sickle' < *\*drāta*<sup>o</sup>; M *Priva* 'shrub, bush' < *\*drū*<sup>o</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 90.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 232.

<sup>3</sup> Y *yurd* is a back-formation from the present *yur*.



Words with Y—M *dr* are either lw.s (e.g. *dril* 'inflated skin'; *droxum* 'silver' from Khov.; *drušč*, etc. 'rough'; *d(ʰ)raxt* 'tree' from Prs.), or contain ancient *-ndr-*. Thus *drūv-* 'to dance' (if not a lw.); *dʰro-* 'to fear'; *dri-* 'to pour out' < \**han-d-*; *dram* 'inside' < \**antarahmi*.

In *broyo* 'clear sky' < \**idrakā*, and *brovə* 'illness' < \**a-drucaka*<sup>1</sup> *-dr-* the initial vowel has been dropped at an early date. On the analogy of *-gr-* > *γr-* and *-br-* > *rv-* we might expect Y—M \**rl-* < *-dr-*, but this supposition is not supported by any evidence. On the contrary, we find Y *mə(n)drayə*, M *mulrāgi* 'silver neck-ring' < \**mudraka(ka)*- (v. Voc. s.v.), which, if not borrowed, points to a different development of *-dr-*. It is, of course, not surprising that *-dr-* should be treated in a special manner. Cf. also Y *pʰskedri* (*pəšgirdio*) 'dung of goats and sheep', which may contain a form \**driy* < \**dṛti*, cf. Wkh. *dart*, etc.

Initial *dw-* (*dw-*) in the first instance became *dv-*, with assimilation of *w* to a preceding fricative,<sup>2</sup> and was then changed into *l(ə)v-*. Examples are: *lvor* 'door' (cf. *lvoro* 'rafter' < 'doorplank'?); M *lvōn-* 'to winnow' < *dvan-*. Y *lavaza* 'dough' and *lavaxčē*, *layafči* 'torch' are of unknown origin. *loʰ*, etc. '2' is probably derived from \**duwā*.

In Y *lvān-* 'to winnow' the fricative has been changed into the occlusive in accordance with a tendency prevailing in this dialect under certain favorable conditions. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *xūvun* 'sleep', *zeviryo* 'birch'.

Intervocalic *-dw-* occurs in *yalv* 'dog' < *gaḍva*, where there is no phonetic necessity for the development of a svarabhakti-vowel.

89. Initial *br-* becomes *v(ə)r-*.<sup>3</sup> Thus: *vrai*, *vrai* 'brother'; *vri-* 'to break' < \**braiš-*; *vriyo* 'eyebrow'; *vroč-* 'to fry' (v. Voc.). M *vrišum* 'silk' and Y *vʰrut* 'mustache' are ancient lw.s from Prs.; *vrazidinē* 'pillow' is probably borrowed from Khov.

<sup>1</sup> Or, with Gauthiot, < \**driyēā* (cf. *lur've* 'ill')?

<sup>2</sup> V. § 102, and cf. Av. *db-*, *b-* < *dv-*.

<sup>3</sup> The svarabhakti-vowel is not constant in this group.

In intervocalic position we find metathesis (cf. *-ry-* < *-gr-*): *surv* 'hole' < \**subra-*.

An uncertain instance of *bd* is M *ōvd* 'ford', if < \**ā-bda-*.

*bd*

### First Component a Surd Fricative.

#### First Component *x* or *f*.

90. Ir. *xt* results in Y—M *γd*. Thus: *bayd* 'divided' < \**ham-baxta-*; *xt* *pərwōγd* 'sifted' < \**pari-wixta-*; *təγd* 'cut' < \**taxta-*; <sup>1</sup> *vədayd* 'mixed' < \**abi-han-taxta-*; cf. *wuyd* 'found place': *wuʃ-*. Regarding *luydo* 'daughter' cf. § 87. It is quite possible that this word is derived from a form in *xt*, and the same remark applies to preterites of roots in *ž* < \**gh*: *awayd* 'hung up'; *mūγd* 'moved'; *lūγd* 'milked', and *trayd* 'bound'.

Of unknown origin are: *zuyd* 'poured out'; *məlōn-žəmuγdəy* 'hunch-backed', and the place-name *Yuydāk* (< \**yuxta-*?).

Regarding the later formations *yuxt* 'learnt' (*yuxs-*) and *nu(v)ūxt* 'wrote' (*nuviš-*) cf. § 232. *čaxt* (v. Voc.) is probably borrr. from Prs.

91. Ancient *ft* > *vd*. Thus: *avdo* '7'; *suvo* 'shoulder'; *x<sup>u</sup>šuvd* 'sweet' *ft* < *xšvīpta-*; cf. also a number of preterites in *vd* < *ft*, § 231. In roots in *-f*, however, *ft* has been reintroduced in the preterite; thus e.g. *waft* 'wove', v. § 231.

*tavdoγo* 'n. of a tree' is of unknown origin; *živde-raus* 'bat' ('flying-fox'?) possibly contains the original past stem of *žib-* 'to rise'.

In the ancient lw. *sāvdē* 'basket', and in the Pres. 3 sg. forms of the type *aydūvd* 'he dresses (somebody else)' *vd* goes back to \**v(a)t-*, cf. § 47.

This tendency towards the sonorization of the ancient groups *xt*

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.v. *ttē-*.



and *ft* is common to all E.Ir. dialects.<sup>1</sup> We find *γd*, *vd*<sup>2</sup> in Y—M, Sgl.-Ishk., Wkh., Yazgh., Yaghn.<sup>3</sup> and Oss. The Shgh. group has *vd* (*vδ*), but *γd* has developed further into *id*, *ud* (*wδ*). Also Sogd. probably had *γd*, *vd* (*βd*),<sup>4</sup> although it is possible that the intermediate stage *γt*, *βt*, was still preserved.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding the development of these groups in Saka cf. Konow, *Saka Studies*, pp. 17, 27, etc., and *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, 17. The further weakening of *vd*, *γd*, which is characteristic of Saka, takes place also in Psht. with regard to *ft*,<sup>6</sup> and possibly with regard to *xt*.<sup>7</sup>

Also in Wanetsi<sup>8</sup> and Ormuri<sup>9</sup> we find further reduction of *xt* and *ft*.

Probably in E.Ir. *x* and *f* were first sonorized before *t*, and at a later stage *t* was assimilated into *d*.<sup>10</sup> It is remarkable that this sonorization has taken place even in such dialects as Sogd., Yaghn. and Wkh., where intervocalic *-t-* remains. The groups *xš*, *fš* are not affected by this tendency,<sup>11</sup> and Chr. Sogd. even preserves *x* before the voiced consonant *m*, while sonorizing it before *t*.<sup>12</sup> Partial

<sup>1</sup> Including Orm., but not Par., which has *xt*, *ft* > *t*.

<sup>2</sup> In some cases *γδ*, *vδ*.

<sup>3</sup> Only *vd* occurs in the material available to me.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tedesco, BSL, 23, 113; Reichelt, Soghd. Handschr. II, 2. Gauthiot, Gramm. Sogd. I, 127 sq., 147 sq. *βt* but *xt*; Benveniste II, 17, 21 sq. *βt* : *xt* (but 144 \**avd* '7').

<sup>5</sup> The forms *δixth*, *βxth* occur, together with *wytw*, in Letter No. I which does not clearly distinguish between *γ* and *x* (cf. Reichelt, l.c.).

<sup>6</sup> Thus: *δwē* '7'; *tō* 'heat', but *tōd*, f. *tauda* 'hot', *ūd*, *wōud* 'asleep'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *sō* 'burnt' < \**suxta*; *tō* 'went' < \**taxta*; *tōr-lō* 'female cousin' < \**trwya-duxtā*. But note *sātōl* 'to protect', *vrit* 'fried' (cf. Saka *brijs* 'to fry') with *t* < *xt*. It is, however, possible that in these words the past stem was secondary and based upon the present.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. NTS, IV, 160: *tāu* 'hot'; *wā* 'washed' < \**wixtaka*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. IIFL, I, 333: *tōk* 'hot'; *hō* 'seven'; *dū(w)a* 'daughter'.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Zaza *aut* < *aft* (but *at* < *axt*).

<sup>11</sup> But in Badakhshi, etc. *kauš* = *kafš*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Also Buddh. Sogd. *ym* ought probably to be interpreted as *xm*.

5 -- Kulturforskning.

parallels may be adduced e.g. from French,<sup>1</sup> but the E.Ir. phenomenon is difficult to explain.<sup>2</sup>

93. No certain examples of ancient *xč*, *fč* occur. *naxčir* 'male ibex' *xč*, *fč* is a lw.; *laxčio* 'small goatskin bag' is possibly derived from \**lačk*; it is uncertain whether *laxčio* or *layafči* 'large conifer' has preserved the original sequence of consonants; and also in *naxčü* 'it drips'; *ixčogo* 'husband's brother's wife', and *vrexč* (?) 'roasted' *xč* is probably of secondary origin.

In *šifč(ik)o*, *šivčā* 'waterfall', etc. *č* belongs to a suffix; *kafčio* 'spoon' is a lw., and the derivation of *kufčliy* 'stockings' is unknown.

94. But *xš* and *fš* have been preserved better than in any other *xš*-modern Ir. dialect.<sup>3</sup>

Examples of *xš*- are: *xšira* 'milk'; *xšuvd* 'sweet'; *xšovo* 'night'; *xšēma* 'supper'; *xši-* 'to weep', and *xšileniyo* 'reed' (of unknown origin). Reg. *xusto* 'wet', v. s.v.

Intervocalic *-xš-* occurs in *axšin* 'blue'; *axšōw-* 'to chew'; *baxš-* 'to divide' (lw.?). *maxšü* 'mosquito'; *parwaxšē* 'broom' (< *vaxš-* 'to sprinkle?'); *waxš-* 'to grow'. *biloxša* 'a kind of vegetable' and *naxš* 'song' are of unknown origin (lw.s?). M *paxšk'o* 'wooden tray' is probably an older form of Y *poško*. Note Y *Baxšir* 'n. of a village' ~ Khow. *Başker*.

Ancient *xšw-* has resulted in *uxš-*, etc. in *uxšo* '6'. In the *xšw*-heavy groups *xšm*, *xšn* the *x* was dropped at an early date,<sup>4</sup> and *xšm*, *xšn*

<sup>1</sup> V. Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique*, 203 sq. regarding *ait* < *act*.

<sup>2</sup> In Bakhtiari *xt*, *ft* become *d/ð*, e.g. *dōdan* 'to milk'; *sōdan* 'to burn', *rā<sup>o</sup>d/ðan*, *rahdan* 'to go', *gud/ðan* 'to tell', etc. (Lorimer). The corresponding forms given by Zhukovsky are *duhd*, *sōhd*, *raft* (lw.?), *gu(h)d*, and Mann gives Mamāssāni *duhd/ðār*, *dōðār* 'daughter'; *sōht*, *rā/ūht*, *gōt*. The development here probably went through *ht* > (*h*)*d/ð*.

<sup>3</sup> With the possible exception of Yaghn., which preserves *xš*- (*x'š*-), and quite possibly also *fš*-.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Benveniste, BSL 29, 104.



the resulting groups *šm*, *šn* were further reduced to *m*, *n*.<sup>1</sup> Thus *imoyo* 'moon' < \**uxš-māh-kā*; *ārunyo* 'light' < \**ā-rauxšnakā*; possibly *rin'g'a* 'slippery' < \**rixšnaka*.

95. Ir. *fš-* is preserved in Y *fšarm* 'shame', but M has *šfor<sup>m</sup>*, etc.<sup>2</sup> *fš-* In *šfē* 'husband'; *šfin* etc. 'comb' all dialects have metathesis. In *fšūv* 'to suck' *f-* is an ancient prefix, which may also be contained in *fšai* 'short-breathed'; *fšū* 'very soft'. In Y *iščin*, M *yīškuna* 'female breast' the original initial *fšt-* was reduced to *št-*.<sup>3</sup> *xəš(u)wān* 'shepherd' is probably a lw., cf. Voc. s.v.

Intervocalic *-fš-* remains in *wafšio* 'wasp'; *lerəfšo*, *ləraušo* 'awl'.— *fš-* *kofšē* 'shoe' is probably a lw. from Prs., and the etymology of *šafšiyān*, etc., 'armpit' is unknown. If. *trīšp* 'acid' is derived from \**trfša-*, the metathesis into \**tršpa-* must be common Ir.

*yuxs-* 'to learn' contains ancient *xs*. But *laxsərə*, *yaxsəriy* 'ice' *xs* is an ancient compound, *maxs* 'brain' is a late variant of *mayz*, and *raxs* 'dance', *ruxsat* 'leave', etc., are lws.

In *xafs-* 'to descend' *fs* is ancient, but *yafs* 'fat' is borrowed, *fs* and *fsāy-* 'to stand', *fsidro* 'spring' contain a prefix *f-* < *upa*.<sup>4</sup>

96. Before nasals *x* and *f* become voiced as in most other E.Ir. *xm*, *xn* dialects. Thus: *tūy<sup>m</sup>* 'grain'; *yēyən* 'liver'; *y<sup>n</sup>nigo* 'sneezing' < \**x(š)nišakā*. Reg. *vaynew* v. Voc. s.v.

M *zoyno* (M G *zāx'na*!?) 'jaw' < \**zanaxā* seems to indicate that also a secondary group *xn* was sonorized, but in *anaxno* 'nail' < \**nāzanā*; *zaxmo* 'earth' < \**zamaxā*; *amaxno* 'sloe' < \**āmarnaxā* (?) *x* has been preserved, owing, perhaps, to a more recent origin of the group in these words.

M, and some speakers of Y, have *xūwən*, *xōvun* 'sleep', but also *fn* *xūbun* is heard in Y.<sup>5</sup> In M *xšēma* 'supper' < *xšāfnya* we find a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ysh *šfarm* is prob. a M form.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 48.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 88, 107.

different treatment after a long vowel, if the word is not an ancient lw.<sup>1</sup>

97. Initial *xr-* occurs in *xred-* (with metathesis *xird-*) 'to scratch' < *xr* \**xrind-*; *xurūso* 'Cyon alpinus': Sgl. *xrēsag*, and, possibly, in *xurom* 'threshing-ground', *xerīščē* 'n. of a small tree'.

Postvocalic *xr* is transposed, as in Prs., etc. Thus: *surx* 'red'; *čarx* 'spinning wheel' (lw.?). The etymology of *awarxo* 'flame' is uncertain (< *urvāxra*?).

*Fr-*, too, remains, with or without svarabhakti. V. Voc. s.vv. *fr* *frīyo* 'flea'; *frayomīy* 'he-goat', etc. Intervocalic *fr* occurs in *warfo* 'snow'.<sup>2</sup> The metathesis of *-xr-* and *-fr-* is probably previous to the sonorization of *x* and *f* before nasals.

98. Initial *xw* (*hw*) has lost its labial element, as in most Pamir *xw* (*hw*) dialects. But in some words the following vowel has been labialized: *xo<sup>a</sup>r-*, *xur-* 'to eat'; Y *xūl*, M G *xala* 'perspiration'; *xurī* 'sister's son'; *xūben*, etc. 'sleep'; *xoy* 'self', etc. In several cases it is impossible to decide whether the ancient form of the word had *xw-*, or *x-*. Cf. e.g. s.v. *xafs-*.

The word for 'sister' is irregular as well in Y—M (*i'xō*, *yīxa*, etc.), as in Sgl. (*yəxōai*) and Shgh. (*yax*). \**hwahā* > \**hahwā* > \*(y)*ahwā*, etc.?

Intervocalic *xw* occurs in *pxuf-* 'to get tired' < \**pati-hwafta-* (v. Voc. s.v.); *paixō* 'unthreshed grain' < \**pati-hwahā-* (?). Reg. *yū-saxo*, *loh-saxo*, v. Voc. s.v.

#### First Component *θ*.

99. There is no certain example of *θ* + nasal. The etymology of *θm* *čūmānē* 'male ibex' is unknown, and the original initial may have been either \*(a)*θm-* or \*(a)*θi/um-*. *poləm* 'soft' is probably a lw.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Turki *axšām*.

<sup>2</sup> In Prs., Par., etc. *xr* and *fr* develop along parallel lines, as in Y—M. But in Psht. and Saka *xr* and *θr* go together.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v.



in spite of the apparent possibility of connecting it direct with Sar. *pādm*, *pādm*.

100. Initial *θr*- developed on the same lines as *xr*- and *fr*-, i.e. a short *θr*-vowel was inserted between *ǰ* (< *θ*) and *r*. The only certain examples available are *ǰroi* '3' and its derivatives (e.g. *ǰirizen* 'the day before yesterday'), but possibly also *ǰürox*- 'to shy' (< *\*ǰroǰ*- < *\*θraθ*- < *θrah*-?) belongs here.

Reg. *θrif*- 'to steal', *trǰz*- 'to bind' (*\*trp*-, *\*trnj*-?) and other words with *tr*- v. Voc. s.vv.

101. *Ir*. *θ* was a less resistant sound than *x* and *f*—in fact it has survived unchanged mainly in the Shughni group—and *θr* was more exposed to assimilation than *xr* and *fr*. In some languages this applies to the initial as well as to postvocalic position, in another group, to which Y—M belongs, postvocalic *-θr*- has been subject to more profound changes than initial *θr*-<sup>1</sup> on account of the influence of the surrounding vowels.

In Y—M, and also e.g. in Sgl., Psht. and Saka, *-θr*- was reduced to *-hr*- which resulted in *-r*- with lengthening of the preceding vowel.

Thus: *mira* 'sun' < *Miθra*-, *pür* 'son' < *puθra*-, *vrēri* 'brother's son' < *brātruya*-, *tiro* 'dark' < *taθrya*-, *tür* 'trap' < *\*taθra*-, *huro*, *ūra* 'there' < *avaθra*-, *yüriko* 'handmill' < *\*yaθra*- (?), *pčürma* 'four days ago' < *\*pati-čāθruma*-. With secondary shortening of the vowel: *čoromī* 'fourth' (lw.?) and *žaro* 'poison'.

A derivation of *yeǰio* 'small hand-mill' from *\*yaθryā*- is improbable (cf. *tiro* above), and the connection between *yaxio*, etc. (Z *yēx/ǰya*) 'ashes' and the words of other Pamir dialects derived from *ātrya*-, *\*āθrya*- is difficult to explain.—Y *yūr*, M *yūr* 'fire' goes back to *\*ārt*-, with early metathesis of an unusual group < < *ātr*- which had got its *t* from the strong stem.

<sup>1</sup> This group includes Saka and Psht. (*dr*-, but *-r*-); Sangsari (*š*-, but *-r*-); Yaghn. (*θr*-, but *-l*-) and various NWIr. dialects (*h<sup>ar</sup>*-, etc., but *-r*-). In Shgh. we find, unexpectedly, *ar*- < *\*h<sup>ar</sup>*- (but only in the numeral '3', which might be a lw.): *-c*.

102. Av. *čadwāro*<sup>1</sup> developed into \*č(ə)čfūr, from which Y \*ččīr > *čw* čšīr, M čfūr (čpūr), etc.

*polf*, *pilf* 'ford' is probably derived through \*pərđf- < \*pərđf- < \*pərđwō (acc. pl.).<sup>2</sup>

Reg. *Wulf* 'n. of a village in Munjan' (< *vaθwa* ?), v. List of Proper Names, s.v.

Original Y—M thus preserved *θw* as two separate phonemes,<sup>3</sup> while the Northern and Central dialects compared by Gauthiot, have *f*.

Ancient *-θy-* is possibly contained in *pəzečī* 'young ram'; *vəzāčō* *-θy-* 'womb'; *zāčko* 'childbearing'.<sup>4</sup> Reg. Y *yečko* 'duck' v. Voc. s.v.

### First Component a Sibilant.

103. Ancient *sk-*, *st-*, *sp-* remain, with a tendency towards the *sk-*, *st-*, *sp-* development of a prothetic or epenthetic vowel.

Thus, e.g. *skəd-* 'to cut' < *skand-*; *skāvrio* 'coal': Psht. *skōr*; M *s(ə)kən* 'puppy': Wkh. *s(ə)ken*, etc., but Y *čkən*, etc. Cf. also the names of villages: (I)*skutul*, *Skarzer*, *Skəwo* (*Səkvo*). With secondary *sk-*: *sko* 'on' < *uskāt*. Ancient *st* is preserved in M *stōriy* 'star'; *stuno* 'post'; *stur* 'big'; *stun(ek)* 'throat', cf. Yr. *g stārə*, *stāno*, *stur*, *stūyo*, etc. But in Yzh, sh I usually heard a very short, prothetic *i* or *u*: *'stārə*, *'stuno*, *'stur*, *'stuya*, *'stör-* 'to sweep', etc. Z writes *stōrəy*, but *s'tər*; *s'tūr* 'horned cattle'.

Ir. *sp-* occurs in *spī* 'white'; *sporo* 'plough'; *spərə* 'spleen'; *spūo* 'louse'. But Z has *s'pī*, etc., cf. Ysh *s'pī*, *s'pūo*.<sup>5</sup>

I am unable to explain the irregularities in the pronunciation of these groups. Probably the variation between *st*/*'st*/*s't* is phonologi-

<sup>1</sup> With fricative "w" |

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 128.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Yaghn. *tifār*, Afridi Psht. *calwōr* '4'.

<sup>4</sup> MSL, XIX, 137.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 155.

<sup>6</sup> Reg. s. cf. § 74.



cally irrelevant. It is possible that *s<sup>st</sup>*, etc. is due to Prs. influence on M, just as we find e.g. *\*spəl* in Sgh., but *s<sup>st</sup>pul* in Ishk.

104. No certain example of ancient *-sk-* is available.<sup>1</sup> Y *išččiy*, M *yeskīg* *-sk-* 'roof' is evidently related to Wkh. *iskakut*, Sgl. *kiskūd* < *\*uska-kata-*, but the phonetic details are unclear.—*kosk* 'barley' corresponds to Yazgh. *kāsk*, but Prs. *kašk*, Shgh. *čūšč*. Cf. also s.vv. *f<sup>st</sup>sko*, *yuskən* and *niaskē*, all of which probably have secondary *sk*.

A more common group is *-st-* which occurs in a number of *-st-* preterites,<sup>2</sup> e.g. *vāst* 'bound', and also in *last* 'hand'; *wisto* '20'; *yastē* 'bone'; *stīnyo* 'supine'; *pīstən* 'udder'.

Ancient *-sp-* is found in *yasp* 'horse'; *rīspēn*, etc. 'iron', *frāspīy* *-sp-* 'rafter', etc.

Original *-šč-* results in *č*.<sup>3</sup> Thus *špāč*, 'spāč' 'behind'; *čpāč* 'after, *sč* back' < *\*pasča-*. Possibly also M (?) *šti-va* 'something' < *\*č(i)sti* < *čisčit*.<sup>4</sup>

The etymology of *s<sup>st</sup>xuy-*, *sxaw-* 'to slip, slide' is unknown (cf. *sx* Prs. *šaxidan*). *usxūbun* 'awake' is an ancient compound.

105. Ancient *sr* was assimilated into *š* (*š*), as in several other Ir. *sr* dialects. Thus: *šū* 'horn' < *srū-*; *šina*, *šino*, etc. 'podex' < *sraoni-*; *šūiko* 'collar-bone' < *\*srauša-* (?); *ušā(w)* 'to call' < *\*us-srāv-*; *xušo* 'mother-in-law'; *yāšk*, *yošk* 'tear'; possibly also *ušan-* 'to churn'. This change appears to have taken place before the syncopation of *u* in the suffix *-uka*.<sup>5</sup> The reason why *sr* is assimilated while *rs* remains may be that *s* in *sr* is implosive.

In the recent lw. *s<sup>st</sup>trīšəm* 'glue' Prs. *sr* is rendered by *s<sup>st</sup>tr-*.

As is the case in several other Ir. dialects, *str* (*s<sup>st</sup>tr?*) lost its *str* dental and shared the fate of original *sr*. Thus: *češo* 'pin of a spindle' < *\*častrī-*; *šīyo* 'female' < *strī-*; *šinamia* 'girl' < *strī-nāman-*;

<sup>1</sup> Except *sko*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 239.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, MO, 1921, 211 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tedesco, l.c.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 171, 5).

*uš*, *wuš* 'grass' < *vāstra*-. Reg. Y *uščeno*, etc. 'haystack' < *\*wāstradānā*, cf. § 109.

106. Ancient *sm* remains in *pasmino* 'above'; *pasminaka* 'steep' < *sm* *\*pati-asmān*-. But *s* is assimilated in voice to the homorganic *n*. Thus: *zinro* 'daughter-in-law' < *\*snušā*; *zənay* 'to bathe' < *snaya*-. Postvocalic *zn* may change further into *zd*: *wuzn*-, *wuzd*-'to wash'. The sonorizing of *s* before *n* is common to most Pamir dialects, v. Voc. s.v. *zinro*.

107. Ancient *sy* was assimilated into palatal *š* as in many other E.Ir. *sy* dialects. Thus: *diš* 'to think' < *\*han-disya*-.; *mištor* 'king, mehtar' < *\*masyah* + *tara*-.; and possibly *yeršio* 'barley', if from *\*arpasyū*-.

The voiced, dental sibilant remains before voiced stops and *zg, zd, zb* fricatives in *zəyal* 'to run away' < *zɡad*-.; *zəyəriy* 'thirsty' < *\*uzgaraka*-(?); *zəyū* 'to walk about' (<?); *wāzed* 'fat' (with differentiating preservation of *d* after *z*); *zəvar* 'to pour out' < *\*uz-bar*?

The etymology of *yuzɣap* 'dirty' is unknown; *mayz* 'marrow' is *zn, zm* borrowed from Prs., and *xuzd* 'to send'; *məzdira* 'the day after tomorrow' may contain ancient *zn*, *sn*. *čirgʷizen*, *čirizen* 'three, two days ago' go back to *\*azana*-. The only example of *zm* is *izma* 'fire-wood'.

No certain examples are known of *zr* except *värzeyo* 'wing' with *zr* *rz* < *zr*. Reg. *žoi* 'lake' v. s.v.—*raža* 'platform' is possibly derived from *\*razya* and *žūy* 'to sew' < *\*uz(h)yū*-(??). Cf. *š* < *sy*. *zy*

After *z* the semivowel *w* was changed into the fricative *v*, and *zw* by some speakers of Y further into *b*.

Thus: Yzh, p, M *zəvīy*, *zəvū* etc. 'tongue', but Ysh, g *zɪbēy*<sup>1</sup>; Yzh, etc. *zəviryo*, M *vəzvurgo* 'birch (-bark)': Ysh *zəbiryo* < *\*brza-warakā*-(?). Cf. also M, Ysh, etc. *xōvun*, etc. 'sleep': Yzh, u *xūbun*; M *ləvōn* 'to winnow': Yzh, sh, r *ləbān*-.

<sup>1</sup> Yr *zəvīy* is probably mis-heard or mis-written. Cf. § 96.



108. Ir. *šk*—which as an initial is a sandhi form of *sk*—remains. *čk* Thus: *škōb* 'to raise' < *skamb*; *škōr* 'to send': Sogd. *škr*; *ušk* 'dry' < *huška*; *riško* 'nit': Prs. *rišk*; *pške-dri*, *puško* 'dung', *maška* 'inflated skin', *piško* 'cat' are lw.s. Cf. also *puškōw* 'to string'; *čirwašk* 'resin, gum'; *wuškuj* 'to seek'. Reg. M *škui* 'neck' cf. § 164.

109. One of the sound-changes most characteristic of Y—M is the palatalization of *št* (i.e. *šf*)<sup>1</sup> into *\*štʷ*, from which M *škʷ* and Y *šč*. Cf. the parallel development of *t* > *kʷ* (and *č*) and *nd* > *ngʷ* (v. §§ 62, 121).

Thus: Y *oguščo*, M *āguš'kyo*, *āgušk'a* 'finger'; *aščo*, *os'kyo* '8'; *iščin*, *yīškʷuna* 'female breast' < *fštāna*; *čir-yiščē* 'dried apricots': Prs. *kišta*; M *yīška* 'fur-coat': Ishk. *yūšt*; Y *mišča* 'sheaf of corn': Prs. *mušti* 'handful'; *mršč*, *muškʷ* 'fist'; *parguščē*, *parguškʷiy* 'fingerring'; *piščan*, *piškʷen* 'thigh' < *paitištāna*; *pušč*, *puškʷ* 'flour made of dried apples': Par. *pīšt*; *xerīščē*, *xriškʷiy* 'n. of a small tree': Bad. Prs. *xarišta*; *xušči*, *xuški*, *xuškʷay* 'greater, elder': Sogd. *ywyšt*, etc. Besides there are a number of preterites in *šč/škʷ* < *št* (and *rst*), e.g. *nəyušč*, *nəyuškʷ* 'heard', etc., cf. § 240. M *šk* from secondary *št* appears in *xīšk* 'pulls' < *\*xaršati*, and in *wuškyeno*, Y *uščeno* 'hay-stack' < *\*wūštāna* < *\*wāstra-dāna* (cf. Or. *wūžtōn*).

Words of unknown or uncertain origin are: *ustušč* 'to jump' (v. Voc.); *kuščo* 'contrivance for carrying hay'; *ninamāščē* 'spleen'; *vščo*, *viškʷo* 'steep hillside, ravine'; *čkyūgo* 'urine' < *\*čaštākā* (??).

Note M *wuškʷ* 'to rise, fly up'; *wūšč*, *wīšk* 'morning' < *\*uštā*, with early reduction < *ut-sthā*, cf. Par. *ušt* 'to rise', etc. Reg. M *škʷuy*: Y *šilē* 'neck' v. § 164.

Also a number of ancient lw.s have been affected by this sound-change. Thus, e. g. *drušč*, *dʷrišk* 'rough' < Prs. *durušt*; <sup>2</sup> *dašk* 'steppe'; *gošč*, *gašk* 'turned round' (v. s.v. *gord*); *gʷēšč*, *giyaškʷ*

<sup>1</sup> Also when derived from *rst*, *ršt*, v. §§ 131 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gauthiot, MSL, 19, 139.

<sup>3</sup> Yr *drišto* is a recent lw.

'passed, forgave' (*g<sup>o</sup>ēr-*) < *gudašt*; *narangušč* 'thumb';<sup>1</sup> cf. probably also Y *rešk* 'avalanche' < Khow. *rešt*, with *t* > *k*, not > *č*.<sup>2</sup>

110. In recent lws *št* is preserved. Thus *uštu* 'brick'; *mušti* 'silver necklace' < Khow.; *lašt<sup>o</sup>kum* 'saddle-cover' of unknown origin; *šūštē* 'hook': Prs. *šast* (with assimilation).

In genuine Y—M words *št* is also of recent origin. Cf. (<sup>o</sup>)*što* 'said' < \**ž(a)sta-*; *šti* 'what' < \**čisti*; <sup>3</sup> *š'lāhan* 'below' < \**čt-* < \**hača-t-*. Regarding secondary preterites in *št* v. § 240.

111. Ir. *rst*, *ršt* at an early date became *št*, and shared the fate of *rst*, *ršt* this group of consonants. For details v. § 131 sq.

One would expect Ir. *štr* to become *š* just as *str*. Y *škr<sup>o</sup>rō*, *štr šik<sup>o</sup>ro*, *ščuro*, M *škyuro*, etc. 'camel' do not go back to *uštra-* or \**ušra-* (Psht. *uš*), but to \**ušturā*, or to Prs. *uštur*. Kati *štyūr*, etc. is not necessarily borrowed from early M,<sup>4</sup> as the palatalization of *t* before *u* may be due to Kati sound-laws.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding *šp* in *trišp* 'sour' v. § 95.

*šp*

112. While *s* probably remains unchanged before *m* and is sonorized before *n*, *š* is completely assimilated in both positions.

An example of *šn* is preserved in *pənāxko* 'eyelashes' < \**paš(m)naxa šn* + *ko*, cf. Av. *pašna-*. Y *trušnē*, *tišno*, *tižno* 'thirsty' are lws from Khow. and Prs.—Reg. *xšn* > *n* and *ršn* > *ŋ* v. §§ 94, 133.

Ir. *šm* is contained in *čām* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool'; *imar-* 'to count' *šm* < *hišmar-*; *maf* 'you'; and, possibly, in *puma* 'avalanche', if < \**pišma-*. — *štrišm* 'glue' is borrowed from Prs., and Y *kušm-*, M *kišmōy-* 'to vomit' is of unknown origin.

<sup>1</sup> But Yr. M *narangišt*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. § 44.

<sup>4</sup> Gauthiot, l.c. 189.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. *štyū*, *štū* 'pillar'; *tyūs* 'straw', etc.



113. It is just possible that *noyər* 'came out' (*ni-*) is derived through *žg, žd, žb* *\*niyart- < \*niryata- < \*niž-gata-*, cf. Par. *naryō*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand *nailev*: *nailevd* 'to circumcize' might go back to *\*niž-dab-*, *nəvor-* 'to take out' to *niž-bar-*.

First Component *h*.

114. The only example of a group beginning with original *h* is *hm hm* in *max* 'we'. In a recent lw. we find differentiation: *maxmudiyo* 'dagger' < Khaw. *mahmūdī*.

First Component *a Nasal*.

115. As in most Ir. languages<sup>2</sup> surd explosives were sonorized after a nasal at an early date, *ŋk* coalescing with *ŋg*, etc. But the tendency to drop the nasal in such groups is characteristic of Y—M. It is unknown elsewhere in Ir.<sup>3</sup> and rare in most IE languages.

There is probably no connection between the Y—M development of e.g. *nt > d* (or *-d*, *-t* in final position) in *lad*, *lod* 'tooth' and that of Kafiri *ant > āt > at*, e.g. in Ashkun *dont > Waigeli dōt > Kati dut*, Prasun *lātəm*, as supposed by Gauthiot.<sup>4</sup>

In most Kafir dialects ancient *nd* does not become *d*, but *n*, e.g. in Kati *kən*, Waig. *kan-* corresponding to Yd. *xo(u)d-* 'to laugh' < *\*khand-*. But the Prasun change of *nd, mb > d, b* in *yōd-* 'to laugh', *ūškōb* 'bridge' < *skambha-* (?) may possibly be connected with the Y—M development.<sup>5</sup>

The sound-change in question must be later than the Y and lower M development of *-g-* (from *-k-*) > *-γ-*, and it has not been carried through to the same extent all over the Y—M territory.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Prs. *palmarđa = pižmurđa* 'withered'.

<sup>2</sup> Including even Wkh., and possibly Yaghn. (*γantum* 'wheat', but *dindak* 'teeth'), but not Bal.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Wkh. *γidim* 'wheat' v. Wkh. Voc. Kurd. *didān, dgān, dran* 'tooth' may be due to dissimilation. Psht., etc. has initial *g*, etc. < *\*(a)ŋg-*.

<sup>4</sup> MSL, 19, 139.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 29.

In Y it has affected all words except recent lw.s. In M some words exhibit assimilation in all dialects, thus e.g. *ag'lera* 'grape'; *āgus'kyo* 'finger';<sup>1</sup> *agmīn* 'honey'; *pargušk'iy* 'finger-ring', etc., probably in originally unstressed position.

116. In some words Mm, Z, G and LSim have *b*, *d*, etc., while Mg, (g), *t*, *ti* preserve the nasal.<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g.: Mm *ā'kodiy*: Mti, (g) *akondi*, etc. 'thorn, bramble'; Mm, G, Z, LSim *lod*, etc.: Mg, (g), *t*, *ti* *lōnd*, etc. 'tooth'; Mm, Z, G, LSim *trāj*: Mt *trōnj* 'to tie'; Mm, Z, G *yōdiy*, etc.: Mg, *t*, *ti* *yāndiy*, etc. 'blind'; Mm *zōbo*: Mg, *t*, (ti) *zōmbo* 'gums'; Mm, Z, G *zūk*: Mg, *t*, *ti* *zīng* 'knee'. But even Mm (not, however, Z and G) has *nd* e.g. in *pōndo* 'road', *yōndum* 'wheat', and it is not possible to find any phonetic reason for the variation. A curious case is Mg, (sh) *bāber*, etc., Y *boburē* 'wasp', but Mm *bambur*. In some cases Z has *nd* in the preterites of verbs in *n*, but these are probably recent, analogical formations.

117. Examples of *ng* (besides those mentioned above) are: Y *čogulī* *ng* 'hoof'; Y *čigāli*, M *čāngōli* 'claw' < Prs. *čāngāl*; Y *kyogō*, *tōk* 'pear' < Khw. *toṅg*; Y *rok*, M *rang* 'colour'; M *togo* (Z *tang*) 'narrow'; Y *trok* 'narrow', 'saddle-girth': Khw. *traṅg*, etc.; Y *xugor* 'sword': Khw. *khongor*; *xur-sago* 'mill-stone': Prs. *saṅg*; *guv*- 'to burn', *gūy*- 'to knead' (cf. *ā'guṅ*<sup>av</sup> 'dough') < \**haṅ-k/g*; Y *γik*<sup>v</sup> 'penis' possibly < \**γiṅk*, cf. Psht. *γēn*; *zīk*, *zūṅk* 'knee' < \**zānuka*. Of unknown origin are *cigyerē* 'mushroom' and *pēcag*- 'to cut'.

In recent lw.s we find *ng*. Thus, e.g.: *angāh* 'awake'; *jaṅgal* 'forest'; *palang* 'leopard', etc. Likewise *ng/k* remains in secondary contact: M *frayingo* 'she-goat' < \**fragāmikā*; *zīṅko*, *ogo* 'woman' < \**janikā*. But note also Y *afsinyo* 'ladder'; *stinyo* 'supine'; *tovūnyo* 'box'.

118. Examples are: *akadē*, *akondi* 'bramble'; *āy(u)d*- 'to dress'; *īdou* *nd* 'fever': Wkh. *andav*; *ida*, *hadē* 'slave, boy': Wkh. *andag*; *boda*

<sup>1</sup> But Mullah Faiz Bakhsh "ankardia".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 17.; Rep. on a lingu. mission to N.W. India, 71.



'dyke': Prs. *band*; *čad* 'to fall' < \**hača-hand* (?); M *čad*, Y *čand* (lw.) 'how many'; *dā* 'to smear' < \**han-dāw*; Y *dīr*, M *yūdūr* 'other' < \**antāra*; *diš* 'to think' < \**han-dišya*; *diz* 'to bury' < \**han-daiz*; Y *yādəm*, M *yōndum*, etc. 'wheat'; Y *hadamə* (M *andām*) 'limb' < *handāman*; *hənadiy* 'out of breath' < \**an-antika*; *lad*, *lōnd*, etc. 'tooth'; *pādo*, *pōndo* 'road'; *skəd* 'to cut' < *skand*; *vad*, *vōnd* 'to tie'; *vədāy* 'to mix' < \**abi-han-tak* (?); *xo<sup>nd</sup>* 'to laugh'; *xīrd*, *xred* 'to shave' < \**xrind*; *Idəy*, *Yidg* 'member of the Yidgha tribe' < \**Hinduka*; -*et*, -*at* pers. suff. 3 pl. < -*anti*; *ušiyyād* 'hungry' < \**wīsayanta*.

Of uncertain origin are *kuryudo* 'bramble' (< *kunda*? V. Voc.); *skut* 'wood, stick'; *ničōd* 'to moisten'.

In secondary contact we find -*t* from *n* + *t*, e.g., in Pres. 3 sg. of roots in *n*. Thus: *vət* 'carried' (< *upa-nita*); *kīt* 'he does'; *wīt* (> *wid*) 'he sees'; *xīt* 'he laughs', etc. Here the development has been *nt* > *nt* > *t*, cf. *zik* < \**zānuka* and the *r* + *t* > *t*.<sup>1</sup>

The preterite of verbs in *n* is in most cases derived from secondary formations in *nt/d*<sup>2</sup> which has either resulted in *d*, or has in some cases preserved the nasal through the influence of the present stem.

Regarding the possible preservation of *nd* in the plurals of the demonstratives Yd. *mind*, *ind*, *wind*, v. § 209. *nd* is also found in recent lw.s, such as *andiša* 'thought'; *bīlānd* 'high'; *sandūq* 'box'; *zīndo* 'alive', etc.—*kando* 'plough-share' may go back to a pres. ptc. \**kanant(ā)*.

119. Verbs in -*m* have secondary preterites in -*md* or -*nd*. We also find Y *kāmdēr*, Mm *kamder*, but Z *kandir* 'smaller' from Prs. *kamtar*. *lamdo*, *lōmadū* 'hem, skirt' is probably derived from \**dāmāntā*, but cf. also *avlānd* 'hem of a cloak' < \**abi-dāmanta* (?) with earlier contraction.

It is tempting to derive M *tūga* 'button' through \**tumga* from Y *tukmo* (< Turki), and Y *kādī* 'which' < \**kamday* < \**katama* 'kahya' (v. s.v. *kēm*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 117, 125.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 243.

120. Between two *n*'s *θ* disappears in *lēmōn*- 'to rub' < \**ni-maṇṇā*, *nṇ* cf. Av. *manā*. There is no example of *nṇ*. *pado* 'road' goes back to \**pantāh*. We have no reason to assume that *nṇ* has become *nt* in Av. *pantā*. The different treatment of *nt* and *nṇ* is testified by Par. *panān* 'road': *menth*- 'to smear'; Saka *pande*: *manth*-; Oss. *fāndag*: *zmāntin*, Sogd. *pnt* 'near' (?): *mnṇ*.

Examples are: *ā'būya* 'moraine': Ishk. *ambol*; *boburē*, *bambur* *mḃ* 'bumble-bee'; *bār*- 'to be satisfied' < \**ham-parta*; *baxš*- 'to divide' < \**ham-baxš*- (or *lw*.); *čapē* 'door-frame': Prs. *čamba* 'large bar'; *debāl* 'behind' < Prs. *dumbāl*; *g'ib* 'lost' < Prs. \**gumb*; *kob/p* 'little' < \**kamb*; *lib*- 'to card wool': Sgl. *damb*-; *nəb/p* 'dew' < \**namb*; *škōb*- 'to raise' < *skamb*-; *tubūr*, *tambūr* 'guitar' < Prs.; *vēzb*- 'to tighten' < \**abi-zamb*- (?); *xap*- 'to fell' < \**xamb*- (v. s.v. *xafs*-); *zibiṛm* 'earth-quake' < \**zambinṇum*; *zōbo*, *zōmbo* 'gums'.

Of unknown origin are *čēb*- 'to pinch' (cf. Wkh. *čip*- 'to pick'); *sōbrim* 'boiled fat'; *yōba* 'dance'; *zib*- 'to rise'; *sabəranj* 'neck-rope of the yoke' (< *samī-baranači*-?).

In modern *lw*'s *mḃ* is common: *amburo* 'forceps'; *sumb* 'hoof'; *paiyumbār* 'prophet'; *grambešu* 'neighbour', etc.

Y—M *lēm* 'tail' < *duma*- < \**dumbma*-, not \**dumba*-, from which *mḃm* Prs. *dum(b)*.

Initial *mr*- develops a transitional *b* and results in *br*-. Thus: *mr brāyiko* 'sparrow' < \**mrəy*-; *Brāyeyo* 'Munjan' (v. s.v.). Similarly *ābrūo* 'pear' and the *lw*. *ambrōz* < \**amrōt*. *m'reč* 'mulberry' is borrowed from Khow., and also *pīlamru* 'cloak' is probably a *lw*. Cf. also Y *blāim*, *mə'lāim* 'soft' < Ar. Prs. *mulāim*.

121. Examples are: *awāz*- 'to hang up' < \**awa-hanj*-; *trāz*-, *t'rōn*- *nj* 'to tie': Prs. *taranjīdan*; Y *səziyo*, M *siṣiā* 'jube-tree': Prs. *sinjid*; Y *vroc*- 'to roast': Khow. *vrenjē*-; *žaziro* 'chain': Khow. *janjer*; *zibiṛm* 'earthquake' < \**zambinṇum*; M *rəc* 'difficult': Prs. *ranj*; M *Ajuməno*, Y *Anju'mān* 'Anjuman'. But in all dialects we find *n* in *pānj*, *pānc*, *ponz* etc. '5', probably through the influence of Prs.—*pōnzda* '15' is a *lw*.



In lw.s *nj* is retained: *anjām* 'dress' < Khow.; *banj* 'holly-oak' < Khow.; *b<sup>u</sup>rinj* 'rice'; *kunj* 'corner'; *Munjān* 'Munjan', etc.—*sabəranj* 'neckrope of yoke' < *sami-barana-čī* (?); *šinjo* < *šīžno* 'needle'; *prenjio* 'she-goat, one y. old' < *\*parana-čī* all have secondary *nj*. *M yānčilyā* 'lizard' is of unknown origin.

In *māg<sup>v</sup>*- 'to rub' *nd* has become *\*ng<sup>v</sup>* > *g<sup>v</sup>*.<sup>1</sup> Similarly *Y yeik<sup>v</sup>*, *nd* *Z yēn'g'* 'he grinds' < *\*yēnt* < *\*arnati* (cf. the secondary preterite *Y yāg<sup>v</sup>* < *\*an + d*). In recent lw.s *nd* remains.<sup>2</sup>

### First Component a Rolled Consonant

122. On the whole surd occlusives in Ir. dialects are treated in the same way after *r* as after a vowel. Those dialects which sonorize e.g. *ata*, do the same with *arta*, and wherever *ata* is kept distinct from *ada*, the same is the case with regard to *arta* and *arda*.<sup>3</sup>

123. Accordingly Ir. *-rk-* shares the fate of *-k-*: It results in *Mm*, *Z rk* and *G rg*, but changes further to *ry* in other *M* dialects and in *Y*.

Thus: *Y (h)ory*, *M ary*, *org*, etc. 'work': *Phl. ark*; *wury*, *wurg/k* 'wolf'; *karyəz*, *kargas* 'vulture'. In lw.s and recent compounds *rk* remains. Eg. in *harko* 'upper part of the back'; *narkirē* 'cock'.

Ancient *rg* occurs in *mīryo* 'meadow'; cf., with early metathesis, *rg brāyiko* 'sparrow'; *Brāyio* 'Munjan'.<sup>4</sup>

No example is available. *pərx*, *pərx̄* 'dew' is of uncertain origin. *rx* In *pərxāw*- 'to eat with a spoon' *rx* is of secondary origin.

In view of this word, and of the maintenance of *rx* < *xr*,<sup>5</sup> the derivation of *xāxo* 'thistle' < *\*xārxo*<sup>6</sup> < *\*xāra-xā* is very doubtful.

124. Ir. *rt* resulted in *Y r*, probably through the stages *\*rd* > *\*rd* > *\*d*. *rt* In *M*, which lies further removed from the *IA* sphere of influence,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sgl. *mānq̄*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>3</sup> In Wanetsi, however, *arta* and *arda* coalesce, although *ata* and *ada* do not.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 120.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 97.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. secondary *rt* > *rt* > *t*.

ordinary *r* has been substituted for *ɾ*. The reason for the special treatment of *rt* as compared with *rk*, *rp* is not connected with the general weakness of *-t*,<sup>1</sup> but is due to the similarity of articulation between *r* and the dentals, which in Ir., as well as in many other languages, favours assimilation.

Examples of *rt* are: Y *bār* 'to be satisfied' < \**ham-parta*; Y *caroyo* 'bustard': Bad. Prs. *čarda*; Y *kero*, M *kero* 'knife'; *mer*, *mēr* 'man'; Y *nuwārē* 'excuse' < \**ni-wartaka* (?); *wāro*, *wōrā* 'summer': Psht. *wōrai*; *wār*, *wōr* 'roof-beam' < \**warta*; *wor*, *wur* 'to knit', etc. < *vart*; *wōro*, *wēro* 'trousers';<sup>2</sup> *wor̄yo*, *wargā* 'quail' < \**wartakā*; *yārē*, *yōriy* 'flour': Prs. *ārd*, etc.

Besides we find *r/r* in many preterites of roots in *r*. Thus, e.g., *mur*, *mur* 'died'; *xur*, *xur* 'ate'; etc.<sup>3</sup> With secondary *d*: *kərd* 'cut down'.

125. In Y *r* occurs also in a number of lw.s, usually corresponding to Khow. *l*. Thus, e.g., *boriko* 'small basket' < Khow. *belu* 'reed' (?); *brək* 'knuckle, bud' < *blōy*; *yoribombur* 'large wasp' < *yōlibūmbur*; *hoṛk* 'scar' < *hol/lk*; *keṛē* 'shield' < *khēli*; *kāriak* 'yoke-peg' < *kāri*; *kr̄insar* 'pickaxe' < *kl̄insar*; *krox* 'scab' < *klok* (?); *(loh)rinj* 'double' < *(ju)rinj*; *kirār* 'cheese' < IA (but not Khow.). Note Y *pakoro* 'cap': Khow. *phakōl*, M *pakūlo*.

Of unknown origin are: *areyevde* 'wood-carving'; *čūrwa* 'unripe apricot'; *yurīčā* 'to swallow'; *yurp* 'deep'; *kuṛə* 'numb'; *pokor* 'rung of a ladder'; *Uṛak* 'n. of a vill. in Lutkoh'.

In modern lw.s from Prs. and Khow. we find *rt*, *rd*. Thus: *gūgurt* 'sulphur'; *gord* 'to walk about'; *kortus* 'cartridge'; *ārdi* 'part of the floor' < Khow., etc. In native Y words *rd* reappears through recent sound-changes in *xird* < *xrid* 'to shave' and *yurd* < \**yured* 'seized'.

The voiceless Khow. *ɾt* is heard in Y in the place-names *Wart*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 46.

<sup>2</sup> *waricaḡen* 'trouser-string' < \**war-vaden*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 238.



and *Gurtio* (besides *Guṣṭi*). In secondary contact  $r + t$  became at an early date  $*rt$ , from which subsequently  $*ht > t$ . Thus: *zīt* 'yellow'  $< *zīrt < zairita$  (cf. Par. *zītō*); *xūt* 'he eats'  $< *xwarati$ , and other 3 sg. forms of verbs in  $-r$ ; <sup>1</sup> *lat* 'held'  $< *dārīta$ , etc.<sup>2</sup> This development is parallel to that of  $n + t > t$ .<sup>3</sup>

126. Ancient *rd* (*rđ*) must have moved towards the stage *l*, *l* before *rd* ancient *rt* resulted in *r*. It does not seem probable that the development passed through the stages  $*rđ > *rδ > *rl > l$ .

Examples are: Y *alīxa* (only MFB!) 'ribs'  $< arəḍa$ ; *k'emalyo* 'skull'  $< kaməḥḍa$ ; *milyo* 'clay': Skr. *mṛd*; *pil* 'to fart'  $< parəḍ$ ; *sāl*, *sōl* 'year', not necessarily lw., cf. *asāl* 'this year', *prasāl* 'last year', *prasilanē* 'belonging to last year'; *tāl* 'to whittle': Skr. *trd*; *zīl*, *zīlōv*, etc. 'heart'; *zīlo* 'hail'  $< *jārdā$ . The derivation of *wulyeyo* 'small shrub' from  $*wṛda$  is very doubtful. *wulya* 'kidney' may go back to *vəṛḍka*, or to  $*wṛḍkā$  (*vəṛḍka*). The etymology of *xəларыо* 'wet clay' is unknown.

127. In secondary contact, and in a few early lws, *rd* (*rđ*) is changed into  $*ḍr$ . Y *fsidro* 'spring' (season) cannot be separated from Psht. *psarlai*, etc. and must go back, through  $*fsūḍrā < *βsōḍrā$ , to  $*upa-sāradā$ . Similarly  $*angurḍā$  'grape' (early lw., cf. Prs. dial. *angurda*, etc.) became  $*anguḍrā$ , from which, with differentiation, Y *agidro*, but M  $*agelro > aglero$ . Cf. also Y *mə(n)drayē*, M *mulrāgi* 'necklace'  $< *muḍraka(ka)$  (borr. with *rđ* or *ḍr*? v. Voc. s.v.). Also Y *padreško* 'small wooden bowl' may possibly go back to a form in  $*pari-dō$ . The relation between Y *činur/ryo*, and M *cənurgo*, *cindərya* 'starling' is unknown. Y *afsirnē* 'summer-wheat'  $< *abi-sāradnaka$ , or  $*sardanaka$ .

128. Ir. *rđ* occurs in *pīlf* 'ford'  $< pəṛḍw$ , and possibly in *wulya* *rđ* 'kidney'.<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *Wulf* 'n. of a vill. in Munjan'.<sup>5</sup> It is also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 227 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 238.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 118.

<sup>4</sup> V. above § 126.

<sup>5</sup> With ancient *rđw* or *adw*? Cf. §

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possible to derive *xalifān*, *ōn* 'flour-bag' < \**xwarθfān* < \**xwarθaβān* < \**hwarθa-pāna*;<sup>1</sup> but scarcely *woro*, etc. 'trousers' < \**warda* < \**warθra*, \**wrθra*.

129. There is no certain example of ancient *rp*. M *karvaša*, *kawuŋ<sup>viy</sup>* *rp* 'lizard' and Y *karvasē* 'cotton' may be lw.s, just as well as Y *karbasa* 'lizard' and M *karbōs* 'cotton'.

Ir. *rb* results in *rv* in *yurv* 'to seize', frequently reduced to *yur*. *rb* (*w*)*urw*-, *wurb*- 'to boil' must go back to \**warb*- (Par. *yarw*-) < \**barw*-.

Reg. *skāvrio*, *skarviyo*, *skarbiya* 'coal' (< \**skarbatā*?) and *yurv* 'mouth' v. s.vv.

In *k<sup>w</sup>irf*- 'to sneeze' it is impossible to tell whether *rf* goes back *rf* to *rf* or *fr*. The word may quite well be a recent, onomatopoeic formation.

*Rč*, *rj* occur only in lw.s and in composition. Thus, e.g., *čarč* *rč* 'spindle'; *parčam* 'hairlock'; *narčan* 'he-goat', etc.

130. Ancient *rs* and *rz* remain unassimilated.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *lirs*, *lurs* 'goat's *rs* hair': Wkh. *đirs*, etc.; *pr̥s*-, *purs*- 'to ask'; *p̥arsəyə* 'rib' < *p̥arsu*-; *yavarso* 'millet': Prs. *gāvarsa*; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hap̥arsī*. The derivation of *p̥arsē* 'roof-beam' and of *f̥ars*-, *f̥ris*- 'to spit' is unknown.

In *alarsinē*, *yūvərsən* 'lower, upper door-sill' the contact between *r* and *s* is secondary (v. Voc. s.vv.). (*w*)*uš̌iyo* 'hungry' has got its *š̌* from the old, now lost, word for 'thirsty', cf. Prs. *gušna* with *š̌* from *tišna*, and parallel phenomena in other Ir. dialects. Reg. *xaš/skən* 'dung', v. s.v.

Examples of *rz* are: *urzuŋ* 'straight' < *ərəzu*-; *larzē* 'sheaf' < *rz* *darəz*-; *pəlarz*- 'to wrap up' < \**pati-darz*-; *spərzə* 'spleen' (lw.?).

<sup>1</sup> Reg. *-ā/ōn* > *-āna* cf. § 145.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly *rs* in Oss., Wkh. and Shgh. (?), but *sr* > Oss. \**š* > *s*, Wkh., Shgh. *š̌* (*š̌ʔ*). In Par. and Sgl. we find *š̌*, *š̌* < *rs* and *sr*. Psht. has *š̌* < *sr* also in intervocalic position, while *-rs* apparently becomes *-ž̌-* (*wəž̌ai* 'hungry'), as the result of earlier assimilation.



Y *virzanë* 'pillow' < \**bɣzanaka*.<sup>1</sup> Reg. Y *zeviryo*, M *vəzvurgo* 'birch (bark)' with dissimilation < \**vərz-vurgo*, v. s.v. The etymology of Y *yurzuyo* 'handmill' is unknown, and *Birzin* 'n. of a village in Lutkuh' may be of foreign origin.

131. Between *r* and *t* the articulation of *s* was weaker and less resistant, and at an early date *rst* was assimilated into *št*, from which Y *šč*, M *šk*.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *pišč*, *pišk* 'farted'; *pətišč* 'broke'; *wušč*, *wušk* 'knitted', preterites of *pil*-, *wor*-. *gošč*, *gašk* 'turned', *gʷěšč*, *gyašk* 'passed' have probably been borrowed from Prs. forms in *št*, not from more ancient forms in \**rst*.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly *rzn* was assimilated into *žn*, from which *n*, in Y *vān*, *rzn* M *vān*<sup>ov</sup> 'long' < \**barzn*-, \**baržn*-, cf. Av. *barəšna*.

132. Ir. *rš* remains in *yarš* 'bear'. In this word the *š* may, however, have been long or geminated, and the same is possibly the case with regard to *yaršiyo* 'barley' (with *š* < *sy*?) and *poršik* 'lip' (if *š* < IE *ks*).<sup>4</sup>—In *fəršəmē* 'silk' and *fīršōn* 'to shake' *r* and *š* are in secondary contact, while the etymology of *kəršav* 'to stir soup' is unknown.

It is tempting to derive *kiō* 'hard work, ploughing' from \**kṛšā*-, and to compare also *qī'āy* (with secondary *q*?), *ki'āy* 'bull'.<sup>5</sup>

In that case *fərmo*-, *fərmiy* 'to forget' might also be derived from \**fra-mṛš*-, as is semantically probable,<sup>6</sup> and *gūy* 'to knead' might go back to \**ham-gṛš*-. It does not seem improbable that *rš* (< *rs*) became *-əš*-, *-uš*- early enough to develop further into *-əy*-,

<sup>1</sup> But M *viz/žnī* < \**bɣzniya*? Cf. Oss. *baz* 'pillow' < \**bazn* < *bɣzna*-, but *āmbärzän* 'coverlet'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>3</sup> *pist* 'asked' is a secondary formation, cf. § 229 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the treatment of *-š* § 75, and v. also Meyer Lübke, *Roman. Sprachwiss.*, 169. O. French *sus* < *sursum*, but *ours* < *urš(s)us* < \**ursus*.

<sup>5</sup> V. s.v.

<sup>6</sup> In spite of Henning, *ZII*, 9, 185, who points out the phonetic difficulty in deriving Phl. *frāmōš* < \**frā-mṛš*-.

etc.<sup>1</sup> *xoš-* 'to pull' appears to be a lw., since it appears in the same form in several Pamir dialects; but *\*arš* > *aš* (*\*rs* > *uš* > *uy*, and *\*aršš* > *arš*) is perhaps conceivable.

Ir. *ršt* was assimilated into *\*št*, just as was the case with *rst*. *ršt* Examples are: *piščo*, *piškʷo* 'back': Y *lišč* 'saw' (*wīn-*); *pəlišč* 'wrapped' (*pəlarz-*); *kišč*, *kīškʷ* 'ploughed' (*kār-*), *xišč-*, *xiškʷ* (lw.?).

Ir. *rž* (< *rgh* + *s*) occurs in *wirž*, *wurž* 'thread'. In *yaržō* 'beard' *rž* the group is of secondary origin,<sup>2</sup> and *žaržō* 'partridge' is either a lw., or has *rž* < *r* + *č*. *Aržūiko* 'n. of a vill. in Lutkoh' is borrowed from Khow.

133. Ir. *rn* was assimilated into *n* (as in Sgl. and Psht.), which remained *rn*, *ršn* (or became *n*) in Y, while in M, which has an aversion to cerebral sounds, it became *nʹgʹ* (*nʷgʷ*, *nʹgʷ*, etc.) through segmentation after the change of *ng* > *g* and of *nd* > *gʷ* (through *\*ngʷ*).<sup>3</sup> Also *ršn* resulted in *\*žn* > *n*, *ngʷ*.

Examples are:

Yg *a'muno*, Yzh, sh, r *a'muno*: M *amiŋgʷo*, etc. 'apple': Psht. *maṇa*, etc.

M *āgunʷ*, *əgunʷ* 'dough' < *\*haŋ-grš(a)na-*;

Yzh, g *kun-γastē*, sh, r *kun-*: M *kūnʹgʷ*, etc. 'deaf' < *karəna-*.

Yzh *kʷunʷyo*, sh, g, r *kyūnyo*: M *kungʷuvgo* 'magpie' < *\*kršnakā* (?).

Yzh, g *pūnā*, sh, r *pīnə*: M *pūnʷgʷ*, etc. 'feather' < *parəna-*.

Yzh, etc. *pəñək*, r, p *pənək* 'leaf' < *\*prna* (?).

Yzh, g *pānio*, sh *panio*: M *pāngʷo*, etc. 'heel' < *\*pāršni-*.<sup>4</sup>

Yzh, sh *wūn*, g, r *wūn*: M *wīng* 'marmot': Sgl. *yūnek* < *\*ārna-?*

Yzh, g *yān-*, sh *yān-*: M *yānʷgʷ*, etc. 'to grind' < *\*arna-*.

Yzh, r *žunayē*, sh *zuno*: M *ziŋgyigo*, etc. 'small boy': Psht. *z/žanai*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 74.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 74.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. §§ 62, 121.

<sup>4</sup> *šn* (Av. *pāšna*) would have resulted in *n*, v. § 112.



In the words given above Yzh, *g n* in most cases corresponds to Ysh, *r n*. There is probably a real difference of pronunciation, and the isolated instances of Yzh *n*, and vice versa, may be due to inexact notation.

At a very early date Ir. *kṛn-* became *kun-*, from which Y—M *ken-* 'to do'. Also *peno*, etc. 'palm of the hand' goes back to a form with Ir. *n*, not *rn* cf., e.g., Wkh. *pūn* (but *mur* 'apple'). Note that Skt., too, has an irregular form, and v. Voc. s.v.

In *xōn-*, etc. 'to buy' we find Y and M *n*.<sup>1</sup> Here *\*rn* (*\*xōrn-*) is of secondary origin, and the same is the case in *xun* 'raven' (< *\*xwārana-*), *ziānē* 'afternoon' < *uzayeirina-* + *ka*, and possibly in *yiston* 'felt' (if < *\*wi-starana-*) and *raz-in* 'elbow' (< *-arani-??*). Apparently *r* had no 'cerebralizing' power at a later date (cf. secondary *rt* > *t*, § 124), and the result was a complete, regressive assimilation. At a still later date *rn* (< *\*radn*)<sup>2</sup> remained intact.

Regarding *n* < *rn* in secondary contact with *t* cf. § 121.

*pīr* 'full' is borrowed from Prs.

134. Ir. *rm* remains in *yārmē*, etc. 'foreleg, shoulder' < *arāma-*. Y *rm* *kurmo* 'scorpion', M *kurm(o)*, *kōrm* 'insect, worm' may be genuine, but Yzh *kīrēm* 'bug' is probably borrowed from Prs.

Ancient *ry* occurs only in *parguščē*, etc. 'finger-ring' < *\*pary-* *ry anguštake-*.

#### Assimilation.

135. A great number of cases of assimilation in contact have been mentioned above in the paragraphs describing the development of intervocalic stops and of groups of consonants. Cf. also e.g. *pēcag-/pəzg-* 'to break'; *niaskē/niazye* 'mucus', etc. And note the simplification of specially heavy groups, e.g. in Y *pəško* 'tray' < M *paxškʷo*; *āžuryo* ~ *āžurēyo* 'ember'; *čkʷūgo*, *skūgo* 'urine' < *\*čʷškʷ-* (?); *što* 'said' < *\*žsta*; *kafdūz* < *kovzdūz* 'cobbler', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Except, perhaps, in Yg.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 127.

Assimilation at a distance—called *dilation* by Grammont<sup>1</sup>—is mainly of two types, both of which are common also in other Ir. dialects.

A voiced fricative or liquid has been assimilated to a homorganic nasal in *ag'min* 'honey' < \**ang'ib/vin*; *nānoyo* 'grain' < \**lānoyo*; *nəmalen* 'half-full' < *ləmalen*.

The only instance available of a type of perseveration of an initial nasal common to many Ir. and NW. I.A. languages is Y *məndrayē* < *mədrayē* 'neck-ring'.

A dental sibilant is assimilated to a palatal or dorsal one. Thus: *šinjo*, *šizno* 'needle' < \**sužn-*, etc.; *šästē* 'hook': Prs. *šast*; *šayūrš* < *sayūrš* 'hawk'; *špūo* = *spūo* 'flea' < \**spīšā*; *žōržo* < *zaržo* 'partridge'. Y *žāžīro* 'chain': Prs. *zanjīr*, but cf. also Khw. *jānjēr*.

An isolated case is *sarbargo* < *sabargo* 'trefoil' < Prs. *sihbarga*. Cf. also *warwađen* 'trouser-string' < \**war-vaden*.

### Dissimilation and Differentiation.

136. The most frequent type of dissimilation is that which affects one of two nasals. Thus: *ləyan-* < *nəyān-* 'to throw away'; *loyn-* < *nayon-* 'to lie down'; *ləmōn-* 'to rub' < \**nəmon-*; \**lažīno* 'wood-pile' < \**nižīno*. Cf. also *šaklām* 'dew' < Khw., Shgh., etc. *šagnām* < \**šabnam*; *blāim* 'soft' < *məlāim*.

When an *l* follows after the second nasal, the dissimilation does not take place. E.g.: *nəmālyo* 'salt', not \**ləm*<sup>o</sup>. But the principles regulating the assimilation and dissimilation of nasals are far from being clear.

Dissimilation of a liquid occurs in: *ha'lār* < *ha'lāl* 'lawful'; *žir'māl(ē)* < *žilmāl* 'kernel'; *vul'yōr* < *wulyār* 'shoulder-blade' (or vice versa?); *Tālaš Mīr* < Khw. *Teriē Mēr*; *kala'kəri* 'wrinkles' <

<sup>1</sup> But the term dissimilation is reserved by him for the changes taking place in contact!

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Shgh. *šəmān-*.



Khow. *kaḷakḷi*. *γarbil* and *γal'bil* 'sieve' may both have been borrowed from Prs.

Loss of *r* is entailed in *ka'drənə* 'earring' < Khow. *karidreni*; *fāru* 'mill-broom' < \**frāruv*; *fri* 'melted' < \**frari*; *awarxo* 'flame' < *urvāxra* (?).

Regarding the preventive dissimilation in *dāl* 'to give' < \**ḍaḍa*, cf. also § 56.

The development of *xšusta* > *xusto* 'wet' is paralleled in other Ir. dialects, and so is *čīx* > *tīx* 'to sit down', cf. also Voc. s.v. *'šti*. Dissimilation of *š—š* > *s—š* has taken place in *spač* < *špač* 'behind', and possibly at an early date in *afšinyo* 'ladder' < \**afšišn* < \**upa-srišnakā*. Cf. also *wuḷuzgo* 'frog' < \**wuḷuzgo* (v. s.v. *azuzyo*).

The change of *t—db* > *t—gb* in *tagbir* < *tadbir* 'plan' is not confined to Y—M, and probably belongs to the Prs. dialect from which the word has been borrowed.

Generally speaking, the examples of dissimilation mentioned above fit in with the rules laid down by Grammont. There are, however, exceptions (such as *ha'lār* < *ha'lāl*) which may be due to special causes.

A segmentization of *l', r'* > *lg(y), rg(y)* occurs in Mg, etc., *wulgvigo*, *wulgiy* 'kidney'; *zrl<sup>vy</sup>* 'heart'; Mt *storgi* 'stars' (sg. *stōriy*).

### Metathesis and Interversion.

137. Metathesis is quite frequent in Y—M. Examples are: M *kupōr* < Y *p<sup>h</sup>korē* 'mouth'; *nəliv* 'to lie down' < \**nəvil*; *lur* 'to run away' < \**rul*; <sup>1</sup> *plār* 'to sell' < \**prāl*; *layafēi* ~ *ləvaxčē* 'torch'; *zəgārmyo* < *zəmagire* 'lizard'; *xəsmānek* < *səxmānek* 'pellet-bow'; *əryūy* < *əyury* 'egg'; *krabəṛē* 'wool of lambs' < Khow. *kābraili*, *karberi*; *azuzyo* ~ *wuḷzəga* 'frog'; *yaržo* 'beard' < \**raižo*; *oymino* 'podex' < *ymino*; *nišāž* < *niāš* 'to show'; *warwaḍen* 'trouser-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *r—l* > *l—r* in *lār* 'road', *lara* 'for'.

string' < \**warvaden*; *bräyiko* 'sparrow' < \**mary*; *pəšgirdio* < *pəškadri* 'dung'; Y *xird* (but *xrist*) < M *xred* 'to shave'.

Regarding intervension in groups of consonants v. § 97 (*rf, rx* < *fr, xr*); § 127 (secondary *rd* > *dr*); § 119 (*md, mg* < *dm, gm*).

Cf. also *alvosto* < *avlasto* 'sleeve'; *värzeyo* < \**vazrayo* (*vəzəryo*) 'wing'; *šinjo* < *šižno* 'needle'; *pəzgō* < *pəgzo* 'clean';<sup>1</sup> *šfīn* < \**fšūn* 'comb'; *šfarm* < *fšarm* 'shame'; *š'fē* < \**fšuyē* 'husband'.

But note: *nīyzo* < (?) *nezyo* 'mucus'; *skāvrio* < *skarviyo* 'coal'; *zaxmo* 'field' < \**zamxa*; *zoyno* 'chin' < \**zanya*; *wəyzəga* 'frog' < \**wazyaga* (v. *azuzyo*). In these words an apparently easier sequel of consonants has changed into a more difficult one.

### Vowels.

138. Any attempt to reconstruct the development of Ir. vowels in Y—M is beset with many dangers, and the results must of necessity be much more uncertain than those we can arrive at with regard to many of the consonants. In most languages, and certainly to a marked degree in Y—M and some other E.Ir. dialects, the vowels are more variable and more subject to complicated influences from neighbouring sounds than the consonants.

A glance at the Vocabulary will show that, while the consonants generally agree in Y and M, or present only two different forms, the vowels often appear to vary with the speaker. No doubt some of the variations may be due to faulty notation. It takes much longer time to penetrate the vowel system of a language, than to ascertain the number of consonant phonemes. But there really appears to be a certain instability in the articulation, especially of short vowels, in Y—M. They often tend towards a neutral *ə*, and *a* and *o* may interchange in the same word and with the same speaker according to the phonetic context.

<sup>1</sup> But also Khw. *pəzgā*, *pagzā*.



Without the knowledge of older forms of these dialects the task of tracing in detail the vowel changes, which have taken place at different periods and under varying conditions, is just as hopeless as the fixation of the sound-laws which have changed Germanic *a*, *au*, *ai*, *e*, *ē*, *ō*, and *iu* into Modern English *i*,<sup>1</sup> would be, if we knew nothing about Anglo-Saxon, or the older stages of English.

## a

139. In the majority of cases Ir. "a" (whatever its exact phonetic value) is represented, in stressed syllables by Y *ā*, M *ǎ* (*ā*). It is doubtful whether the difference of quantity has any historical or phonological significance.<sup>2</sup>

To give an exhaustive survey of the development of ancient *a* would entail a repetition of the majority of the words contained in the Vocabulary, and I must therefore restrict myself to quoting some selected examples.

Before a nasal, also when derived from an earlier group of consonants (e.g. *šm*, *rn*), we find Y *ā*, M *ǎ*, e.g. in: *Pbān*: *Pvōn* 'to winnow'; *Pyān*: *Pyōn* 'to throw away'; *šam*: *šōm* 'to drink'; *yān*: *yān<sup>sv</sup>* 'to grind'; *pām*: *pōm* 'wool'; *čām*: *čām*: *čōm* 'eye'; *pādo*: *pōndo* 'road'; *pānš*: *pōnč* '5'; *yādēm*: *yōndum* 'wheat'; *lad*: *lod*, *lōnd* (but LSIm *lād*, MFB *lānd*) 'tooth'; *vad*: *vōnd* 'to tie'; *trāž*: *trōnž*, *trāj* 'to bind'; *akadē*: *ākodiy* 'bramble'; *tandur*: *tondoro* 'thunder'.—Corresponding to Y *yādē* 'blind', we find Mm, Z, G *yōdiy*, etc., but Mti, t, (t), g *yāndiy*, where the *ā* can scarcely be due to the influence of *y* (cf. Mt *yōn<sup>sv</sup>* 'to grind'). Nor am I able to explain the vocalism of Y *pmōn* 'to rub', *boda* 'dyke, ankle-bone' (< Prs.).

Before *r*, *l*: Y *fšarm*: M *šfor<sup>m</sup>* 'shame'; *γary*: *γory* 'heavy'; *larzē*: *lorziy* 'sheaf'; *γalv*: *γōlv* (but LSIm *γālf*) 'dog'; *polarz*: *pōlōrz* 'to wrap'; *parγ*: *pory* 'mouse'.

Before *s*: *niāst*: *niōst* 'sat down'; *karāst*: *kērost* 'hide'; *last*: *lost*

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in *heel*, *leaf*, *heal*, *steal*, *eel*, *feel*, *creep*. <sup>2</sup> Cf. § 35.

'hand'; *ašco*: *oškʷo*, etc. (but G, LSI *m ā-* '8'; *yasp*: *yosp* 'horse'; *čäst*: *čöst* 'fell'; *väst*: *vöst* 'tied'; *yašk*: *yošk* 'tear'.—Note Y *xāstē* 'straw', but *xosto* 'grain' (with assimilation to -oʷ).

Before other consonants: Y *māgʷ*: M *mōgʷ* 'to rub'; *parwaxšē*: *parwaxšiy* 'broom'; *maxšē*: *mōxši* 'mosquito'; *max*: *mōx* 'we'; *sāvdē*: *sōvdīy* 'basket'; *avdo*: *ovdō* '7'; *maf*: *mōf* 'you', etc.

140. One group of exceptions to this rule are the cases with Y *o*: M *a* in the proximity of *x* and the labials. But we do not always find Y *o*, M *a* in such positions (v. above), and it is impossible to tell what has really taken place in such words, assimilation in Y or dissimilation in M.

Examples with *x*: Y *xof*: M *xaf* 'scum'; *xof*: *xaf*, *xəf* 'to cough'; *xoš*: *xəš*, *xəš* 'to pull'; *xoro*: *xara*, *xərā* 'ass'; *xo(u)d*: *xād* (Z *xād*) 'to laugh'; *xō(u)n*: *xan* 'to buy'. But note Y—M *xāfs* 'to descend' (pret. Y *xāvd*, M *xō/āvd*).

Before *x*: Y *yox*: M *yax* 'cold'; Y *šūrox*: M *širəx*, *kirax* 'to shy'; *kutox*: *kutax* 'sour milk'.

After *w* the development is more troubled. Cf. e.g.: Y *wəfšio*: M *wəfšiyō* 'wasp'; *woryo*: *wargā* 'quail'; *wor*: *war* 'to knit'; but also Y *waly* 'wedding'; *wor*, *war* 'oath'; *wo/arfo*: M *worfo* 'snow'; Y *wāzd*: M *wōzd* 'fat'.

Before labials we find Y *o* in: Y *kofšē*: M *kafšo* 'shoe'; *nov*: *nāv* 'to rain'; *skāvrio*: *skarviyo* 'coal'; *xəšovo*: *xəšavo* 'night'; *yovurso*: *yavurso*, *yə*, *ye* 'juniper'. But Y *γavo* (sh *γowō*): M *γōwa* 'cow'.

But the hopelessness of finding some principle or principles to explain all the variations in the development of *a* in Y—M is demonstrated by Y *poləm*: M *palʷm* 'soft'; Y *sōro*: M *sara* 'dung'; Y *la/oso*: M *lāsa* 'rope'; Y *moyuso*: M *maguso*, *mā*, *məʷ* 'fly'; Y *xurom*: M *xuram* 'threshing-ground', etc. Cf. also e.g. Y *los* '10'; *rok* 'colour'; *kob* (= M) 'little'; Y—M *nayən* 'bread', etc.

141. After initial *kʷ*<sup>1</sup> Y *a* has been palatalized in *kʷel* 'baldheaded'; *kʷämder* 'younger'; *kʷemalyo* 'skull': Mj. *kʷāl*, *kamder*. But in other cases Y has *ka*, *ko*. Reg. *āx* < *aṣ* (?), cf. § 153.

<sup>1</sup> V. § 41.





Examples of  $\bar{a} > M \bar{u}$ ,  $M-Y i$  are: Mm, Z, G, LSI *m*  $\check{c}\bar{f}\bar{u}r$ : Y  $\check{c}\bar{s}\bar{i}r$ , Mt, ti, g, (sh)  $\check{c}\bar{f}\bar{i}r$  'four' Mm, Z, G *n*  $\bar{u}fa$ : Y, Mg, t, ti *nif* 'navel'. The same distribution of  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  appears in Y *asmīno* 'sky'; *išcīn* 'female breast'; *dīr* 'other'; *fīz* 'breast';<sup>1</sup> *nowīsa* 'grandson'; *prīst* 'sold' (*plār*-); *pīš* 'arrow'; *rīyo* 'vein'; *rīv* 'rhubarb'; *sābrīm* 'fat' (of unknown etymology); *šfīn* 'comb'; *šīz* 'vulture'; *tīro* 'darkness';<sup>2</sup> *vīzyo* 'arm'; *vīra* 'burden'; *zīk* 'knee'; *zāvīy* (and *zāvēy*) 'tongue', as compared with the forms in Mm, etc. Possibly also Mti *nivīlo*: Z *naucul*<sup>3</sup> 'bedding' < \**ni-pādā*; Y *mīryo*, Mg *mīrya*: Mm *muryo* 'meadow' < \**mārgā*.

Words with ancient  $\bar{a}$  found only in Y are: *sīy* 'hare';<sup>3</sup> *stīnyo* 'supine'; *tīyo* 'rope made of willow bark'; *šīlo* 'hail'. Cf. also Voc. s.vv. *čērīy*, *čīrūy* 'lamp'; *pīy* 'onion'; *pīloyo* 'cup'. *škūr* 'shooting'; *pūzē* 'falcon' (< Prs *bāz*), and possibly *šulo* 'rice pillau' must have been borrowed too late to join the development of ancient  $\bar{a}$ .

Special M words are: *čīrūy* 'lantern' (early lw.); *tūr* 'trap'; *xurī* 'itching'; *xurī*, *xūrōya* 'sister's son';<sup>4</sup> *pārīvur* 'cow-house'.

144. Most of the exceptions to this rule can be explained. Thus after *x-* and *w-* Y  $\bar{u}$  remains in Y—M *wuš*, *uš* 'grass'<sup>5</sup> < *vāstra* (cf. Y *ušcēno*, M *wuškēno* 'hay-stack'); Y—M *xūyo*, *xūgo* 'spring, well'; *wūi* 'wind' (but Mt, g, etc. *wīy*, *wīy*); Y *xūno* 'lid of a tray'; Y *hūy* (< \**wūy*?) 'money'. Possibly also after *m*, cf. Y *mux* (Biddulph 'moogh') 'month'; and cf. s.v. *munyo* 'sheep-skin bag'. But, on the other hand, cf. *nowīsa* and *asmīno* above.

After *y-* we find Y  $\bar{u}$ , possibly retained through preventive differentiation, in: Y *yūr*: M *yūr* 'fire' < \**ārt*;<sup>6</sup> *yūrzun*, etc. 'millet' (prob. < \**ārz*, v. Voc. s.v.); *yurzūyo* 'grindstone' (if < \**yāhr* <

<sup>1</sup> Biddulph's *fuz* can scarcely be an older Y form.

<sup>2</sup> With \**ār* < \**aθr*.

<sup>3</sup> With \**ā* < *aħa*. Cf. Psht. *sōe*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> With \**ār* < \**aħr*.

<sup>5</sup> But Mt *wīš*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 101.



\**yaθra*). But corresponding to M *yūr* 'ground' (< \**ārta*-) we find Yg *yīr*.<sup>1</sup> Reg. *is*, *yīs* v. below. Mm, Z, G *yūspən*, Mt, g *yīspən* 'iron' goes back to \**ōspan* < \**āspana*-, and the vocalism of Y *rīspən* seems to show that the mysterious *r*- was introduced at an early date in \**ōspan* > \**rōspan* > \**rūspan*, etc.

Also before *-y* < *-t* we find *ū* in *sūi* 'slate' (< \**sāta*-). But I am unable to explain the varying development of \**āta*- in Y, Mm, Z, G *wūi* (*wūy*): Mt, ti, g *wī(y)*, *wī(y)*, *wīy* 'wind'; Y *lī*, *lū*: Mm *lūiy*, Mt, Z, G *līy*, (*lōy*) 'gave';<sup>2</sup> Mm *yūi*: Mg *yīy* 'brother-in-law', etc. Cf. also Y *Prū-yus*: Mt, g, etc. *Prī-yus*, but Mm *Prē-gus* (possibly < \**drāti* with epenthesis of *i*?).

There are no examples of ancient, unshortened *-āy*- in Y, but in M this group has been subject to early palatalization. Thus: Mm *nusi-y*, g *nišiy* 'shadow' < \**nisāya*; Z *zīy*- 'to bear' (but *zūy*- < *zāta*-); cf. *čiy*-: *čūy*- 'to freeze'.

145. In a great number of words *ā* has been shortened at an early date and has shared the fate of ancient *a*. This shortening has taken place before some nominal suffixes, in the first hand *-o/-a* < *-ā* and *-ē/-iy* < *-aka*-, in nominal compounds, and in the present tense of the verbs.<sup>3</sup> It is not necessary to assume that all of these suffixes have once carried the stress; the shortening may be due to rhythmical tendencies.

Examples are, e.g.: Y *a'lāno* 'pome-granate' < \**ha-dānā*-; Y *lāmo*, M *lōmo* 'village' < \**dāmā*-; M *lōmago* 'snare' < \**dāmakā*-; Y *mayo'yo*, M *mōyaya*, etc. 'mare' < \**mātakā*-; Y *nāno'yo* 'grain' < \**dānakā*-; Y *palo*, *polo*, M *pālo* 'foot' < \**pādā*-; Y *wāriyo* 'rain' < \**wārikā*-; Y *wāro*, M *wōro* 'summer' < \**wāhrtā*-; Y *yāu'yo*, M *yōugo*, etc. 'water' < \**āpakā*-; Y *no'woso*, M *nawēso* 'granddaughter' (but Y *nowisa*, *nowis* m.).

Y *fer'yāmā*, -ē, M *frayomīy* 'he-goat' < \**fragāmaka*-; Y *mōžē*:

<sup>1</sup> Other Y informants gave the remade form *yāgvī*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> But *yāi* 'brought' (*is*, *yīs* 'to bring' < *yās*-).

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the early syncopated 3g. in *-ati*.

M *mačy* 'stick' < \**māḥaka*; Y *stārē*, M *stōriy* 'star'; Y *yārē*, M *yōriy* 'flour' etc.

In such words as *asmīno* 'sky'; *rīyo* 'vein'; *šilo* 'hail'; *xūyo* 'well'; *pūzē* 'hawk', etc., the suffix may have been added at a later date.

Y *vrai*, M *vrai* 'brother'; Y *za'mai*, M *zamōi* 'son-in-law', which apparently have shortening without suffigation, may perhaps be derived from \**vraiy* < \**brātaka*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In compounds we find shortening of \**ā* in *poruylan* 'key-hole' and other words in ancient \**dāna*; *aspalan* 'stable'; *aw'lān* 'bridle'; Y *pišcan*, -en, M *pišk'en* 'thigh' (< *paitišlāna*); *mālān* 'waist' (< *maidāna*); *pistān* 'udder' (< \**payah-stāna*); Y *xalfān*, M *xalifōn* 'skin bag for flour' (< \**hwarḥa-pāna*). *iščin*, *asmīno*, *stīnyo*, *xūno*, *zik*, etc., mentioned above, show that the shortening can not have been caused by the nasal which follows the \**ā*.

Among the present forms cf., e.g., Y *aydāum*, M (Z) *aydōvēm* 'I dress' (and other causatives); Y *plār*, M *plōr* 'to sell' (< \**parā-dā*), *lār* 'to hold'; *vzān* 'to know'; *wāf*, etc. 'to weave' (Prs. *bāf*); *zonay* 'to wash', etc. But Z *ziy* 'to bear',<sup>2</sup> etc., may have been influenced by the 3 sg. Cf. Z *aydūd* 'he dresses', etc. with regular *ū* < *ā*.<sup>3</sup>

The verbs in *ā* and those in *a* have thus to a large extent, if not completely, coalesced through the shortening of *ā* in most forms, and the lengthening of *a* in Pres. 3rd sg.

Also the prefix *ā* has been shortened, or has at any rate not taken part in the development towards *ū*. Thus Y *āydem*, M *āyudem*, etc. 'I dress': Y *ay'dāum* 'I dress (somebody else)'; *āyoi* (or with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *vraya* 'younger brother', with *a* from *vrai*. Other words in -a have unshortened \**ā*, cf. § 185.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 144.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Z *nigēvd* 'bites'; *wēft* 'weaves'; *firšēd* 'shakes' (*firšōn*); *bispēt* 'entrusts' (*bispōr*); *pilēr* 'sells' (*pālōr*) cf. the Morphology. The phonetic development is not clear.



assimilation Y *ōyoī* 'came'; *ārunyo* 'light' < \**ā-rauxśnakā*, etc. But in M *yūspən* 'iron', etc., *ā* has not been felt as a prefix.

Final *-ā* was shortened at an early date, but did not coalesce with original *-a*.

146. In Prs. lw.s, except possibly in the very early borrowing *pūzē* 'falcon', we find *ā*, *ō*, *ā*, varying very much in the same manner as in genuine Y—M words with ancient *a*. Thus, e.g.: *zəmīstān*, *-ōn* 'winter'; Y *šām*: M *šōm* 'evening'; Y *xām*: M *xōm* 'raw'; Y *bāya* 'garden'; Y *sāl*: M *sōl* 'year' (if borrowed), etc.

### Ir. i.

147. As has already been pointed out by Gauthiot,<sup>1</sup> *i* and *u* have a tendency to lose their specific articulation in Y—M, and to become mixed vowels of the type *ə*, *ɨ*. This tendency is shared also by Psht. and some other E.Ir. dialects.

Examples of *i* in Y—M are: *cē*, *ci* 'what'; *cēb*-, *cəb*- 'to pinch'; *diš*- 'to know'; *ind* 'so much' < \**imanta*-; Y *imar*-, M *yumar*- 'to count' < *hišmar*-; *lizo*, *ləzo* 'fort'; *riško* 'nit'; *sēyo*, *sīg<sup>yo</sup>* 'sand' < \**sikatā*-; *silyo* 'cream' < \**sidakā*-; *səziyo* 'jujube tree' < \**sinjītā*-; *tiry*, *tī<sup>o</sup>*, *to<sup>o</sup>* 'sharp'; *xird*-, *xərd*- 'to shave' < \**xrind*-; *yimsāl* 'this year' < *ima<sup>o</sup>*.

After *u*- ancient *i* has been labialized in *uul*-. *wust* 'to throw' < \**wid*-; *uulēyo* 'span' < \**widāti*; *x<sup>u</sup>šuvd* 'sweet' < *xšvīpta*-; Z *pərwōyd* 'sifted' (*pərwīž*-); possibly *urīz*- 'to spread dung' (*vi*- or *ava*-).

Between a labial and ancient *š* we find *ū* in *spūo* 'louse' < *spiš*-; *pušč*, *pušk<sup>y</sup>* 'flour made from dried apples'; *puma* 'avalanche' < \**pišmā*.

Unstressed *i* is still more exposed to assimilation. Cf. e.g. *nəliv*-. *nuvōst* 'to lie down'; *nuyōz*-. *niyēzd* 'to swallow'; *ni(y)*-. *noyoy* 'to go out', etc. Note also *Undustōn* 'Hindustan'.

Before *hr* < *θr* *i* has been lengthened in *mīra* 'sun'.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 142.

## Ir. i.

148. Ancient *i* is retained in *xšira* 'milk'; *šīyo* 'woman'; *šio* 'bow-string'; *wist(o)* '20'; *nīya* 'sour milk'. With constant shortening: *ši-nāmia* 'girl' < *stri-nāman*; *ti* 'to enter' < *\*ati*.

The relation between *γurvo*, *γirwa*, etc. 'throat' and Av. *grīvā* 'neck' is uncertain.

## Ir. u.

149. In most cases Ir. *u* remains, or becomes *ə*, *i*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g.: *luydo*, *ləo* 'daughter'; *vəzo*, *vəo*, *vīo* 'she-goat'; *surx*, *səo*, *sīo* 'red'; *suwdo*, *səo*, *sīo* 'shoulder'; *surv* 'hole'; *oguščo*, etc. 'finger'; (*w*)*ušk* 'dry'; *poruy* 'lock, bolt'; *yuxs-* 'to learn'; *tu*, *tə* 'thou' (Psht. *tə* points to *\*tū*); *vən* 'bottom, root'; *rust* 'fled', etc. Note Y *šifē*, M *š<sup>2</sup>fiy*, *šfui*, etc. 'husband' < *\*fšəyəy* < *\*fšuyaka*.

In *zinro* 'daughter-in-law' (< *\*snušā*) and *friyo* 'flea' (< *\*frušikā*) *u* has resulted in *i* before *y* < *š*.<sup>2</sup> In *g<sup>v</sup>ib* 'lost' (< *\*gumb*); *lib-* 'to card wool' (*\*dumb*), and *lim*, *lum*, etc. 'tail' *u* has become *i* before a labial.<sup>3</sup> I cannot explain the reasons for the development in Y *agidro*, M *aglero* 'grape' (*\*angurdā-?*); *škirro*, etc. 'camel'; *frāiyo* etc., 'yoke-rope' (< *\*frayugā*).

In *pūr* 'son' the lengthening has been caused by the loss of *h* < *θ*. But note the lengthening also in other monosyllabics, such as *yūy*, *yīy* 'yoke'; *\*stūy* 'long hair', *šūi* 'went'.

In unstressed position we find *u*, *ə* in: *γādem*, *γōndem*, *\*um* 'wheat'; *pərsəyē*, etc. 'rib' < *pərsu-*; Y *urzūy*, M (*w*)*urzug*, *\*əy* 'straight';<sup>4</sup> Y *āyd-*, M *āyud-* 'to dress'.

Initial *u* is preserved in *usxūbun* 'sleepless'; *ustušč-* 'to jump', but lost in the atonic word *sko* 'on' < *uskāt*. Corresponding to Y *ilir* 'belly' (*\*udarya-?*) M has *Λ<sup>o</sup>*, *yi<sup>o</sup>*, etc.; cf. Y *imoyo*, M *yu<sup>o</sup>*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above regarding *i*.

<sup>2</sup> The statement § 74 is hardly correct. But cf. above *i* > *u* between labial and *-š-*!

<sup>3</sup> Through differentiation?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 181.



*yī*<sup>o</sup>, *i* 'moon' < \**uxšm*<sup>o</sup>. Y *āveli*, M *a*<sup>o</sup>, *ə*<sup>o</sup> 'both' may have suffered a very early reduction of the initial vowel, cf. Av. *uwa-*, *ava-*, *va-*. Regarding *upa*, *upa-* cf. § 165.

Also in lw.s *u* is rendered by *ə*, *i*. E.g. *kəlf*, *kulf* 'lock'; *pīr*, *pər*, *pur* 'full'; *sīnd*, *sənd* 'two-storied house' < Khw. *suṇd*.

### Ir. *ū*.

150. Ancient *ū* retains its quality in Y—M *kū* 'where'; Y—M *γū(w)* *ū* 'excrements' (but also Y *γō(h)*); Y—M (<sup>u</sup>)*stuno* (and Y <sup>o</sup>*steno*) 'post'; M *tūi* 'mulberry'. M shows a tendency to palatalization in *lūy*, *lūy*, *li* 'smoke'; *lura*, *lə*<sup>o</sup>, *lū* 'far'; *stur*, *stər*, *stūr* 'big'; Y *lūi*, *lūro*, <sup>o</sup>*stur*. In Y *pio*, M *pīy* 'rotten'; *vīo*, etc., 'was' and Y *astio* 'abuse' (if < \**a-stūtā*-) this tendency has prevailed completely (before *y* < *t*) in both dialects. Also Y—M *vriyo*, etc. (G *vrēga*) has an unexplained *i*.

Y—M *šū* 'horn' may go back to *srū-* or \**srau-* (cf. the Wkh. form). Y *vṛūt*, M *brūt* 'moustache' are lw.s.

### Ir. *r*.

151. In view of the general instability of short vowels in Y—M it is not surprising that the very short vocalic element which developed in original *r* should show a wide scope of variation, which cannot be explained in all particulars.

In the neighbourhood of a labial *r* usually results in *u*. Thus: *wulya* 'kidney'; *wury* 'wolf'; (*w*)*ušiyo* 'hungry'; *xur* 'ate'; *γurv-* (*yirv-*) 'to seize'; *yovurso* 'juniper' (< *hapərasi-*); Y *nəvur*, *ər*, M *never* 'took out'; *mur* 'died'; *imur* 'counted'; *urzuγ* 'straight'; M *pursəgo* (but Y *pərsəyē*) 'rib'; M *purs-*, *pərs-* (but Y *pərs-*, *pṛs-*) 'to ask'; *wūrž*, *wīrž* 'thread'; *virzanē*, *urz*<sup>o</sup>, *riz*<sup>o</sup> 'pillow' < \**bṛz*<sup>o</sup>.

Before Y *šē*, M *šk*<sup>y</sup> the vocalic element became palatal: *lišē*: *lišk*<sup>y</sup> 'saw'; *kišē*: *kišk*<sup>y</sup>, *kišk* 'ploughed'; *pəlišē* 'wrapped' (*pəlarz-*);

*pišč*: *piškʷ* 'farted' (*pil*); *piščo*: *piškʷo*, but also *pīʷ*, *piʷ*, *pəʷ* 'back'. To the same conflicting influences of an initial labial and a following palatal is due the vacillation in Y *wušč*, *wišč*: M *wušk* 'knitted' (*wor*), etc. It is doubtful whether *fərmišč* 'forgot' has ancient *r*.<sup>1</sup>

An *l* appears to have prevented the development of a labial vowel in Y *milyo*: M *mīʷ*, *məʷ*, *mīʷ* 'clay' (< \**mɪd*-); Y *pil* 'to fart'; Y *pilf*, *pəlf* 'ford'.

Other examples with *i*, *ə*, are: Y *lirs*: M *lirs*, *lurs* 'goat's hair' (< \**dɪsa*- or \**dārsa*-?); Y *prasilanē* 'belonging to last year' (< \**para-sɪd-anaka*-?); Y *zɪl*, *zəl*: M *zɪlʷ*, *zülʷ*, etc. 'heart'; Y *fsidro* 'spring' (< \**upa-sɪdā*-, or \**sārdā*-); *kirio*, etc. 'hen'; Y *kər*: M *kər* 'made', etc.

Note Y *mur* 'died' (v. above), but *mər*- 'to die' with the usual reduction in the present.

Initial *r* is found only in Y *yarš*, cf. Av. *arəša*.

Reg. M *vəzvurgo*, Y *zeviryo* 'birch'; Y *kurmo* 'scorpion, insect' (but *kɪrəm* 'bug'); *ɣikʷ* 'penis' v. Voc. s.vv. Note *kənəm* 'I do', *kɪt* 'he does' < *kunāmi*, *kunati* with early change of *r* into *u*, as in Prs., Shgh. etc.

### Diphthongs.

152. In most cases ancient *ai* results in *ī* (*i*), the older stage *ē* being *ai* preserved in a few words without any apparent reason.

Examples are: *ag'min* (rarely *ʷin*, *ʷɪn*) 'honey'; *animəf* 'half' (adv., cf. *nimopir* 'half full'); *axšɪn*, *ʷən*, *-ən* 'blue'; Y *iz'ma*, M (*y*)*iʷ*, *yrʷ*, *ya*- 'firewood'; *diz*-, *dɪz*- 'to bury'; *ɣis* 'goat's hair thread'; *ɣi(w)*- 'to spin'; *liu* 'rotten, bad'; *mīy*, *mēy* 'cloud'; Yzh *miz*-, Ysh, Mm *mēz*- 'to urinate'; *neriz*- 'to lick'; *pərwiz*- 'to sieve'; *pix* 'span' (Sgl. *pēx*); *spī* 'white'; *vri*- 'to break' (Sgl. *vrēl*-); *wīn* 'to see', *wīya* 'willow'.

In Y—M *yēya*, *yēʷ*, Z *yāya* 'bridge' (< *haētu*-) the development of initial (*h*)*ai*- differs from that found in *izma*. The difference is perhaps conditioned by the following *y*. In *yū* 'one' the development

<sup>1</sup> v. § 132.



appears to have passed through the stages *aii* > *yau*.<sup>1</sup> *M yaxlən*, *yi*<sup>o</sup> 'cold' might be explained in the same manner, but this word is probably borrowed from or influenced by Prs. (cf. *M yaxsəriy*, *Y laxsərə* 'ice'), genuine *\*aix-* occurring in *Y axlən*. Cf. *Y max*: *M mōx* 'peg' (Prs. *mēx*); *Y woxo*: *M wāxo* 'root' (Prs. *bēx*), with loss of the palatal element before *x*.<sup>2</sup> *Y xūl*: *M xa'la* 'perspiration' is difficult to explain. Possibly *i* has been absorbed into the *l* (< *\*l'*).<sup>3</sup>

Between a labial and ancient *š* we find *ū*, etc. < *ai* in *Y mūo*: *M mīyo*, *mō*<sup>o</sup>, *mū*<sup>o</sup> 'sheep', and possibly in *Y ābūya*: *M ābīy* 'moraine'. Cf. above regarding the treatment of *i* in similar positions.

*Y yaržo*: *M yōržo* 'beard' may be derived through *\*raižā* < *\*raišā*.

The pronoun *yo* 'this' (half proximate) probably goes back to *\*ayo* < *aēta-* (or nom. *aēša*), cf. *mo* < *ima-*, etc. Loss of *ai-* is also recorded in *Y fkyiyiko* (Biddulph still *ifkigo*) 'alone' < *\*ēw + k<sup>o</sup>*, cf. Sar. *iwj*.

In the lw. *qiza'gi* 'bridle' < Prs. *qaiza* the foreign sound *ai* has been reduced in unstressed syllable.

The actual diphthongs in *Y nūilā* 'to make sit down'; *nūilō* 'to circumcize' are probably derived from *\*nəy* < *\*niš/ž*.

*paitawo* 'puttees' is a lw., and the etymologies of *paifar* 'steep hill side', *paixō* 'unthreshed grain' are unknown. *pai-* may go back to *pati-*. Cf. also § 46.

#### *au*

153. The development of *au* into *ū* (*u*, *ü*) is parallel to that of *ai* > *i*. *au* As mentioned above,<sup>4</sup> this *ū* did not coalesce with the sound resulting from *ā* in common Y—M. In Y *ū* < *au* is palatalized before *-y* < *-t*, cf. *īy* < *ūta*, § 150.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *yau*, Par. *žū*, etc. But v. also Junker, SHAW. phil. hist. Kl. 1914, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> But cf. *pīx* above!

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. *xwala*, but also *wala* 'willow': Y *wīya*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 143.

Examples are: Y *ābrūo* 'pear' (< \**hamrautā*); Y *o'γūzo* 'walnut'; *ārunyo* 'light' (< \**ā-rauxšnakā*); *drūv-* 'to dance' (Sogd. *dr'wβ-*); *γū* (*γōi*), etc. 'ear'; *γūnia* 'hair'; *γūš* 'meat'; Y *kʷifo*, *kʷiū*, M *kʷi* 'hump' (< \**kaufyā*? *kūfān* 'camel's hump' may be a lw.); M *kūiko* 'stone'; Y *kovio*, *kōviyo*: M *kouyo*, *kōwūya* 'pigeon'; *lūž-* 'to milk'; *nəyūy-* 'to hear'; *rūi*, etc. 'bowels'; Y *Rūi* 'n. of a village' (cf. Prs. *rōd*?); Y *rufo* 'small broom' (\**au* or *u*?); *rūyən* 'clarified butter'; Y *rūso*: M *raūso* 'fox'; *rūžen* 'smoke-hole'; M *s̄tūr* 'horned cattle'; *tūy<sup>m</sup>* 'grain'; *xūlo* 'cap'; M *yōruya* 'eructation' (\**ā-raugā*); *yūya* 'ear of wheat' (Prs. *xōša*).

Of unknown or uncertain derivation are: Y *ā'yury*: M *ar'yūg* 'egg'; *yuvē* 'wooden trough'; *kuso* 'maize-straw'; *mūž-* 'to move'; Y *sūyiko*: M *sūgo* (M(g) *sīyakā*!) 'tale'; Y \**stuynūl* 'dripping'; *yur-siliko* 'shoe-string'. V. Voc. s.vv.

Note Y *pisto*: M *pūsto* 'bark' (Prs. *pōst*), possibly < \**paustā*, cf. Av. *pasta*.—Reg. -*awa*- (e.g. in *tō* 'thy', etc.), cf. § 85.

### Umlaut.

154. Umlaut caused by a following *i* or *y* is common in Y—M as in most other Ir. languages, but it is not easy to determine the exact conditions under which this assimilation takes place, nor are the results always the same.

155. Before a following *y* an ancient *a* results in *ē* or *i*. Thus, e.g., *a-y* Y *mēr*: M *mēr*, *mār* 'man' < \**mart(i)ya*- (but Y *maṛa*, M *mēra* < \**martyaka*-); Y *kēro*, *kē*, *ko*: M *kēro*, *kē* 'knife' < \**kart(i)yā*-; Y *γū'rež*, *ōž* 'knot' < \**graḍyā*-; Y *yežio*: M *yōžo* 'hand-mill' < \**yaḍriyā*- (?). Reg. *vəžāžo* 'pregnant', *zāžko* 'child-bearing'; *pəžēž*, *pəžāžē* 'male sheep, 1—2 y. old' < \**zaḍya*- or \**zaḍa*-, v. §§ 66, 155.

But *i* occurs in M *nəliv*, *nīlv-* 'to lie down' < *nī-paiḍya*-; Y *mištor* 'prince' < \**masyah-tara*-; *ilīr*, etc. 'belly' < \**udarya*-; Y *siri* 'upper' < \**sariya*-(?). There is no epenthesis or umlaut in the unstressed first syllable of *m̄lān* 'waist'.



156. Before *i* we find umlaut in: *iž* 'snake' < *aži*-; *žit* 'yellow' < *a-*<sup>1</sup> *zairita*-; *žina*, *žinko* 'woman' < *jaini*-; *česō* 'pin of a spindle' < *\*častri-*; M *welo*: Y *wolo* 'irrigation-channel' < *vaidi-*;<sup>1</sup> possibly also in Y *sporo*: Mm *sparo*, Z *sṣpēra* 'plough-share'; Y *woro*: M *wēro*, etc. 'trousers'; Y *pero*: M *pēro*, etc. 'hip'; Y *loso*, *lēo*: M *leso* 'wild oats' (Sgl. *dōsin*).

The absence of umlaut in *yar* 'stone' < *gairi* may be due to early transfer into the *a*-stems of masculines in *-i*.

157. Examples of *ā*-<sup>y</sup> are: Y *pežiko* 'snare' < *\*pāḍyā-* (v. s.v.); *ā*-<sup>y</sup> M *vrēri* 'nephew' (< *\*brāḍryaka-*); M *xšēma* 'supper' < *xšāfnya-* (if a lw., of very early date); Y *yēžko* 'duck' < *\*āḍya-* (?); *mīž* 'day' (< *\*māḍya-*<sup>2</sup>). Reg. the various forms of *yazio* 'ashes' (< *ātrya-* ?), v. Voc. s.v.

*wulēyo* 'span' < *\*wi-dāti*;<sup>3</sup> M *frayingo*, *frayengo* 'she-goat, 1 y. *ā*-<sup>4</sup> old' < *\*fragāmikā-*; Mm *l're-gus* 'sickle' < *\*drāti* (?); Y *pānio*: M *pāngyo* 'heel' < *\*pāršni-*.

158. Umlaut of *ā* seems to be regular in Pres. 3rd sg. before syn-copated *-ati*. Thus Y *nəvit* 'he takes out' < *\*nibar(a)ti*, but 1sg. *nəvorum*; M *kēd* 'he digs': *kanəm*; M *xišk* 'he pulls out': *xašəm*; M *gi'yit* 'he passes': *gi'yarəm*. From stems in *\*ā*: M *gi'yēt* 'he lets pass': *gi'yōrəm*; Y *lāt*, M *lēt* 'he has': *lārəm*, *lōrəm*; M *wēft* (Y *waft*) 'he weaves': *wōfəm*. Cf. also Y *kīt*, M *kēd* 'he does' < *\*kunati*: *ke/ənəm*. The umlaut possibly also took place in the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. Cf. § 167.

The majority of the exceptions are due to the neighbourhood of a labial. Thus M *aydūd* 'dresses' (caus.); M *āvūd* 'brings' (*āvōrəm*);<sup>4</sup> Y *xut*, M *xūt* 'eats'.<sup>5</sup> In Y—M *žūt* 'he speaks' the double *tt* in (*žāti* <) *\*žatti* < *\*jatati* may have prevented the umlaut. But note also M *yūst* 'he carries': (*y*)*isəm*.

<sup>1</sup> Or *\*wādi-* as indicated by some of the forms in the Shgh. group.

<sup>2</sup> As rendered probable by Sar. *\*māḍ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Čitrēyo* 'Chitral', which is, however, a lw. of uncertain date.

<sup>4</sup> Y *avīt* with *i* < *ū*? Cf. *nəvit* above.

<sup>5</sup> But *xīt* 'he buys'.

159. In several cases we find, especially in M, a palatal vowel in the preterite. Thus, e.g. Y *aydard*: Z *aydēvd* 'dressed' (caus.); Y *ava/ezd*: Z *avēzd* 'brought'; Z, Mm *kēd* 'dug'; Y *lōbad*: Mt *lvēy*, Mm *lvēd* 'winnowed'; Mm *nījašt*: Z *nīješt* 'showed'; Y *vəzad*, *vəzend*: Mm, t, Z *vʒē(n)d* 'knew'; Y *waft*: Mt, Z *wēft* 'wove', etc. It is possible that these formes have been influenced by ancient verbal nouns in *-ti*.<sup>1</sup>

There are some traces of epenthesis caused by a following *-aya-* in present stems. Thus, e.g., Y *uriz-* 'to spread dung' (< \**wirazaya-*); *rīm-*, *rēm-* 'to please' (< \**rāmaya-*); Z *stēr-*, but Mm, Y *stōr-* 'to sweep'; Z *tēw-* 'to stir' (soup, etc.) < \**tāwaya-* (?); M *tīž-*, *tēž-* 'to cut' < \**tāčaya-*; Z *vʀēm-* 'to stand' < \**upa-rāmaya-* (?). But most of these etymologies are doubtful, and we find no umlaut in *lār-* 'to have' and *uṣāw-* 'to call' < *dāraya-* and \**us-srāwaya-*. Cf., however, Parachi *mēr-* 'to kill' < \**māraya-*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

160. It is impossible to decide whether *r* in Y *mīšč* (M *mvškʷ*, etc.) *u*-<sup>4</sup> 'first' is due to umlaut or to the influence of *šč* (cf. above § 149). But most dialects have *suvo*, *səʷ*, *sīʷ* 'shoulder', without any trace of umlaut. Likewise we find Y *šino* (Yg *šuno*): M *šino* 'vulva, *au*-<sup>4</sup> podex' < *sraoni-* and Y *šinjo* (Yr *šwʷ*): M *šlžno* 'needle' < *saučani-* (or \**suʷʷ*?), but *lūžd* 'he milks', *lūrd* 'he flies' < \**raudati-*—(y)*ino* 'blood' and related words in other Ir. dialects present special difficulties, not altogether surprising in a word which may have been subject to taboo. But \**wahuni* > (w)*ūni-* > *in-* seems possible.<sup>3</sup> *pīro* 'before' may be derived from *paurvya-* (\**prvya-*) and reg. *r-*<sup>4</sup> *pist* 'he asks', cf. above.

161. Epenthesis of *u*, or *u*-umlaut, is comparatively rare in Ir.<sup>4</sup> The *a*-<sup>4</sup> only possible examples in Y—M are *wulo* 'wife' < *vaḍū-*, *urzu*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Henning, ZII, 9, 216: 'Auch *ti*-Bildungen mögen gelegentlich die Form des P.P.P. beeinflusst haben, wahrscheinlich bei [Turfan Phl.] *ōpist* 'fiel herab'.

<sup>2</sup> IIFL, I, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Scarcely with Henning, ZII, 9, 226 \**wīn* < \**whūn* < \**wohūn*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the development in Swedish and E. Norw. where the *i*-umlaut is much more important than the *u*-umlaut.



'straight' < *arazu* + *ka*-, and *mur̥yo* 'ant' < \**marwi*- + *kā*. It should be remembered, however, that unstressed *u* was dropped at a very early date.

### Accent and Contraction.

162. It is impossible to derive the present accentuation from any ancient system, either of the 'Vedic' or of the 'Latin' type. If we want to reconstruct the pre-Y—M accent, we must try to trace it from its effects on modern Y—M vocalism. But it is by no means certain that all vowel-changes due to stress date from the same period, or are even due to the same system of accentuation. Thus *a* and *u* have been elided at an early date in e.g. *xun* 'raven' < \**xwārana*-, *γary* 'heavy' < \**garuka*-, but quite recently, and owing to the modern accent, in *lamdo* < *lōmadā* 'hem'; *āyd* < *āyud* 'to dress'. Reg. the interchange between stressed and unstressed initial vowels in certain words v. § 84.

163. The majority of Y—M words are of the accent types  $\hat{\sim}$   $\sim$  and  $\hat{\sim}$   $\sim$   $\sim$ .

Thus, e.g., with  $\hat{\sim}$   $\sim$ : *o'guščo* 'finger' < *aŋ'guštā*; *ag'min* 'honey' < \**aŋka'paina*-, *āyest* 'dressed' < \**ā'gusta*-, *čšir*, *čfür* '4' < *ča'θwārō*; *dīr*, *yūdūr* 'other' < *an'tāra*-, *dram* 'inside' < \**anta'rahmi*; *ax'sin* 'blue' < *ax'saēna*-, *wulēyo* 'span' < \**wi'dāti* (+ *o*); *zəviy* 'tongue' < \**hiz'wāka*-, etc.

With  $\hat{\sim}$   $\sim$   $\sim$ : *γādēm* 'wheat' < *gantuma*-, *iz'ma* 'fire-wood' < \**aizmaka*-, *rūžen* 'smoke-hole' < \**raučana*-, *stārē* 'star' < \**stāraka*-,<sup>1</sup> *vīzy* 'arm' < \**bāzuka*-, *wisto* '20' < \**wisati*; *youyo* 'water' < \**āpakā*-, etc. With  $\sim$   $\sim$   $\sim$ : *γary* 'heavy' < \**garuka*-, *urzuγ* 'straight' < \**γzuka*-, *seyi'o* 'sand' < *sikatā*-, *vəd* 'brought' < *u'pa-nita*-, *zit* 'yellow' < \**zarita*-, *kit* 'does' < \**kunati* (and other Pres. 3 sg. forms).

*γūskən* 'cow-dung' may be a remnant of the ancient type  $\hat{\sim}$   $\sim$   $\sim$   $\sim$ ,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or \**stā'raakahya*, cf. Orm. *star'rak*. V. § 182.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Parachi, IIFL, I, 32.

or perhaps more probably, the form may be due to the tendencies determining the vocalism of compounds.<sup>1</sup> Orm. (?)*skan* warns us that we do not know all factors regulating Ir. accentuation.

164. Regarding the shortening of *ā* in ancient stems in *-ā-* and *-aka-* cf. § 145. In the case of *-aka-* it might be presumed that the accentuation of the oblique *-akahya* had caused the shortening,<sup>2</sup> but it is hardly probable that the f. suffix *-ā* normally carried the stress. But cf. also in Psht. e.g. *špa* 'night', *mlā* 'waist', *sra* f. of *sūr* 'red', etc.

The opposition between *kyem*, *kiyam* 'who' (adj.) and *kə'dī* 'who, which' (subst.), and between Y *šilē*: M *šk'iy* 'neck' is probably due to accent shift: *kiyam* < \**ka'tamahya* and *kə'dī* < \**kandəy* < \**kadmag'i* < \**kata'makahya*; *šilē* < \**u'sadakah* and *šk'iy* < \**uša'dakahya*.

With the secondary displacement of accent in *lamdo* 'hem' and in *ay(u)dəm* 'I dress' < \**ā'gundāmi* mentioned above,<sup>3</sup> cf. also *ind* 'so much' < \**imanta-* (?); *avlānd* 'hem' < \**abi-dāmanta-* (?); *yougo* 'flood' < \**āfvantakā*.<sup>4</sup>

Short *a* appears to have been more resisting against contraction than *u*. While *-aka(hya)* resulted in Y *-ē*: M *-iy*, *-uka-* was contracted except after a group of consonants (*vīzy* < \**bāzuka-*, but *urzuγ* < \**rzuka-*).<sup>5</sup>

165. The prefix *upa-* (and *abi-*, possibly also *apa-* and *api-*) appears in the forms *av-* (*af-*) and *v(ə)-* (*f-*). It is possible that this double development is due to presence or absence of a secondary accent, but we cannot explain all the examples according to this rule without resorting to artificial and improbable constructions.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 145.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Orm., IIFL, I, 327 and 360 f.

<sup>3</sup> § 162.

<sup>4</sup> *kando* 'plough share', prob. from Prs. *kanand*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 162, 175.



Cf., on the one hand, *avāzəm* 'I fetch' (3rd sg. *avēzd*) < \**upāzāmi*; *avlasto* 'sleeve' < \**upa'dastā*; *av'zino* 'first irrigation' < \**upa'zayanā*; *av'zano* 'ladle' < \**upa'zāwanā* (?); Y *'afseno*, M *'yufse<sup>no</sup>* 'whetstone' < \**abi'sānyā* (or \**upa-*, \**ābi* ?); *aw'lān* 'bridle' < \**abi'dāna*; *af'siŋo* 'ladder' < \**upa'srišnakā*; *af'sirnē* 'summer wheat' < \**upa'sydnaka* (?). On the other hand we find *fšūvum* 'I suck' < \**βšōvum* < \**upašāpāmi*; *f'xawum* 'I shear' < \**upaxa'bāmi* (?); *və'nim* 'I bring' < \**upana'yāmi* (or second. pres. from \**vənt* < \**upanita* < \**upa'nita* ?); *və'dāyəm* 'I mix' < \**upahan,tāka'yāmi* (?); *və'zānəm* 'I know' (3rd sg. *vəzīt*) < \**upazā'nāmi* (or *wi* ?); *və'zāxo* 'womb', etc. < \**upazaθā* (with *a* treated as a short vowel?). V. Voc. s.vv. in *av*, *af*-, *f*-, *v(ə)*-.

But several of the derivations tentatively suggested above are quite hypothetical. *avyuš* 'lap' cannot be fitted into the rule without assuming an original form \**upa'kāšša*, and *fšidro* 'spring' < \**upasāradā* (?) remains altogether unexplained.<sup>1</sup> The theory cannot therefore be proved.

166. Initial unstressed *i*- has been dropped in *Proyo* 'clear sky' < \**idrakā*.

But also *a* is frequently contracted before the accent. Thus, e.g.: *čšir* '4', *plār* 'to sell'; *prasilanē* 'lamb, one y. old'.<sup>2</sup> And initial (h)a- is lost in *žə* 'from'; *zo* 'I'; *tī* 'to enter'; *max* 'we';<sup>3</sup> *yo* 'this', just as well as *u*- in *sko* 'on', *šilē* 'neck'.

I am unable to explain the reason for the different treatment of (h)an-, (h)am- in Y *dir* and M *yudūr* 'other', and in the verbs *diš* 'to think'; *diz* 'to bury'; *baxš* 'to divide'; *gūy* 'to knead' as compared with the nouns *ābrūo* 'pear'; *ābūya* 'moraine'; *āgunḡ* 'dough'; *hadamə* 'limb', etc.

167. The accentuation of the present tense may be explained in the following manner:

<sup>1</sup> The same is the case with Psht. *psarlai* < \**upasaradaka*.

<sup>2</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Reg. *što* 'said' cf. § 110.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. *amax*, cf. § 204.

## Yzh

1st sg.	<i>ke'nēm</i>	<	<i>*kə'nēm</i>	<	<i>*ku'nām</i>	<	<i>*ku'nāmi</i>
2nd »	<i>kenē</i>	<	<i>*kənē</i>	<	<i>*kunai</i>	<	<i>*kunahi</i>
3rd »	<i>kīt</i>	<	<i>*kint</i>	<	<i>*ku'nt</i>	<	<i>*kunati</i>
1st Pl.	<i>ke'nam</i>	<	<i>*kə'nām</i>	<	<i>*ku'nām</i>	<	<i>*ku'nāmah</i>
3rd »	<i>ke'net</i>	<	<i>*kə'nēt</i>	<	<i>*ku'na'nt</i>	<	<i>*ku'nanti</i>

Similarly, e.g.: *\*nipa'dāmi* > *\*nivlēm* > *nīlvəm*; but *\*nipadati* > *\*n'vēld* > *nūld*, etc.

Cf. Konow's reconstruction of the development in Saka.<sup>1</sup>

## Ancient Final Consonants and Vowels.

168. The only Y—M words which may go back to forms in final consonants (other than nom. -h and acc. -m) are *sko* 'on' < *uskāt*, *uxšo* 'six' < *xšvaš*; <sup>2</sup> *zo* < *azəm*, and possibly *yo* < *aētāt* (and *aēša*), etc.

All short vowels (including masc. nom. sg. in -ah, -ō) are dropped, the only exceptions being bisyllabic words which have become oxytones at an early date: *zo* 'I', *yo*, *mo* 'this' and possibly *vīo* 'was'. *ža* 'from' and *lo* 'with' may rest on forms in -ā. Likewise *āvdo* '7' < *\*haftā* with -ā from *\*astā*. Cf. Psht. *ōwə*, *atə*.

Final -ā normally remains as -o or -a. But *vrai* 'brother', *zamai* 'son-in-law', *lad* 'tooth' indicate an early shortening of -ā in masculines.

In Pres. 2 sg. -ē goes back to -ahi, cf. also 3 sg. -e, -ī < -ayati.

Reg. -ē, -īy < -aka(hya) and plurals in -ē < *\*-āh*,<sup>3</sup> cf. §§ 182, 198.

## Prothetic Vowels.

169. An unexplained prothetic vowel appears in Y *akadē*, etc. 'thorn, bramble': Sgl. *kandāk* and in *anaxno*, etc. 'nail'. The existence of a prefix ā- in these words is conceivable, but not probable.

<sup>1</sup> NTS, VII, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Not with Gauthiot < *\*xšwaša*.

<sup>3</sup> Acc. to Tedesco, ZIL, IV, 156.



## Relative Chronology of Sound-Changes.

170. There is no material available which enables us to date the various stages in the phonetic development of Y—M. But it seems possible, at any rate in some instances, to establish the chronological sequence between different sound-changes. A number of such cases have been mentioned above, but it may be useful to give here a synoptical review of the more important ones.
171. 1) The transition of  $b, d, g > \beta, \delta, \gamma$  and of  $ft, xt$  into  $vd, yd$  are pre-Y—M, and probably common E.Ir.  
 2)  $rst, r\dot{s}t$  must have become  $*\dot{s}t$  before  $\dot{s}t$  changed into  $\dot{s}k^y$ , etc. (cf. § 110).  
 3)  $\dot{s}ta/o$  'said' <  $*\dot{s}asta-$  is later than  $\dot{s}t > \dot{s}k^y$ .  
 4)  $str$  became  $\dot{s}$ , and  $-\dot{s}at-$  was syncopated, before  $\dot{s}t$  became  $\dot{s}k^y$  (cf. Y *uščeno*, §§ 105, 110).  
 5)  $sr$  became  $\dot{s}$  before the syncope took place in  $yā\dot{s}k$  'tear' <  $*asruka-$ .  
 6)  $k > g$  before  $g > \gamma$  in Y etc., the partial change of  $ng > g$  being still later.  
 7) Syncope of  $nat$  (e.g. in *wit* 'sees', § 118), and of  $rat, rit$  (e.g. in *xūt* 'eats', *zīt* 'yellow', § 125) into  $*\dot{n}t, \dot{r}t$  (from which  $t$ ) before sonorization of intervocalic  $t$ , but after change of ancient  $rt$  into  $*rd$  (from which  $*d > r > M r$ ).

But after an occlusive the contraction has been delayed, evidently in order to avoid the development of a heavy group of consonants. Thus e.g.  $*\dot{d}au\dot{c}ati$  'milks' >  $*\dot{d}ō\dot{c}at > *\dot{d}ō\dot{z}ad > *\dot{d}ō\dot{z}d > lū\dot{z}d$ ,  $*pari-\dot{a}pati > p\dot{a}revd$ ,  $*nipadati > *nvild > nūld$ . Between unvoiced dentals, however, the contraction took place at the earlier stage, as shown by  $\dot{z}ūt$  'speaks' <  $*\dot{z}ōtt < *\dot{j}ātati$ .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The relative chronology in Saka is quite different. Cf. *Saka Studies*, p. 27 (*pittā* 'falls' <  $*padati$ , but *hviṭā* 'eats' <  $*hwarati$ , and *pasūste* 'burns' <  $*pati-sau\dot{c}atai$ , etc.).

- 8)  $\delta > l$ , and possibly  $r\delta > l$ , after  $\delta w > \delta v > d^v$ , and  $\delta r > \delta^v r$ , but before syncope of  $r-\delta$ , from which  $*\delta r$  (cf. § 127).
- 9) Syncope of  $hi\delta > h\delta$ , from which  $\theta$ , before  $\delta > l$  (8), and  $\theta > \check{x}$ .
- 10)  $a\theta r > ahr$  (from which  $\bar{a}r$ ) before  $\theta > \check{x}$ .
- 11)  $ahr > \bar{a}r$ ,  $aha > \bar{a}$ ,  $arn > \bar{a}n$  before  $\bar{a} > \bar{d} > \bar{o}$  (cf. § 143).
- 12) Possibly  $-r\check{s}- > *-\theta\check{s}-$  before  $-\check{s}- > -\check{z}-$  (cf. §§ 74, 151), and metathesis of  $*rai\check{z}\bar{a} > yar\check{z}\bar{o}$  'beard' before  $-\check{z}- > -y-$ .
- 13) Prefixed  $ha\check{c}a > \check{c}a-$  (§ 50) and  $ati- > ti-$  (§ 46) before  $-\check{c}-, -t- > -\check{z}-, *-d-$ . But loss of initial vowel in  $\check{z}a$  after  $-\check{c}- > -\check{z}-$  (cf. § 50).
- 14)  $xn > yn$  before  $xan > xn$  (cf. § 96).
- 15)  $x\check{s}m, x\check{s}n > \check{z}m, \check{z}n > z, m, n$  before nasal influenced preceding  $a$  (cf. § 139).
- 16)  $r\check{s}n, rzn, rn > n$  (§§ 130, 133) before secondary  $r-n > n$  (§ 133) and  $r-dn > rn$ .
- 17)  $rn-t > n\check{t}$  before  $n\check{t} > n^y k^y (> Y k^y)$  cf. §§ 62, 132.
- 18)  $m-d > nd$  before  $nd > d$  (§ 119).
- 19)  $mr- > mbr$  before  $mb > b$  (§ 120).
- 20)  $n\check{d} > n^y g^y > g^y$  (§ 121) before M  $n > n^y$ .
- 21) Prothesis of  $y-$  before  $\bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{u}$  (e.g.  $y\bar{u}r$  'fire', § 144).

In the following table the chronological sequence runs from the left to the right. Phonetic changes which are approximately of the same age, are put in the same vertical column. The sign || has been employed to separate two series of changes, which in order to save space have been placed on the same line, but which are not connected with each other.



172. *Synoptic Table of the Relative Chronology of Y—M Sound-Changes.*

1)  $b, d, g > \beta, \delta, \gamma$   
 1)  $f\check{t}, x\check{t} > v\check{d}, \gamma\check{d}$   
 2)  $r\check{s}t, r\check{s}\check{t} > \check{s}t$   
 4)  $s\check{t}r > \check{s}, \check{s}-t > \check{s}t$   
 5)  $s\check{r} > \check{s}, \check{s}\check{u}k > \check{s}k$   
 6)  $-k- > g$   
 7)  $n\check{u}t > n\check{t}$   
 7)  $r\check{t} > r\check{d} > \check{d}$   
 7)  $r\check{u}t > r\check{t} > \check{t}$   
 7)  $-t- > d > \check{d} > y$   
 8)  $\check{d} > l$   
 8)  $r\check{d} > l, 8) r-d > \check{d}r > \check{M} l\check{r}$   
 8)  $\check{d}u > \check{d}v > \check{d}^v$   
 8)  $\check{d}r > \check{d}^v$   
 9)  $h\check{u}d > h\check{d}$   
 9)  $\check{d} > \check{x}$   
 10)  $a\check{d}r > a\check{h}r > \check{a}r$   
 11)  $a\check{h}a > \check{a}$   
 11)  $a\check{r}n > \check{a}n$   
 12)  $r\check{s} > -\check{s}- > \check{x}- > y$   
 13)  $h\check{a}\check{c}a- > \check{c}a-$   
 13)  $a\check{t}i- > t\check{i}-$   
 14)  $x\check{a}n > \gamma n, x\check{a}n- > x\check{n}$   
 15)  $(x)\check{s}m > \check{x}m > m$   
 15)  $(x)\check{s}n > \check{x}n > n$   
 16)  $r\check{s}n > r\check{x}n > n$   
 16)  $r\check{n} > n$   
 16)  $r-n > n$   
 16)  $r-dn > rn$   
 17)  $r\check{n}-t > n\check{t}$   
 { 2)  $\check{s}t > M \check{s}k^v > Y \check{s}\check{c}; 3) * \check{z}a\check{s}ta > * \check{z}s\check{t}a, \check{s}t\check{a}$   
 }  
 g > Y γ  
 18)  $m\check{d} > n\check{d}, n\check{d} > d$   
 m\check{b} > b  
 || 20)  $n\check{d} > n\check{g}^v > g^v$   
 am/n > M om/n  
 20) > M n<sup>ov</sup>  
 > n<sup>kv</sup> > Y k<sup>v</sup>

## MORPHOLOGY

### Nouns.

#### Stem-Formation.

##### I. Primary Stems.

173. Ancient stems in *-a* are numerous in Y—M. As a matter of fact, most genuine Y—M nouns ending in a consonant go back to, or may go back to, stems in *a*. Thus, e.g. *awlān* 'bridle'; *iščin* 'female breast'; *fšarm* 'shame'; *γū(i)* 'ear'; *γāl* 'thief'; *γāðəm* 'wheat'; *γalv* 'dog'; *γīs* 'goat's hair thread'; *lvm* 'tail'; *last* 'arm'; *miγ* 'cloud'; *meγ* 'man'; *nif* 'navel'; M *pūn<sup>av</sup>* 'feather'; *pūr* 'son'; *piščan* 'thigh'; *rūγən* 'ghee'; *rūžen* 'smoke-hole'; *vən* 'bottom'; *wūi* 'wind'; *wuš* 'grass'; *xul* 'perspiration'; *xusur* 'father-in-law'; *xūbun* 'sleep'; *yōu* 'grain'; *γars* 'bear'; *γasp* 'horse'; *zīt* 'yellow', and past participles, such as *kəγ*, *mur*, etc. All of these words correspond to Av. stems in *a*. Also a number of other words lacking in Av. and Old Prs., are probably original *a*-stems. E.g. *aspolan* 'stable'; *lūi* 'smoke'; *surv* 'hole'; *γurzun* 'millet'; *zəviγ* 'tongue', and many others.

174. Ancient *i*-stems are comparatively rare, and most of those surviving are feminines which have been enlarged with the secondary suffix *-o*. Unenlarged words are *iž* m. 'snake' < *aži-*; *γar* m. 'stone, hill' < *gairi-*; *mišč* 'first' < *mušti-*; *γurεž* 'knot' < *\*graði-* (?),<sup>1</sup> but scarcely *wirž* 'thread', v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 66, 156.



Enlarged *i*-stems are: *suvdo* 'shoulder' < *supti*-; *šino* 'vulva, podex' < *sraoni*-; *wolo, welo* 'irrigation-channel' < *vađi*-; *žina, žinžo* 'woman' < *jani*-; (*y*)*ino* 'blood' < *voḥuni*-; *wisto* '20' < *visaiti*; *piščo* 'back' < *paršti*-; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi*-; *šijo* 'female' < *stri*-; *wulėjo* 'span' < *\*widāti*-; *šinjo* 'needle' < *\*sučani*- (?); but *prenjo* 'she-goat, one y. old' < *\*paranači*- (?).

*muryo, meryika* 'ant' < *maurvi*-; *frijo* 'flea' < *\*fruši*- (?); *frayingo* 'she-goat' < *\*fragami(kā)*.

*maxšē* 'fly' < *maxši*- f.;<sup>1</sup> *hənadiy* 'out of breath' < *\*an-anti*-; but *yastē* 'bone' probably < *ast*-, not *-asti*-. Note *wīya* m 'willow' < *vaēti*- f.

Cf. Psht. *šna* 'hip-bone'; *wāla* 'irrigation-channel'; *wina* 'blood'; *šaja* 'woman' < *\*striči* + *ā*, etc.

175. Ancient stems in *ū* are: *šū* 'horn' < *srū*-; *wulo* 'wife' < *vađū*-, *x<sup>u</sup>šo* 'mother-in-law' < *\*hwasrū* + *ā*; cf. *vrijo* 'eyebrows'. In most cases *-ka* has been added at an early date, and *u* has been elided after a single consonant.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *urzuy* 'straight' < *ərəzu*-; *γary* 'heavy' < *gouru*-; *yašk* 'tear' < *asrū*-; *zīk* 'knee' < *zānu*-; *vīzγ(a)* 'upper arm' < *bāzu*-; *yuvγ* 'arrow' < *išu*-; *pərsəγē* 'rib' (pl. ?) < *pərsu*-. Probably also: *pary* 'mouse' < *\*paru*-; *Idəγ, Yidg* < *\*Hindu-ka*-; *waly* 'feast' < *\*wadu*- (?); *γīk* 'penis' < *\*gršnu*-. But *yəya* 'bridge' < *haētu*- seems to have *-a* added at a comparatively recent date.

176. Ancient stems in diphthongs are *γavo* 'cow' and possibly also *žū(u), žūg* 'leather' (< *\*jau-ka* ?).

*Vrai* 'brother' and *zamai* 'son-in-law', are ancient nominatives of *r*-stems, with *\*ah* instead of *-ā*, which looked like a feminine ending. To this group has also been added *yūi* 'husband's brother'.<sup>3</sup> *ləydo* 'daughter' goes back to *dugədā, dūyda* (or *\*duxtā*), and similarly *ixō* 'sister' may be derived from < *(y)ahwā* < *\*hahwā* < *\*həhāh*.

<sup>1</sup> Or, with Psht. *maē, meč* m., < *\*maxši*- (?).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 149.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

*yūr*, *yūr* 'fire' point to a secondary stem \**ārta*-, and also *l'vor* 'door' may have become thematic at a very early date.

*ēam* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool'; *tuy<sup>m</sup>* 'grain' are ancient neutral nominatives of stems in *n*. Probably also *lad* 'tooth' goes back to \**dantah* (< \**dantā*, v. § 108). *lāmo* 'village' may rest on the pl. *dāman*; <sup>1</sup> *lōmago* 'snare' and *šinamio* 'girl' (< *stri-nāman*-) have had secondary suffixes added to the original *n* stem, and *yūskən* 'cow dung' is derived from a thematic \**osakana*-. Note *yēyon* 'liver' < \**yaxnya*-, a form based on the oblique stem.

The small number of nouns which go back to stems in other consonants than *r* and *n* have probably become thematic at an early date. Cf. *wor* 'oath' < *varah*-; *spūo* 'louse' < *spiš*; *zil* 'heart' < *zərəd(aya)*-.

## II. Feminines in -o (-a).

177. Ancient Ir. nom. fem. -*ā* (and acc. -*ām*) becomes Y, Mm -*o*; Mg, and occasionally Zar.<sup>2</sup> -*ā*; G, Z, LSIm, Mti, (t), (sh), and occasionally g, -*a*; Mt palatal -*a* and M(g) -*ā*. Mg, (sh), ti and LSIm also have -*e*, -*ε* in a few words. Some of these forms may be plurals, thus e.g. Mg *pālē*, *pān<sup>g</sup>ye*; Mti *pālē*, *pān<sup>g</sup>ye* 'foot', 'heel', or Mti *yīne*, *wōrfe*: Mg *yīne*, but *worfo* 'blood', 'snow'.<sup>3</sup> But this explanation can hardly apply to e.g. Mg, sh *yōwe* 'cow', LSIm *feske* 'nose', *yelke* 'duck', etc., and we have to admit the existence of unexplained variants in these dialects of M.

178. Some of the words in -*o/a* correspond direct to Av. feminines in -*ā*. Thus: *xšovo* 'night'; *ēio* 'bow-string'; *yurvo* 'throat'; *xoro* 'ass'; *škiro* 'camel': Av. *xšapā*-, *hyā*-, *grīvā*-, *xarā*-, *uštrā*-. In other cases, too, the -*ā* is probably ancient. Cf. *sēyio* 'sand', *vəzo* 'she-goat'; *riško* 'nit'; *tiro* 'darkness'; *yaržo* 'beard' with Psht. *šoga*, *wuza*, *riča*, *tyāra*, *žīra*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> But *pado* 'road' < *pantā* is not an ancient stems in *n*.

<sup>2</sup> Z's informants probably belonged to different villages.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. *wīne*, *wāwe*, pl. in common use.



*sōro* 'dung'; *yavo* 'cow'; *šino* 'podex'; *ino* 'blood'; *warfo* 'snow' correspond to Av. *sairya-*; *gav-*; *sraoni-*; *vohuni-*; *vafra-*, and *zinio* 'daughter-in-law' was originally a stem in *-a-*. But Psht. has *sarā*, *šna*, *wina*, *wāwra* as fem., and Shgh. *zənaž* goes back to *\*nušā*.<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, possible that in some cases the formation in *-ā* has been made independently in the various dialects, and Y *mūo* 'sheep' < *\*maišā* differs not only from Av. *maēši-*, but also from Psht. *mēž* (Shgh. *maž* is doubtful in this respect).

179. Forms in *-o/a* may of course denote the female animal (cf. Voc. s.vv. *mūo*, *vzo*, *kirio*). But in many cases the fem. form in *-o* is epicene. Besides *xoro* and *škirō* mentioned above, we have also *rūso* 'fox'; <sup>2</sup> *kovio* 'pigeon'; *k'unjo* 'magpie'; *wofšio* 'wasp'; *wūro* 'duck'; *xurūso* 'weasel', etc.

The *ā*-stem is ancient in *āmuno* 'apple' (Psht. *maṇa*), and probably also in some other names of plants and fruits. But the use of the suffix *-o/a* has been extended to the majority of such words. V. Voc. s.vv. *ābrūo*; *agidro*; *oyuzo*; *alāno*; *imoyō*; *amaxno*; *āričo*; *iryojo*; *ašasto*; *axrio*; *azito*, etc.

A separate f. form in *-o* of adjectives is still in use.<sup>3</sup>

180. Many Prs. lws in *-a* have been included among the Y—M words in *-o/a*. Thus, e.g. *aftōvo* 'bucket'; *xarbuza* 'melon'; *banafšo* 'violet'; *āino* 'mirror'; *amsāyo* 'neighbour'; *biwo* 'widow'; Y *paisō* (but Mm *paisa*) 'money'. This suffix has also been added to other lws. E.g., *rōy(o)* 'deodar' < Khw. *rōy*; *amburo* 'pincers' < Prs. *ambūr*; *qačio* 'scissors' < *qačī*. Note *kučio* 'street' < Prs. *kūča*.

<sup>1</sup> Also Psht. *nžor*, Bal. *našār* presuppose an earlier *\*nušā*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lidén, *Namn och Bygd*, 19, 87 sq. about other epicene names of the fox, and Meillet BSL, 32, 7.—Note Mm *škūro* f. and epicene: *nar-škyur* m.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 195.

Ancient Suffixes in *k*.III. Nouns in *-γ, -g*.

181. The ancient suffix *-ka* remains as a velar after *u*,<sup>1</sup> after original or secondary *ā* (Y *zəviγ*, M *zəvū* 'tongue' < \**kizwāka*-; *piγ* 'onion' < \**pitāka*- (?); *sīγ* 'hare' < \**sāk* < \**sāhaka*), after *au* and *ū* (\**stūγ* 'lock of hair' < \**stūka*-; *ərouγ* 'markhor'; *žū(g)* 'hide' < \**jauka*-), and after a consonant (m Mti *wilx*: *wilγ* 'kidney' < *vəɾəfka*). But this *γ/g* is not a productive suffix in Y—M, and from a synchronic point of view there is no difference between the *γ*'s e.g. in Y *wurγ* 'wolf'; *horγ* 'work'; *γarγ* 'heavy'; *yūγ* 'yoke'; *sīγ* 'hare'.

IV. Masculines in Y *-ē, M -iy*.

182. A still living and productive suffix is Y *-ē (-ə)*, Mm, g *-iy, t, (t) -iy, (g), ti, (sh) -i, Z -əy, G, -ē(y)* < *-akah*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. the similar development in Psht.: Y *stārē* (Yr *stārə*), Mm, g *stōriy, t, (g) stōri(y), Z stōrəy*: Psht. *stōrai* 'star'.

The suffix appears to be ancient in this word and also in *feryāmə*, *frayomīy* 'young he-goat': Psht. *waryūmai*; Mm *nūwīy* 'new': Psht. *nawai*, Sgl. *nucōk*; M *rūyei* 'bowels': Prs. *rūda*; *warē* 'lamb': Psht. *wrai*, etc.; *yastē* 'bone': Sgl. *ostōk*, Sogd. *'stk*; *yārē* 'flour': Shgh. *yāuž*, etc.

In a number of other genuine Y—M nouns and adjectives it is impossible to decide whether the suffix *-ē/-iy* is ancient or not. Thus, e.g.: *mōxē, maḡiy* 'stick'; *vrēri, vrērəy* 'brother's son'; *yārmē* 'foreleg', etc., corresponding to Shgh. *māθ*; Av. *brātūirya*, Psht. *wrārə*; Prs. *arm*, etc.

This suffix serves to denote male animals, to form certain adjectives, and to derive secondary nouns, e.g. *lastē* 'handle' from *last* 'hand', and *γisē* 'plaited bottom of a bed' from *γis* 'rope of goat's hair'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 148.

<sup>2</sup> Or < \**akahya*? Cf. *-a* < *-akah* (in *marə*, etc.), cf. § 186?



*hadē* 'slave' (\**han-taka-*); M *ābiy* 'moraine' (\**ham-paiša-*?) and M *kaləy* 'soot' (\**kata-dūta-*?) do not belong here originally.

183. In many lws *-ē/īy* renders Prs. and Khw. *-ī*. Thus, e.g.: Y *čugurē* (M *čik<sup>o</sup>rī*) 'rhubarb'; *čīnē*, *čīnī* 'cup'; *našpotīy* 'pear'; *pšānē* (M *pišānī*) 'forehead'; *xālē* 'empty' from Prs.; *ačardīnē*, *oni* 'wedge for fastening the plough-share'; *calandurē* 'window'; *puīnē* 'bellows'; *vrazidīnē* 'pillow', etc. from Khw. Sometimes *-ē* varies with *-ī*. V. above, and cf. Y *virzanē*: M *viznī* 'pillow'; Y *čirē*: Y, M *čirī* 'apricot'; Y *parguščē*, M *par-gušč<sup>o</sup>īy* but also *š<sup>o</sup>k<sup>o</sup>ī* 'fingerring'.

184. A variation between *-ē* and *-(y)a* (< *-yaka-*?) occurs in: Y *izē*: M *yījya*, etc. 'goatskin bag'; Y *yuvē*: M *yuvya* 'wooden trough'; Y *pəzāčē*, M *pizāčīy*: Z *pizačya* 'male sheep'; but also Y *muškoya*: M *muškayi*, *məškāy* 'calf'.

A double suffix, theoretically < \**ka-ka-* appears in Y *čunayē* 'small boy', and possibly in Z *dunayəy* 'distressed'.

#### V. Nouns in *-a* (*-o*).

185. The apparently masc. suffix Y, Mm, Z, G, LSI *-a*: Mg, (g), t, ti *-o* (Z also *-ā*) appears in the following groups of words.

1) A number of words which have no variants without *-a* and no corresponding feminines: *mīra* 'sun'; *vīra* 'burden'; *xšīra* 'milk'; *nīya*, *pōya* 'sour milk'; *vazda* 'fat'; <sup>1</sup> *pvaza* 'dough'; *fī(y)a* 'shovel, shoulderblade'; *izma* 'firewood'; *wīya* 'willow'; *yeya* 'bridge'.<sup>2</sup> Probably also Mti *nivīlo* 'bedding' and *nāmyo* 'felt' are m.

2) Names of animals, chiefly worms and insects: *ustada* 'spider'; Mg *čal-kirmo* 'an insect'; *kač-kurma* 'silk-worm'; Mm *fusfesiya*, *yaspa* 'locust'; *karbasa*, etc. 'lizard'; *kautia*, *rawa* 'butterfly'; *xowiza* 'bug'; *mig<sup>o</sup>a* 'ring-dove'; *tažia* 'heron'.

3) In a few cases I have noted m. forms in *-a* corresponding to f. forms in *-o*: *vuzə* 'he-goat'; *mīya* 'male oorial'.

<sup>1</sup> Mm *maska*, but Y *masko* 'butter'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 175.

4) The majority of words in *-a* are derived from still surviving forms without this suffix. In many cases the addition of *-a* does not seem to change the meaning of the word, but the suffix may perhaps have a diminutive force. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *ābūya* (*ābīy*); *iščīn* (*yīšk<sup>u</sup>una*); *bubuka*, *bāya* (*bāy*); *c<sup>o</sup>kena*; *čula*; *čana*; *maška*; *nif* (*nūfa*); *nowisa*; *maṛa*, *meṛ*; *rūṛ<sup>n</sup>* (*rūṛna*); *surv(a)*; *tolo*; *taya*; *vīzṛa*; *wulṛa*; *wāzd* (*wāzda*).

But note on the other hand: *āyurṛa* 'scrotum': *āyurṛ* 'egg'; *ilīra* 'calf of the leg': *ilīr* 'belly'; *ustada* 'spider': *ustāt* 'carpenter' (\*'weaver'?); *mišča* 'sheaf of corn': *miščē* 'fist'; *pukara* 'leather strap of pellet-bow': *p<sup>o</sup>korē*, *pukōr* 'mouth'; *ṛūen polma* 'lobe of the ear': *polam* 'soft'; *pūsura* 'part of the spinning-wheel': *pusur* 'head'; *šfina* 'instep': *šfin* 'comb'; *yaspa* 'locust': *yasp* 'horse'.

- 5) In lw.s Prs. *-a* is frequently rendered by Y *-a*. Thus: *arra* 'saw'; Yzh *kāfila* (but Ysh *kōfilē*) 'caravan'; *mūca* 'fruit'; *kūza* 'jar'; *qala* 'fort'; Yg *bāša* (but Mm *bāšo*) 'falcon', etc. I have not found any rule for the rendering of Prs. *-a* with Y *-a* or *-o*.
186. It appears from Z's material that the numerous M lw.s from Prs. words in *-a(h)*, pl. *-agān* have stressed *-a'* and pl. *-agi*. Cf. Y pl. *-ayē* e.g. in *mīwayē* 'fruit-trees'; *degazayē* 'fork of breech-loader' < Prs. \**dō-gaza*.

According to Z, genuine M words and a few early lw.s in *-a* have stressed penultimate and pl. in *-aki* = Y *-akē* in *āyurṛakē* 'testicles'; *wul'ṛākē* 'kidneys' (*wul'ṛa*).

M *-a* has evidently been borrowed from Prs., and pl. *-agi*, Y *-ayē* has been formed on the pattern of Prs. *-agān* at a comparatively recent date, but before the change of *-g-* > *-ṛ-* in Y.<sup>1</sup> Also *-a*: *-aki*, *-akē* has probably been borrowed, but at a much earlier date, when *-k-* was still preserved in Prs., but had already been sonorized in Y—M. The *-k-* of the pl. renders a derivation from a genuine pre-Y—M suffix *-akah* uncertain.

But note that the pl. of Y *maṛa* is *maṛē*, and of Z *xūrēya* 'sister's son': *xūrīi*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 45.



## VI. Nouns in -k.

187. A suffix -(e)k occurs in Prs. lws (e.g. *xūk*, *pušāk*, *xurāk*, etc.) and as a secondary suffix in *fəryōmček* 'female calf, 1 y. old'; *rīzayak* 'goats and sheep'; *pənek* 'leaf'; *poršik* 'lip'; *stunek* 'throat'; *kāriak* 'yoke-peg'.

## VII. Nouns in -yo/go.

188. Anc. Ir. -akā, the f. equivalent of -akah survives in Y -yo, M -go, -ga, -ya. Cf. e.g. Y *vriyo*, Mm *ogo*, Mg *oγā*, M(g) *oγā*, Mt *oγa*, Z, G *oga* 'eyebrow'.

But words in -yo are not now used as f. of masculines in -ē, except in the case of Mm *vrēigo*, *xurigo* 'brother's, sister's daughter': *xurī*, *xūrāya*; *vrēri*, *vrērāy* m., and perhaps Yg *wōryo* 'she-lamb, 1—2 y. old': Ysh *warē* 'male new-born lamb'.

Only a small number of words in -yo have exact parallels in other Ir. languages. Examples are: *nēmālyo* 'salt': Psht. *mālga*; *sāyo* 'shade': Sogd. *sy''k*; *woryo* 'quail': Phl. *vartak*, Skr. *vartakā*; *xūyo* 'fountain': Orm. *xūko*, and possibly *yāuyo* 'water': Wkh. *yupk* (but Orm. *wōk* is m.); poss. *vriyo* 'eyebrow': Oss. *ārfig*.

But also other words of this type may be ancient. E.g. *frīyo* 'flea' < \**frušikā*; *orunyo* 'light' < \**ā-rauxšnakā*; *frayingo* 'she-goat' < \**fra-gāmī-kā*; *broyo* 'clear sky' < \**idrakā*; *xīryo* 'water-mill'; *zeviryo* 'birch-tree'. Note the adjectives *stīnyo* 'supine'; *yūyo* 'one of several'.

As a secondary suffix we find -yo, -go in M *biwogo* 'widow' < Prs. *biwa*; *pīloyo*, *piōlega* 'cup' < Prs. *piyāla*; *tavdoyo* 'n. of a tree' < Prs. \**tašta* (?); *maxmudiyo* 'dagger', etc.

## VIII. Nouns in -ko (-iko).

189. The fem. suffix -ko (-ka) is common. Thus, e.g. Z *γark'a* 'small egg' (cf. s.v. *āyury*); M *kužke* 'hair'; Y *padreško* 'small wooden bowl'; *piško* 'cat'; *pəško* 'tray'; *toško* 'adze'; *yāžko*, *yālko* 'duck';

*zāžko* 'child-bearing'; *žin̄ko* 'woman'. This last-mentioned word is a derivative of M *žina*, but apart from that *-ko* does not seem to be productive any longer, and after surd consonants it may simply be a phonetic variant of *-go*.

The enlarged form *-iko* is still largely used to form diminutives, etc., from words in *-o*. Only a few examples of this numerous group can be given here: *oguščiko* 'finger' (*oguščo*); *luydiko* 'daughter'; *mīryiko* 'meadow'; *xūyiko* 'spring'; *suvdiko* 'end of a bow' (*suvdo* 'shoulder'); *wēliko* 'small irrigation-channel', etc., etc.

From words in *-yo*, *-ko* are formed diminutives in *-yiko*, *-kiko*. Thus, e.g.: *pōlōyiko* 'small cup'; *wāryiko* 'lamb'; *žin̄kiko* 'woman'; *fīyiko* 'small spade'; *postiyiki* (pl.?) 'bark of a tree', either from unrecorded or disappeared forms *\*fīyo*, *\*pōstiyō*, or direct from forms in *-o*.

#### IX. Nouns in *-ya*, *-ga*.

190. The masc. suffix Y *-ya*, M *-ga*, *-yo*, theoretically from *\*-kaka*- (cf. Psht. *-gai*, etc.) is comparatively rare and includes forms of different origin.

In Y: *vīzya* 'upper arm' (in reality *vīzy + a*); *təplāya* 'drum'; *stūya* 'throat'; *kitaya* 'almond' (Kafiri lw.); *šafšiyā(n)* 'armpit'. In M we find *čānoyo* m. 'male kid, one year old' (*čano* 'new-born kid'); *čūžioyo* m. 'chicken' (*čūžiya* f.); *frāyōmioyo* 'he-goat, one year old' (*frayomīy*); *juānoyo* 'male calf, one to two years old' (*juāna*); *wōryoyo* 'male lamb' (*worya*); *zingyigo* 'small boy' (Y *žunayē*). In Mm *-ga* has been added to lws in *aflōvaga* 'bucket'; *amsāyaga* 'neighbour'; *fāxtaga* 'dove'.

Mg *kāyeko* 'throat' (interior) corresponds to Sogd. *k'yk* 'palate', but the *k* cannot be direct derived from ancient *-k*.

Regarding the fem. suffix M *-gāgā* (of masculine participles in *-gā*) cf. Z p. 122.



## X. Nouns in -ī.

191. As mentioned above, *-ē/-īy* has been substituted for *-ī* in most lw.s, but in recent borrowings *-ī* remains. Thus, e.g. from Khow.: *ārdi* 'middle of the floor'; *pičīlī* 'n. of a plant'; *madiri* 'hem'; *kiṭori* 'dried mulberries', etc. From Prs.: Y *naharī* 'breakfast'; M *čarpoyī* 'bed'.—*čaulī* 'stirrup'; *kafčī* 'hollow below sternum'; *qizagi* 'bridle'; *čōpi* 'lie' are of Prs. origin, but the suffix seems to have been added in Y—M.

Also some genuine words end in *-ī*: *froi* 'chip'; *fšai* 'out of breath'; *fšī* 'very ripe and soft'; *paržini* 'hedge'; *čoromī* 'the fourth (finger)'.

## XI. Nouns in -x.

192. Several Y—M words have preserved the ancient suffix *-xā*, but they do not form a group, and the suffix is not productive any longer.

Examples are: *malax* 'locust' (lw. ?); *mux* 'month' (< \**māhaxa*-); *max* 'peg' (*mīx* 'nail' < Prs.); *waxo* 'root-fibre' (Prs. *bēx*); *rōx* 'cheek' (lw. ?); *xāxo* 'thistle' (\**xāra-xā*-?); *penāxko* 'eyelashes' (\**pašnaxa*-); *selxiko* 'sorrel'; Y *alixa* 'ribs' (only MFB). Also *amaxno* 'sloe'; *zaxmo* 'field' and M *zoyno* 'chin' probably contain an ancient *-xā*.<sup>1</sup> But *awarxo* 'flame' goes back to *urvāxra*, and Y *čerox* 'spark'; *nax* 'floor' are probably lw.s. *krox* 'scab' may be an adaptation of Khow. *kolūk*, and in *baṇḍux* 'a kind of handmill' an Ir. suffix has been added to a stem which must be of IA. origin.

## XII. Nouns with Other Suffixes.

193. Traces of an ending in *-z* appear in *bayaz* 'bleating',<sup>2</sup> *milyuz* 'red clay'; cf. *dorz-kurγuz* 'weaver'; *kiščγuz* 'cultivator'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. *ḡōnas*, *khānas*, Pashai *yānas* 'bellowing'.

In *yadmin* 'wheaten bread' and *kōskin* 'barley bread' we find a suffix *-in* < *-aina*, which has also been transferred to *arzamin* (for \**arzanin*) 'millet-bread' and *maymun* 'pea-bread' (*muyo*).

### Noun-Inflexion.

#### The Article.

194. The numeral *yū* 'one' is sometimes used nearly in the sense of our indefinite article, but I do not think it would be correct to call it an article from the point of view of the Y—M linguistic system. E.g. *yū l'vēr noyor* Mm 'a door appeared'; *no yū kua'tinen* 'with a rich man'.

In *Ysh yurd wo maraken* 'the man took it', etc. the function of *wo* approaches that of a definite article. Cf. *wo ādam* 'the man'; *wo vira yurah* 'seize the burden', etc.

#### Gender.

195. Y—M is one of the few modern Ir. dialects which still preserve, at any rate to some extent, the ancient distinction between the masculine and the feminine.

In Y the f. of adjectives has a separate form, e.g. in *x<sup>h</sup>šuvdo* f. 'sweet'; *muro* f. 'dead'; *zōro* f. 'old'; *Yzh umidvāro* (but *Ysh umidvār*) 'pregnant'; *yauyo axleno šui* 'the water became cold'; *mun wulo šiloxo šui* 'my wife became destitute'; *Yzh, sh <sup>h</sup>sturo-guščo*, *Yg stro oguščiko* 'thumb'. For examples from M cf. Z, p. 125.

In Y adjectives in *-ē* do not change in the fem. Thus: *Yp mēr yadē*, *žingo yadē* 'the man, the woman is blind'; *Yg malane oguščo* (*Yr malanoguščo* = *malan' og<sup>o</sup>* or *malano 'g<sup>o</sup>?*) 'middle finger'. But Mm *malanigo āgušk'o* (m. \**malanīy*); M(t) *yū mār yandiy*: *žinkika yan'diya*; cf. Z *yādōy* m.: *yādiga* f., etc., v. Z pp. 122 sqq.

In the past tense no distinction is made in Y. Thus *Ysh yū akābur niāsto* 'an old man was sitting'; *žinkiko niāsto* 'a woman was sitting'; *vio* m., f. 'was', etc. Regarding the situation in M cf. Z p. 125.



In the nouns the ancient suffixes denoting gender are still in use. Thus we find Y—M *nar-kirē* 'cock', but *kirio* 'hen'; *nowis*, *nəwisa* 'nephew', 'grandson', but *nowoso*, *nowasiko*, 'niece' etc.; Y *ida* m.: *idiko* f. 'slave'; *warē* m., but *wōryo* f. 'lamb'. But it is worthy of notice that the pairs *mīya*: *mīyo* 'male and female oorial'; *vūza*: *vūzo* 'he- and she-goat'; *frayomīy*: *frayingo* 'male and female kid'; *xurī*: *xurigo* 'sister's son and daughter'; *vrēri*: *vrērigo* 'brother's son and daughter' have only been found in M. The corresponding Y forms are: *frayāmə* or *narbəz*: *vəzo*; *nar'čan*: *pran'jio*, while *no'wisa*: *nowasiko* are used both for 'grandchild' and for 'nephew', 'niece'.<sup>1</sup>

Evidently the feeling for grammatical gender has been weakened in Y, possibly under the influence of Khow. In Sgl. the development has proceeded still further, and the only traces left of the ancient distinction are the suffixes denoting males and females of a few animals.

#### Number.

196. The pl. suffix is normally *-ē*, *ī* in Y and *-i* in M.

Thus from stems in consonants: Y *gaspē* 'horses'; *kāriakē* 'yoke-pegs'; *ādamē* 'men'; *pūrē* 'sons'; *yaškē* 'tears'; *ladē* 'teeth'; *Idyē* 'Yidghas'; *zəmonē* 'children'; *livdani* (Yp) 'fireplaces'; *šilaxē* 'naked'; Mm *ādami*, *pūri*, *lodi*, *Yīdagi*, *čārwoyi* 'cattle'; Mg *nāxšī* 'songs'; Mt *miči* 'days'; Mti *wīlye*, (*wīlx*) 'kidneys'.

From stems in Y *-ē*, M *-īy*, etc.: Y *stāri* 'stars'; *rūi* 'bowels'; *larzi* 'sheaf' (pl. of *larzē* 'sheaf-band'); *maxše-i* 'mosquitoes'; *čapii* 'door-frame'. M(g) *storiī*, t *storgi*; *rū'īi* 'bowels' (Mm *rūyīy* sg). Ysh *wari'ān* 'lambs' (*wari'ē*) is probably a persianized, incorrect form.

From f. stems in Y *-o*: Y *ləydē* 'daughters'; *wulē* (Ysh *wuli avəzde* 'brought wives'); *čoguli* 'hoofs'; *agmin-kurmiki* 'bees'; *špūū* (?) 'lice' (sg. *špūo*); *niāsti* 'sitting' (f. pl.). M *luydi*; *ašosti* 'shrubs'.

From stems in Y *-a*: Y *maṛē* 'men'; *muško-i* 'calves' (*muško'ya*);

<sup>1</sup> Yr employed *nowoso* both for the m. and for the f.

*šināmī* 'girls' (*šinamia*). Regarding Y *mīwayē* 'fruit-trees'; MZ *wīyaki* 'willows', etc. cf. above § 186.

From stems in *-ī*: Y *čaulī* 'stirrups'; M *Munjiyī* 'Munjis' (*Munji*). From stems in *-ai*, *-oi*: Ysh *kāyī*, Yr, Bidd. *kyēi*, M *kyai*, Mg *kyāyī* 'houses';<sup>1</sup> Mg *v̄rōi* 'brothers' (sg. *v̄rōi*).

197. After numerals we find the sg. in certain phrases. Thus: Y *čir miž*, M *žirāi miž* 'four, three days'. But M *yu čad miži* 'some days'; Y *čir iulē* 'four wives'; *loh (žiroi) pūrē* 'two (three) sons'; M *lu luydi* 'two daughters'; Y *hazār rupāyī* (and *rupāyo*) 'one thousand rupees'. The sg. forms cannot have a purely phonetic explanation, as is the case in Prs., but must either be due to influence from Prs., or to general syntactical tendencies common to many languages. LSIy gives *meṛ* and *ādam* 'men' as pl. forms.

Note Z *marduman štat* 'people said' with the collective subject in sg. and the verb in pl.

198. Tedesco<sup>2</sup> derives the pl. suffix *-ē*, etc., from *-āh* and, as far as Y—M is concerned, I believe he is right. It might be argued that if f. sg. *-ā* and f. pl. *-āh* both resulted in Y *-o*, the pl. of ancient stems in *i*<sup>3</sup> could be extended to the stems in *ā*, in order to establish a clear distinction between sg. and pl. Thus:

Sg. <i>*vuzā</i>	<i>*suvd + ā</i>	changed into	<i>vuzo suvdo</i>
Pl. <i>*vuzā</i>	<i>*suvdē</i>		<i>vuzē suvdē</i> .

It might also be possible to derive the pl. of ancient stems in *-aka* from *\*akāh* (> *\*āyo* > *ei*, *iī*) without assuming a change of *-āh* > *-ē*.

But it is difficult to see how the type *pūrē* can be explained, except as a direct phonetic outcome of *\*puθrāh*. There would have been no reason to substitute the pl. of the rare masc. *i*-stems for a phonetically developed form *\*pūrā* > Y *\*pūro*.

If we accept Tedesco's theory we must, however, give up the derivation of Y *pado* 'road' direct from *\*pantāh* (Av. *pantā*), and we cannot explain *warfo* 'snow' as an ancient plural.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

<sup>2</sup> ZII, IV, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Which were often transferred into the *ā*-group, cf. above § 174.



## Case.

199. The Vocative is expressed by the particle Y *āi*, Z *ē*. Thus, e.g.: *āi vrāi*, *āi pūrē*; but *āi luydeo* (?) 'O daughters'; *āi Parvardigāra* 'O Creator' (prob. from Prs.).

The suffix of the obl. sg. is Y *-en*, or, with vowel harmony, *-an*. Thus, e.g.: *vərayen* 'brother'; *šīfien* 'husband'; *mīxen* 'day'; *sāharen* 'desert'; *galavānen* 'cowherd'; *kiyēn*, *kyēin* 'house'; *daryāhan* 'river'; *pādšāan* 'king'; *sāharan* 'town'; *lurayan* 'from afar'; *mištrān* 'prince'; M *hādamen* 'man'. The only f. forms noted in Y are: *žinkikī* (= *in*?) 'woman'; *wulē(n)* 'wife'; *Čitrāyī*, *Čitrēyen* 'Chitral'. They do not suffice to decide whether Y distinguishes between obl. m. and f. as is the case in M according to Z.<sup>1</sup> LSIy gives *loyda* 'daughter' as nom. and obl.

Regarding the derivation of the oblique from *\*-aina* cf. Tedesco, ZII, IV, p. 156.<sup>2</sup> Konow's objection<sup>3</sup> to a derivation of Khotan Saka *-āna* (Maral Bashi *-ena*) < *\*-aina* does not necessarily affect Y—M. But the vocalism and the difference between the m. and f. forms in M render Tedesco's derivation uncertain in details. The m. form might go back to *\*-ana* and the f. to *\*-ina*, based upon it and belonging originally to the stems in *i*.

The obl. pl. suffix is Y *-əf* (*-ef*, *af*), M *-af*.<sup>4</sup> E.g. Y *pūrəf* 'sons'; *čirief* 'apricots'; *žinkəf* 'women'; *Idgef* 'Lutkoh', *Hartef*, *Tuyakaf* names of villages. The derivation < *\*-abiš*<sup>5</sup> seems obvious.

An ancient gen. pl. has been preserved in Mm *Yīd'yūn* 'Lutkoh', cf. also *Yīd'gānə rōi* 'Yidgha'. *Munjān* is a Prs. form.

<sup>1</sup> P 126, m. *-an*, f. *-in*.

<sup>2</sup> A different view is expressed by Z (p. 126), who compares the Shgh. loc. (or gen. abs.) in *-and*, Sar. *-an*.

<sup>3</sup> Saka Studies, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Tedesco's *-ew*, *-aw* (l. c. p. 156) are miswritings or misprints.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tedesco, l. c.

## Composition.

200. Y—M possesses a number of ancient nominal compounds. Some of these contain ancient prefixes, such as *ā*, *an*, *us*, *ham*, *abi*, *upa*, *pati*, *pari*, *parā*, *fra*, *hada*, *wi*, etc. Thus, e.g.: *ārunyo* 'light'; *hənadīy* 'out of breath'; *usxūbun* 'awake'; *hadamə* 'limb' and *ābūya* 'moraine'; *avlāsto* 'sleeve' and *awlān* 'bridle'; *vəzāxo* 'womb'; *pišcan* 'thigh'; *paržin* 'enclosure' and *pargušcē* 'finger-ring'; *prasāl* 'last year'; *feryāmə* 'he-goat'; *lomalen* 'half-full'; *wulēyo* 'span'.

Other ancient compounds, regarding which see Voc. s.vv., are e.g. *ag'mīn* 'honey'; *uščeno* 'hay-stack'; *aspəlan* 'stable'; *γūārikē* 'ear-ring'; *šinamia* 'girl'; *pīstān* 'udder'; *yurzuvo* (?) 'crushing-stone'; *yursiliko* 'shoe-string', etc.

Compounds of a more modern type are numerous, and new ones are constantly being formed. The principles of formation are similar to those found in other Ir. languages, and examples will easily be found in the Vocabulary.

Note the adverbs *do-kučo* 'out' and *da-dram* 'inside, in'. Also the type *fəskaf-surv* 'nostril', *lasten-bot* 'wrist' must be considered as a kind of compound.

## Adjectives.

201. Regarding the inflexion of adjectives for gender and number cf. § 195.

*Luro* 'far, distant' appears to be inflexible: *Yzh yo 'ādam lur'o*, *γāi 'ādame lur'o*; *Mg wə kyāi ləre*, *wai kyāyi lə're*. But *luro* is probably derived from the Av. abl. *dūrāt*.

I have come across no comparative or superlative forms, but the LSI. gives Y *kemder* 'younger', and M *že yexa-iš sterder* 'he is taller than his sister' (Y *že wen ixa blend astet*). I heard e.g. Y *'zo že-yen* (*žo-won*) *u'stur* 'I am bigger than he'; *mən vərāi žə tō vərāyen u'stūr*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Bidd. *eyen kugoren man kugor γašē astet*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 217.



'my sword is better than his'; *zo eyen tiz yazam* 'I can run faster than he can' (without *žo*).

The suffix *-der* is possibly borrowed from Prs. The genuine Y form may have been preserved in *mištor* 'mehtar, prince'.

### Numerals.

202. The typical forms of the numerals (for details see Voc. s.vv.) are:

Yzh	Mm
1. <i>yū</i>	<i>yū</i>
2. <i>lo<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>lu</i>
3. <i>ž<sup>ai</sup>roi</i>	<i>ž<sup>ai</sup>roi</i>
4. <i>čšir</i>	<i>čfür</i>
5. <i>pānš</i> (Ysh <i>pān</i> )	<i>ponž</i>
6. <i>ux'šo</i>	<i>ox'šo</i>
7. <i>'avdo</i>	<i>'ovdo</i>
8. <i>'aščo</i>	<i>'ošk'o</i>
9. <i>nōu</i>	<i>nāu</i>
10. <i>los</i>	<i>da</i>
11. <i>los'yū</i>	<i>yōzda</i> (Mg)
12. <i>losilo</i>	<i>dwōzda</i> (Mg)
13. <i>losž<sup>ai</sup>rāi</i>	<i>sēzda</i> (Mg)
14. <i>losič<sup>ai</sup>šir</i>	<i>čōrda</i> (Mg)
15.	<i>pōnzda</i> (Mg)
16.	<i>šōnzda</i> (Mg)
17.	<i>'avda</i>
18.	<i>'ažda</i> (Mg)
19.	<i>'nūzda</i> (Mg)
20. <i>wis'to</i>	<i>bīst</i> (G <i>wīst</i> )
30. <i>yūwistolos</i>	<i>sī</i> ( <i>s<sup>ai</sup>i</i> )
40. <i>lu'wist</i>	<i>čel</i>
50. <i>lucisto'los</i> (Yr)	
60. <i>ž<sup>ai</sup>roiucist</i> (Yr)	
100. <i>pānžwist</i> (Yr), <i>yušōr</i> (Yg)	<i>sad</i>
200. <i>losucist</i> (Yr) — 1000. <i>azōr</i> (Yp), <i>hazār</i> (Yzh)	

Apart from the fact that Y has preserved the genuine forms *los* and *wisto*, and that it has borrowed from, or been influenced by<sup>1</sup> Khow. in cases where M adopted Prs. forms, the differences between the two dialects are only of a phonetic nature.

It will be observed that Y and Mm distinguish as regards accentuation between *ux'sō*, *ox'sō* '6' on the one hand, and *'avdo*, *'ašō* etc. on the other. This distinction is no doubt of ancient origin (*ux'sō* < *xšvas*, and *'avdo* < *'haftā*, with *-ā* from *aštā*), but it has been obliterated in most M dialects. Thus e.g. M(sh) has *ox'sō*, *ov'dō*, *ošk'sō*, with the same accentuation in all three numerals.

Ancient numerals are preserved in *širizen* 'three days ago'; *širasāl* 'two years ago' and in *čurmo*, *pčurma* 'four days ago'. Cf. also s.v. *čirvizen* 'four days ago'. *čoromī* 'fourth' is probably a Prs. lw.

Other numeral forms to be noted are: *yūyo* 'one of several'; *lohriñj* 'double'; *lohsaxo* 'a period of two years' (cf. *yūsaxo*); *lūini*, *luānekē* (pl.) 'twins', and, possibly, Y *aveli*, Z *'avel'yi* 'both' < *ubaya dūye* (?).

## Pronouns.

### Personal Pronouns.

203.

1st Prs. Sg.

Y	M
Nom. <i>zo</i> zh, sh, g, p, <i>zə</i> sh, r, u, g.	<i>za</i> (zo?) m, <i>zə</i> t, <i>zā</i> , <i>zə</i> Z.
Obl., Gen. <i>mən</i> zh, sh, g, u, r, <i>mun</i> sh, u.	<i>mun</i> , <i>mun</i> t, (t), <i>mən</i> Z.
Predic. Gen. <i>'mən-kān</i> zh, sh.	<i>'mā-kān</i> , <i>'mənā</i> Z.
Acc. <i>va</i> 'mən zh, <i>və</i> 'mən zh, r, <i>vo</i> (wo) 'mən sh, <i>vo</i> 'mun u.	<i>və</i> 'mən m, <i>'va-mən</i> Z.
Dat. <i>'nā-mən</i> zh, sh, <i>'nā-mun</i> , <i>-man</i> sh.	<i>nō-mən</i> g, <i>'na-mən</i> Z.
Abl. <i>ša</i> 'mun zh, <i>šō</i> , <i>ša</i> 'mən sh.	<i>šu</i> 'mun m.
Comit. <i>'lā-mən</i> sh.	

<sup>1</sup> The vigesimal system of Y is of Khow. origin.



## 1st Prs. Pl.

Y	M
Nom. <i>māx</i> zh, sh, <i>māx</i> g, r, <i>mōx</i> r.	<i>mox</i> m, <i>mōx</i> Z.
Obl. <i>māx</i> g, r, <i>mox</i> r.	
Gen. <i>amax</i> zh, sh, <i>māx</i> sh (?)	<i>a-mōx</i> Z.
Acc. <i>va māx</i> zh.	<i>va-mōx</i> Z.
Dat. <i>nā-māx</i> zh, sh, <i>na-</i> , <i>nə-māx</i> sh,	
<i>nomāx</i> Bidd.	<i>nā-moy</i> (!) g, <i>na-mōx</i> Z.
Abl.	<i>ša-mox</i> m.

## 2nd Prs. Sg.

Nom. <i>tu</i> zh, sh, r, g, p, <i>tə</i> sh.	<i>tu</i> , <i>tə</i> m, Z.
Obl., Gen. <i>tō</i> zh, sh, g, r, u, <i>ta</i> zh (?), sh.	<i>to</i> , <i>tə</i> m, <i>ta<sup>w</sup></i> , <i>tā</i> , <i>tə</i> Z.
Predic. Gen. <i>ta-kān</i> zh, sh, u.	<i>tə-kān</i> , <i>təwā</i> Z.
Acc. <i>və</i> <i>to</i> zh, r, g, <i>v<sup>u</sup>to</i> u, <i>vto</i> zh, u, g,	
<i>fto</i> sh.	<i>fto</i> m, <i>fīa</i> (t), <i>fīə</i> t, Z.
Dat. <i>nā-to</i> zh, <i>na-tō</i> sh, r.	<i>na-to</i> m, <i>na-tā</i> Z.
Abl. <i>š-tō</i> sh, ( <i>šo-to</i> denied by zh).	
Comit. <i>lə to</i> r.	
Adess. <i>də tō</i> sh.	

## 2nd Prs. Pl.

Nom. <i>māf</i> zh, sh, r, g, <i>mof</i> r.	<i>mof</i> m, <i>mōf</i> Z.
Obl. <i>māf</i> g.	
Gen. <i>amaf</i> zh, sh.	<i>a-mōf</i> Z.
Predic. Gen. <i>amaf kan</i> zh, sh.	<i>a-mōfā</i> , <i>ša-mōf</i> Z.
Acc. <i>va</i> <i>māf</i> zh.	<i>vaha-mof</i> (!) m, <i>va-mōf</i> Z.
Dat. <i>nā-māf</i> zh, sh, <i>na-</i> , <i>no-māf</i> sh.	<i>na-mōf</i> Z.
Abl.	<i>šā-</i> , <i>šaha-mof</i> m.

204. The inflexion of the sg. of the Personal Pronouns is based on the two-case system.<sup>1</sup> Thus *zo* < *azəm*, *mən* < *mana*, *tu* < *tvēm*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gauthiot, *MSL*, XX, 61 sqq.

(or *tū*); *tō*, *ta*<sup>1</sup> < *tavā*. (*a*)*max* < Old Prs. *amāxam*, with preservation of the initial vowel in the stressed, genitive form<sup>1</sup> *ta*, in *ta-kān* (LSIm *to-kān*), is probably a shortened form of *tō*. Cf. also Yzh *zo və ta gap yū lārəm* 'I listen to thy word'.

The frequent phonetic coalescence of *\*ahmāxam* and *\*(yu)šmāxam* in Ir. has caused an embarrassment from which the different dialects have extricated themselves in various ways. But in every case it is the 2nd pl. which has had to give way to the more frequently used 1st pl., just as it is the 2nd pl. termination of the verb which is changed in case of collision with the 3rd sg.<sup>2</sup> A neighbouring Dardic language, Kalasha, which constantly employs a copula with personal inflexion, tolerates a complete homogeneity between the nominatives of the Pers. Pron. 1st and 2nd pl.<sup>3</sup> In the Pamir dialects, where the construction without a copula is very widely used, this would not be possible.

In Psht. and Orm. the distinction between the Pers. Pron. 1st and 2nd pl. has been effected through the introduction of an entirely different, possibly borrowed, stem for the 2nd pl.<sup>4</sup> Parachi has utilized a base *\*ušā* which has become *wā*,<sup>5</sup> and Wkh. has completely remodelled the pl. of the Pers. Pronouns.<sup>6</sup> In the Shgh. and Sgl.—Ishk. groups the 2nd pl. has been differentiated by the prefigation of *ta-*, *tō-*, etc., taken over from the sg.<sup>7</sup> In Ishk. this has been deemed a sufficient distinction (*mux: tēmā/ux*), but Sgl. has differentiated the vowels, too (*amax: tēmux*), and the obl. form of the 1st pl. is *māč*, *mič* < *\*ahmačiya-*, while the nom. is used also as an obl. in the 2nd pl.

In Sar. there exists, according to Shaw and the LSI, an unexplained

<sup>1</sup> *amaf* has got its *a-* from *amax*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rep. on a lingu. miss. Afgh., 92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Indian Linguistics, V, 361.

<sup>4</sup> *tāsū*, *tus*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> This explanation is preferable to that given IIFL, I, 62.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. IA. *\*tušma-*.



difference of quantity between 1 pl. *maš* (< \**ahmašya*),<sup>1</sup> and 2 pl. *tamāš*, while Shgh. opposes *māš* to *tamā* (< \**ta* + *šmāk*?).

Y—M agrees with W. Ir. dialects in employing neither the prefix *t-* in the 2nd pl., nor the adjective base in \*-(i)*ya-* for the 1st pl. It utilizes the difference between the ancient gen. \**māx* < \**ahmāxam* (and \*(*yu*) *šmāxam*), and the instr. \**māβ* < \**ahmābiš*, etc., to distinguish the two persons. It is, of course, possible that a form *māx* (with *-x* from the 1st pl.) has never existed in pre. Y—M, but that \**māβ* has been substituted for \**māk*.

The assignment of the form in *-f* < *-β* to the 2nd pl. was facilitated by the existence of a verbal ending (originally an enclitic pronoun) 2 pl. in *-f* < *-v* < \**dw*.<sup>2</sup>

### Enclitic Personal Pronouns.

205. Regarding the possible employment of the ancient enclitic pronouns as verbal terminations see below § 231.

I have only come across a few cases of the use of real pronominal suffixes, and the examples are not all of them quite certain.

Thus: *āzawuy-em tū*, *mōzē-em tū*, *dalē-em tu* Ysh 'thou createst me, thou killest me, thou givest me'; *agar kōi ke liē-t, yašē, kōi ke ēe liē-t* . . . 'if anybody gave thee something, it is well, if nobody gave thee anything, . . .'. In this last example it is possible, but not probable, that *liē-t* is the 3rd pl. pret.

Other instances are: Mt *dōam-et* = *zō ftō dōam* 'I beat thee'; *dīr pādšāan* . . . *kāyaz kəro, škār-en* 'another king wrote a letter and sent it to us'. But *škār-en* might be a nazalized form (cf. *nā-to škārō* Ysh).

Mm *wo auqāt-iš g'yašk* 'guzarān-iš šud' is a Persianism, cf. LSI m 2 sg. *-it* and 3 sg. *-iš* from Prs.

<sup>1</sup> But Psht. *mūnē* < \**māš* < \**ahmāšya*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 231.

## Demonstrative Pronouns

206.

"HIC" (Proximate).

Sg.

Y

M

Nom. *mō zh, sh, u, mōi sh.**mā m, Z, mā m, g, Z.*Obl. *mən zh, u.**man Z.*Gen. *a'man zh, a'män zh, sh.*Predic. Gen. *a'man kan zh, amän k. sh.*Acc. *vəm zh, vum sh.**vum m, 'və-m(ä) Z.*Dat. *nə-män zh, nə (no) 'man sh.**'nu-man m, 'nə-man Z.*Abl. *ḡi-män zh, ḡ-im sh.**ḡ<sup>u</sup>-man m, ḡə-man Z.*Locative *dēm zh, dym u.*

Pl.

Nom. *{mind zh, sh.**myänd m, myend g.**{mai zh, māi sh, me g.**mai m, g, Z.*Obl. *məf g.**məf Z.*Gen. *a'məf zh, a'mof sh.*Predic. Gen. *a'məf kan zh, sh.*Acc. *və-məf zh, vümöv Bidd.**vi-məf m.*Dat. *nɾ'məf zh, nə'məf sh.*Abl. *ḡə-möf sh.**ḡi-məf m.*

207.

"ISTE" (Half Proximate).

Sg.

Y

M

Nom. *yō zh, sh, g, yə sh.**yā m, Z, yə Z.*Obl. *yän sh.**yan Z.*Gen. *ā-yen zh, ā-yen sh.*Predic. Gen. *a-yen kan zh, sh.*Acc. *vāi zh, vēi sh.**vai m.*Dat. *nā-yen zh, sh, nā-yen, nə'en sh**nə-yän m, 'nə-yan Z.*Abl. *ḡe-yen zh, ḡēn sh.**ḡā-yan m, ḡa-yan Z.*Adess. *dāi zh.*



## Pl.

## Y

- Nom. { *ſind* zh, *yānd* sh.  
           { *yāi* zh, *yēi* sh, *yeh* Bidd.  
 Obl. *ā'yef* (?) sh.  
 Predic. Gen. *a'yef kan* zh, *ā'yef k.* sh.  
 Acc. *vā'yef* zh, *vēf* sh.  
 Dat. *nā'yef* zh, sh, *ne-ef* sh.  
 Abl. *žēf* sh.

## M

- yend* m, *yend*, *yənd* g.  
*yāi* m, *yai*, *dai* Z.  
*daf* Z.  
*vā-yaf* m.  
*žā-yaf* m.

208.

"ILLE" (Remote).

## Sg.

## Y

- Nom. *wō* zh, sh, u.  
 Obl. *wən* sh, u.  
 Gen. *a'wən* sh.  
 Predic. Gen. *a'wən kan* zh, *awən k.* sh.  
 Acc. *vōu* zh, sh, *wōu* sh, r.  
 Dat. *na'wōn* zh, *na'wən*, *no'wōn* sh, *nōn* u.  
 Abl. *žō-won* zh, *žō-wən* sh, u.  
 Adess. *dōu* zh.

## M

- wā* m, Z, *wə* g, *wa* Z.  
*wan* Z (fem. *wīn*).  
*a-wan* Z.  
*vōu* m, *vā-w(an)* Z, *vā<sup>m</sup>* G.  
*no-wan* m, *na-wan* Z.  
*žō-wan* m, *žā-wan* Z.  
*dau* LSI<sup>m</sup>.

## Pl.

- Nom. { *wən* zh, *wənd* sh.  
           { *wōi* zh, sh, *wēh* Bidd.  
 Obl. *wōf* sh, *wov* u.  
 Gen. *o'af* sh.  
 Predic. Gen. *o'af kan* zh, *o'af k.* sh.  
 Acc. *vo'af* zh, *vōaf*, *wōf* sh.  
 Dat. *no'wof* zh, sh, *no-ōf* sh.  
 Abl. *jo-ov* Bidd.  
 Adess. *do-ōf*.

- wend* m, *wiyend* g.  
*wai* m, g, Z.  
*waf* Z.  
*vo-waf* m.  
*žō-waf* m, *žā-waf* Z.

The bases are as follows:

	Sg.				Pl.		
Nom.	<i>mo</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>wo</i>		{ <i>mai</i>	<i>yäi</i>	<i>woi</i>
					{ <i>mind</i>	<i>yänd, ind</i>	<i>wänd, wiwend</i>
Acc.	- <i>m</i>	-( <i>a</i> ) <i>i</i>	-( <i>ō</i> ) <i>u</i>	}			
Obl.	<i>man</i>	<i>yän</i>	<i>wən, wan</i>		<i>məf, maf</i>	<i>yəf, yaf</i>	<i>wof, waf</i>

These stems go back to respectively Av. *ima-*, *aēta-*<sup>1</sup> and Anc. Prs. *ava-*. An identical system of demonstratives is found in Sgl., which has *am(a)*, *að(a)*, *ō(aū)*, (obl. *īm*, *ið*, *yē*), in Shgh. with *yim*, *yid*, *yū* (obl. *me*, *de*, *we*, etc.), and in Sogd. with *mw*, *yyð*,<sup>2</sup> *'w* (nom. *'yw*), but not in Yaghn. (with *iš*, obl. *it*, *au*, *ax*), or Wkh.<sup>3</sup> The Yazgh. system (*yuk* < *ayēm*, *duk* < *aēta-*, *ū* < *ava-*) is of a similar but not identical structure, the ancient nom. surviving in the proximate demonstrative.

*Mo* goes back to *\*imām*, *\*imat* (cf. *zo* < *azəm*), and *yo*, *wo* are probably also original accusatives. The modern accusatives *vəm*, *vāi*, *vou* are probably ancient formations: *\*upa imam*, *\*upa aitam*, *\*upa avam*. Of the same type are *dum*, etc. The derivation of the gen. 'prefix' *a-* is uncertain.

I have not come across any special fem. obl. form of *wo*, or any other trace of distinction of gender. But Zar. gives obl. masc. *wan*, fem. *win*.

The nom. plurals *mai*, *yäi*, *woi* are probably to be analysed as containing *mo*, etc. + the pl. ending *-e*. *mind*, *yänd*, *wänd*, etc. recall Sgl. *amänd*, *adänd*, *awänd* and also Sogd. *wyšnt*, which Benveniste<sup>4</sup> derives from *avaē-šanām* + *t*. But the preservation of *nd* in this special case remains unexplained. The forms in *nd* are unknown

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zar. s.vv.—Nom. *yo* might, of course, be derived from *aēša*, but this is not probable in view of the Sgl. forms.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gramm. Sogd., II, 122, but note *ð* < *t*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wkh., Pronouns.

<sup>4</sup> Gramm. Sogd. II, § 81.



to Z, G and the LSI<sub>m</sub>, and M<sub>m</sub> first mentioned them, then denied their existence in M, but afterwards employed them, together with Mg, in his speech. I was not able to detect any difference of meaning or use between M *mai* and *mind*, except in so far as *mai* seemed to be the more usual form. Z gives *dai*, *daf* besides *yai*, *yaf*. These forms may go back to \**ta*-, with early loss of the initial diphthong. Cf. § 48.

According to Ysh *moi*, *yoi*, *woi* are emphatic forms of *mo*, etc., and not plurals. Thus e.g., *yoi kyäi* sg. = *yō kyäi*, but *yēi kyēi*, *yänd kyey* pl. Cf. also *mōy-a* = 'hami ast?' *moi kōi-kān fərmā?* 'whose can this one be?'

Note the obl. Y *maf*, M *maf*, but Pers. Pron. 2nd pl. Y *maf*, M *mof*.

209. *Yo* and *mo* both correspond to Prs. *in*. Thus, e.g.: *no-man ces yo, mo delum* Ysh 'what shall I give this one (*ba i*)'; *mo čamin žaga* Yu 'what kind of place is this (*i štari žā*)?'; *yo kyei äyēn-kān* Ysh '*i xāna az i st*'; *yo koi ādam* Ysh '*i kī ādam ast*?'; *yo cəs-mın vira* Ysh '*i čī bār ast*?'

But *mo* is used especially about quite near objects and persons: *mo mind ādame nazdik astet* Ysh 'these men are near'; *mo ādam, māi (mind) ādame nazdik* Yzh; *mə kyäi qarib* Mm 'this house is near'; *myänd (mai) yaši, wai liwi* Mm 'these are good, those are bad'; *wum isa* Ysh 'bring this one (which I have just given you)'; *yo maṛa ž'kū, wāi pərsə . . . zo ž-im kyeyen, mo kyei mən-kān* Ysh 'from where is this man, ask him . . . I am from this (very) house, this house is mine'; *yo mən šifə . . . mō amaf tāt* Ysh 'this is my husband, . . . this (very man is) your father'. Cf. also G *yimsāl* 'this year'.

*Yo*, on the other hand, may be used in sentences like *yō ādam yo lu'ro, yāi ādamē lu'ro* 'this man is (these men are) far away'. But usually it is applied to half-proximate objects. Cf. Zar., p. 180: 'указат. мест. для предметов среднего удаления.'

*Wo* usually corresponds to Prs. *ū (ān)*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g.: *lim nōn* Yu *wo*

<sup>1</sup> Zar. tot, on.

'I gave him' (*ba ū*); *n-ou mara kyein* Ysh '*ba jā-i-ū mardek*'; *žo wōf* 'he beat them (*unhara*)'; *wōu č-pərviayāf* '*ūra na yāfta būdid*'; *bād žo wan* Mm 'after that (*bād az ū*)'. Other examples of *wo* are: *wənd ādame(n) lūro astet* Ysh 'these men are far off'; *wo ādam lū'ro* Mm; *wə kyāi lə're* Mg; *yo mən kyei, wo to kyei* Yzh 'this is my house, that is your house'.

*Wo* is also used as a Pers. Pron. El.g.: *wo ruxsat šūi* Ysh 'he took leave'; *na'wən lī'ō*; *lī'ō no'wən* 'he gave him'; *wən (wo) 'što, wōf ištōt* 'he, they said'; *šəlo won* Ysh '*ba pēš-i ū*'; *wōu lə'badəm* Yr 'I winnowed it'; *tu do'ōf xabar čəš-a?* 'have you no news about them?' *wo xap kər* Yu 'he kept silent', but in a following passage: *mo xap čī kit?* 'why does this man keep silent?'

Regarding the use of *wo* as a Definite Article, cf. § 194.

I never heard any Y form corresponding to Biddulph's '*hooroh*' 'he, she, it' (remote). It is probably a lw. from Khow. *horo*, and does not seem to be in general use.

### Interrogative, Relative and Indefinite Pronouns.

210. *Koi* 'who?' (< *kahyā*) is used both as a subst. and as an adj.: *kōi-ste* Yu 'who art thou?' *yo vira kōi-kān* Ysh 'whose burden is this?' *na-koi ase tu?* Yzh 'whom dost thou come for?' *maf na-koi a'sef?* But also *yo koi ādam?* Ysh 'what man is this?'

*Koi* is also an indefinite pronoun: *vo kōi* Yr 'somebody' (*kasira*); *agar kōi ke liēt yašē* 'if anybody gives thee (anything), it is well'.

*Kədi* is used as a substantive: *kə'di ayoi* 'which one came?' *kedē-vā* LSI'm 'any one'. But *kyəm* is an adjective: *kyəm ādam* 'which man?' Regarding the phonetic development of these words v. §§ 47, 164.

Examples of *ces* 'what' are: *to ces nām?* *to cis nām astet?* *tō nām cis mīn?* Ysh 'what is thy name?' *ya cəs mīn vira?* Ysh '*i čī bār ast?*' *mūn ces gu'nā* 'what is my fault?' *cis ke nā-mūn resī* 'whatever I get'; *no-man ces delum* 'what shall I give him?' *ces ory kə'nē?*—



*çi* (in *çi ilā*) *kenem* Yu 'what remedy shall I use?' is Prs. Regarding *ce* 'what?', *çe*, *çi* 'why, what'; *çē* 'something' v. Voc. s.vv.

'How much, how big' is *čamīn*; *mo čō žaya* 'what kind of place is this (*i štari* (= *çi-štari*) *ja*)?' *čō kənəm* Ysh '*čiko* (= *çi qadr*) *kənəm*?'.

Regarding *ind*, *mind* 'so much'; *ča(n)d* 'how much'; Y *čēi*, M *ištiva* 'something' v. Voc. s.vv.

The relative particle *ke*, is borrowed from Prs.

Regarding the Reflexive Pronoun *xoi* v. Voc.

### Use of the Cases and Prepositions.

211. The Nom. is used as a subject with intr. verbs and with trans. verbs in the Present. Thus: Yzh *mə ādam vri*, *māi ādamē vriet* 'this man breaks, these men break'; *mo māra (žinkiko) yadē* 'this man (woman) is blind'; *mo ādam na'yan xut* 'this man eats bread'; Yg *me žirōi mēre hōr(y) kenet* 'these three men are working' (cf. Ysh *mīnd ādamen hōry ke'nat*); Ysh *yo mūn vərāi astet* 'this is my brother'; *wo žinkiko da čatīr šūi* 'the woman went into the tent'.

Nominative

Note that the Pers. Pronouns are frequently used, even when no special stress is laid upon the subject.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g. 1 Sg.: Y *zo wušiaday-am* 'I am hungry'; *zo sabā oīm* 'I shall come to-morrow'; Mm *zo org yikenum* 'I am working', *za ftə duham (za ftə dōam t)* 'I beat thee'.—2 Sg.: *tu wušiaday-et* 'thou art hungry'; *tu vōu de* 'beat him'; *tu ču žūi* 'what dost thou say?' *tu ces hōry kenē* 'what work art thou doing?' M *tu šti yikunīy* 'thou art doing something'.—1 Pl. Y: *māx wušiaday-am*; *māx hōry ke'nam sh*, *māx hōr kə'nem g*, *mō/āx ory kə'nem r*, M *mox ory yikenam*.—2 Pl. Y *māf wušiaday-af*; *māf ces hōry ke'nef*? M *mof šti yikunef*; *mof male nižit* 'sit down here'. In Ysh *zo ž-īm kyeyen* 'I (am) from this house' the pronoun replaces the copula.

<sup>1</sup> As is the case e.g. in *kū ki tu šūyit zo ašəm* Ysh 'wherever you go (lit.: went), I shall go'.

The Nominative is also sometimes used as a subject with transitive preterites.

Thus, e.g. Yu *žinkiko* (*kurmo*) 'što 'the woman (the grasshopper) said'; *galavān wazir luydo do 'vyuš žio* 'the cow-herd embraced the vizier's daughter'; Ysh *dukandār ħurd yū alāno* 'the shopkeeper took a pome-granate'; *agar Xədəi ču mašče vii* 'if God had not killed him'; LSI<sub>m</sub> *kamder pūr šta*, LSI<sub>y</sub> *kemder pūr što* 'the younger son said'.<sup>1</sup>

With pronouns: Yzh *zo* (or *mən*) *vto žim* (*žiyəm viō*) 'I (had) killed thee'; Yr *zo na-to* 'štom 'I said to thee'; Ysh *zo muzdurə kuḡrum* 'I have served'; *tə na'yeŋ xurjet-a* 'hast thou eaten the food?'; Mm *tə və-mən žiet*, Yr *tū və-mən žiil* 'thou didst kill me'; Ysh *wo alāno ħurd* 'he took the pome-granate'; Ysh, u *wo* (or *wən*) 'što 'he said'; Ysh *yō və-mən ži-što* 'he was beating me'; *wo wulo što* 'the wife said'; *yō ādam nayan xu'ro* 'this man ate bread'; Z *wā žinka və-mən liškigagā* 'that woman has seen me'.

As an adjective the demonstrative is always put in the nom. in Y: *wo maraken* 'što 'the man said', etc. But Z gives both *wā mēran* 'this man' and *man idakan* 'this slave' as agents, cf. *wā* and *waf lu v'rōyaf* 'these two brothers', etc.

But this construction with nom. and transitive preterite is no doubt of recent origin and due to Prs. and Khw. influence.<sup>2</sup>

212. Usually we find the subject of a transitive preterite put in the oblique case. Thus, e.g.: Ysh *pādšān, žuwānen, marakā, dukan-dāre(n), žinkikī, akābuv'ren* 'što (etc.) 'the king, youth, man, shopkeeper, woman, old man said' (etc.); *žinkikī . . . tərəft* 'the woman stole'; *zinief pīstet* 'the daughters-in-law asked'; *čes ke Xədəiyen liō* 'whatever God gave'; Yu *vo wulo vət galavānen* 'the cowherd brought the wife'.

Oblique

With Pers. Pronouns: Y *mən və-to ča'dim* 'I threw thee down'; *mən ory ke'ram* 'I worked'; *mun xūvən liščəyəm* 'I have seen a dream'; *mən* 'što (Yg *mən štum*) 'I said'; *mən nə pūren amūno liəm* 'I gave

<sup>1</sup> This type of construction seems to be more frequent in LSI<sub>m</sub> than in LSI<sub>y</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. T 'ān *xūr* = *mun 'xūr, xūr-um*, IIFL, I, p. 96.



my son an apple'; *mən vto lišcim*, *Mm mun fta lišk'im* 'I saw thee'; *Mt mun fta žim* 'I killed thee'; *Yg tō v-mən žit* 'thou didst kill me'; *māx v-to žiem-štəm* 'we were killing thee'; *mox wōu maščəm* 'we slaughtered him'; *Yg māf v-mən žief-štēf* 'you were killing me'.<sup>1</sup>

With Demonstrative Pronouns: *Ysh, u wən išt(y)o* 'he said'; *wōf štot* 'they said'; *yān namaš nayeŋ liō* 'he gave you bread'; *yūrd wo maŋaken* 'the man took it'.

Cf. Zar. (p. 126) *Saidan mən luydā ɣrəvd* 'Said took my daughter', *wā v-rōyaf ləškāt* 'the brothers saw', etc.; *LSIm men (ze) žiem, waf (wa)* žiat 'I, they beat', etc.

In a few cases I heard *mən* instead of *zo*: *Yr mən uzir lurvo viem* 'I was ill yesterday'; *mən vōu dehām* 'I beat him' (pres.); *Ysh mun no-wən amūno dālēm* 'I give him an apple'. With attraction to a transitive preterite: *Y wən čəyūvd, što* 'he returned and said'. This construction is due to the influence of Prs. *man*, and, together with the use of *zo*, etc. for the oblique case and the introduction of personal endings in the transitive preterite, demonstrates the gradual dissolution of the ancient middle Ir. system.

213. The Attributive Genitive of nouns is usually expressed by the Genitive Oblique.

Thus, e.g.: *Y pūren pūr* 'grandson'; *pādsān pūr* 'the king's son'; *lasten bod* 'wrist'; *yūen surva* 'the hole of the ear'; *Xadāyen bande* 'the servant of God'; *fəskaf surv* 'nostril'; *wo ɣoi pūraf nām* 'the names of his sons'.

But we also find examples of the nominative used as a genitive. E.g.: *Y mən tāt kyāi* 'my father's house'; *šūi n-ou maya kyēin* 'he went into the house of that man'; *pādsā pūr* 'prince'; *wazir luydo pādsā pūr pisto* 'the vizier's daughter asked the prince'; *last bot* 'wrist'. It is not always possible to draw the line between such expressions and nominal compounds.

<sup>1</sup> *Yr mōx (l) v-mən žief-ištəf* and *Yzh māx (l) čī va-maf (l) da'haf* 'don't kill us' must be mistakes. .

The *ižāfat* construction occurs in fixed formulas and compounds borrowed from Pers. Thus, e.g. *Y ba nām-e-Xudā, ba hokm-e-Xadāyēn* (with obl.) 'at God's command'; *čarx-ī-falak; dārū-ī-bīhušī; sar-ī-dīl; dīl-ī-īgar*, etc.

Of the pronouns the common gen.-obl. case, or the special gen. form is used:

*Y mən pūr rīza* 'my son is small'; *yo mən ida* 'this is my slave'; *yo mun v'rai astet* 'this is my brother'; *mən tra zīl astet* 'it is in my heart (= I desire)'; *mən čuwa astet* 'I have nothing'; *mən larza kīt* 'I have fever'; *mun yū wu'lo astet* 'I have one wife'; *wo to kyei* 'that is thy house'; *to yār wos kū-ō?* 'where is thy friend now?' *to cis nām astet?* 'what is thy name?' *tō čand ləydē astet?* 'how many daughters hast thou?' *zə və ta (!) gap yū lārəm* 'I listen to thy word'; *amax tat (pādšā)* 'our father (king)'; *magam max<sup>1</sup> yū pādšā astet* 'but we have a king'; *amaš taten kyei* 'your father's house'; *nō a'maš tāt* 'to your father'.

*Yzh āyēn dau'let* 'this man's riches'; but, with pronominal adjective: *wo yūyēn nām Z. vīo<sup>2</sup>* 'the name of the one is Z.'; *Mm wo hādamen lu luydi viat* 'the (that) man had two daughters'.

Note the genitive with *rīm-* 'to please': *mən rīmet, mən rīmdo*.

214. The Predicative Genitive of nouns is expressed by the oblique case: *Y yo vīra mən šīfien čēs* 'this burden is not my husband's'; *yo kyei mištārān-ē* 'this house is the Mehtar's'; *galavānen čir wulē šut* 'the cowherd had four wives'; *Z šī'ray v'royaf šī'ray muš kā'yi viyat* 'three brothers had three calves'.

Reg. *šo* with genitive function cf. § 217.

The predicative genitive of pronouns is formed by adding *-kān* to the ordinary genitive (which may also be used alone). Thus, e.g.: *Yzh mo kyei ta-kan-a?* *mo kyei mən-kān* 'is this house thine?'

<sup>1</sup> For \**magam amax*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 211.

<sup>3</sup> Or is *mištārānē* a possessive adjective?



'this house is mine'; *mo lāmo a'maf-kan-a?* 'is this village yours?'; *Ysh yo vīra ta-kan* 'this burden is thine'; *Yr kyei ta-kān 'xāna-i-tūst'* (inexact transl.). *Yzh mo kyei aman-kan-a?* 'does this house belong to this one?' *mo (wo) lāmo a'maf- (o'of-) kan-a?* 'does this (that) village belong to these (those) men?' *Ysh yo (mo, wo) kyāi āyēn (amən, awən)- kan; yānd (mind, wənd) kyāyī āyef (aməf, o'af)- kan.*

This predicative genitive is probably an original possessive adjective<sup>1</sup> as appears from *Ysh: yū wulo, loh pūrē mən-kāne molo viet* 'I had a wife and two sons here'.

215. The indefinite object is, when a noun, put in the 'nominative' Accusative (or, perhaps better 'casus indefinitus'). Thus, e.g.: *Y you ʔalbil kenəm* 'I sift grain'; *zo ʔawo avāzəm* 'I bring a cow'; *amboh māl avār* 'bring much goods'; *yū ādamen xūben lišē* 'a man had a dream'; *yūr uziaudum* 'I extinguished a fire'; *no xoi pūrəf wulo ē avazəm-ā?* 'should I not bring my own sons a wife?'

But the definite object is expressed by the 'nominative' sg., or the obl. pl. preceded by *vo (wo?)*.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, with the object in the sg.: *Y wən vo piško yurd* 'he seized the cat' (which has already been mentioned); *vo mən ʔap ʔurā* 'hear my word'; *vo wulo vət galavānen* 'the cowherd brought his wife'; *zo va yūra uziaudum* 'I extinguish the fire'; *vo parizāto suwār kər* 'he put the fairy on horseback'; *nurərum vo kēro* 'I took out the knife'; *vo šir mašcet* 'they killed the lion'; *Z waf vā wən nēna mošk'at* 'they killed his mother', etc.

With plural object: *Y vo čirief yurd* 'he seized the apricots'; *vo čurwakəf āvər* 'bring the unripe apricots'; *vo māləf avret* 'they brought the goods'; *wo (= vo?) xoi zəmonəf lišē* 'he saw his own boys'; *pisto wo ziniəf* 'she asked her daughters-in-law'; *Mm və luydaf ʔuruvd (štə)* 'he took (he told) his daughters'.

Note especially: *Ysh qissa ʔurdoyum* 'I have brought a tale', but afterwards *wo (= vo) qissa yurd* 'he brought the tale'; *lažino deh* 'make

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Par. gen. of proper names in *-ān*, IIFL, I, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. definite acc. with *ma*, IIFL, I, p. 51 sq.

a pile of wood', but *və lažino žafaū* 'put fire to the wood-pile'; *Z škūra muškāy čə xūt* 'a camel does not eat a calf', but *wə ta šk'ürin və mən muškāy xurə* 'thy camel has eaten my calf'.

*Y pa kačio vrūtəf dea* 'cut the moustache with a scissor' may have been misheard for *\*və vrūtəf*.

The personal and demonstrative pronouns are, of course, always used as definite objects. Thus, e.g., *Y tu čī va mən dehē?* 'why dost thou beat me?' *Ysh tu vo mən žiūt*, *g tō və mən žit*, *r tū və mən žiūt*, *Mm tə və mən žiet* 'thou didst beat me'; *Y 'zo vto p'əsim*, *zo fto p'əsam* 'I ask thee'; *və to wulo vənəm* 'I bring thy wife'; *və to xai vrai yurdum* 'I seized thy own brother'; *Mm fta winəm* 'I see thee'; *zə fto dōam* 'I beat thee', *mun fto žiim* (= *Ysh fto žiim*) 'I beat thee' (pret.).

*Yzh zo vāi daham*, *tu vōu de* 'I beat this one, beat thou that one'; *Ysh zo vāi (vēf, vōof) dāhām*; *Mm za 'vāi (vum, vōu) 'duham*; *Ysh tu wum isa* 'bring this one'.

As an adjective the inflected form occurs in *Yu mən wēi ory kəra* 'I have done this work'; *Ysh zo wum hory kenəm*; *Yu wov loh žinkəf avezdo* 'he brought the two women'. But also *Ysh yo vira . . . škārə* '(he) sent this burden'.

216. The 'Dative' of nouns is formed with *no* and the oblique.

'Dative'

Thus: *Y mən nə pūren amūno liəm* 'I gave my son an apple'; *wo alāno liə no maraken* 'she gave the pomegranate to her husband'; *na pādšāan liet . . .* 'they gave the king . . .'; *no zənief 'što* 'she said to her daughters-in-law'; *no mən zəmanakəf del* 'give it to my boys'; *no abeli pūrəf* 'to both sons'. The purely local significance of *no* remains in e.g.: *Y šūi no bāzāren* 'he went to the bazar'; *nə kiyeŋ asəm* 'I come to the house'. It denotes the aim in the infinitives: *Y no xurān*, *no āyestān* '(food) to eat, (clothes) to put on'; *na tagbiren oim = na tagbir kəran oim* 'I come to make a plan'. Note: *no yu mižen* 'in (the course of) one day'.

Very rarely *no* is used with a noun in the nom.: *Y na to tāt* 'to thy father'; *wo no wulo 'što* 'he said to his wife'; *na tā-duniā* 'to the underworld'.



The dative of personal pronouns occurs frequently, the accentuation (*nāmən*, etc.) indicating that such forms are felt to be one word. Examples are: Y *tu nāmən kitiū del (da'le)* 'give me a book'; Yān *nāmən na'yeŋ lio* 'he gave me bread'; *nāmən da'pīr* 'before me'; Mm *v'rōi nōmən* '(he is) a brother for me'; Y *zo nā-to žu'āb (kitiū) dālīm* 'I give thee an answer'; *na-to cēi pəžāmum* 'I entrust something to thee'; *špāc na-tō* 'after thee'; *zo na to 'šlom* 'I said to thee'; *na to trə lās kə'rum* 'I put it in thy hand'; M *na-to išti-ra dālīm* 'I give thee something'; Y *yān nāmax (na-maf) na'yeŋ lio* 'he gave us (you) bread'; *na'maf del* 'give it to us'; Mg *wai v'rōi nāmoy astat* 'they are brothers for us' (= our brothers); *wū və (!) nāmoy v'rōi* 'he is our brother'; Y *na-maf cē zarūr?* 'what need is there for you?'; *zə da'lem no-māf, mun na-mof amūno dālīm* 'I give you an apple'.

Examples of the dative of demonstratives are: Yzh *mən na'wən (nə'man, nā'yeŋ, no'wōf, nə'mof, nā'yeŋ) na'yeŋ līm* 'I gave him (etc.) bread'; Ysh *mun no'wōn (ne'en, na'mof, ne'ef) amūno dālēm* 'I give him (etc.) an apple'; Yu *līm nōn 'dādam ba ū*; Mm *'numan yū rūpai līiyum* 'I gave this man a rupee'; *nəyān (no'ean) lu (š'roi) rūpayagi līiyum* 'I gave this man (him) two (three) rupees'.

Note the possessive use of the dative, e.g. in Ysh: *zo na to tāt, tu mun pūr* 'I am thy father, thou art my son'.

217. A kind of ablative is formed with *žə* and the oblique.

Ablative

From nouns (and adverbs), e.g.: Y *žə Ūtrēyən* 'from Chitral'; *žə-īm kyayən* 'from this house'; *žə lura'yan* 'from afar'; *žə dalen āyōi* 'he came from there'; *zə žə malen* 'I am from this place'; *š'tāhān žə mazān* 'below the table'; *žə ašeraš'ief yū trəft* 'he stole one from (= of) the gold-pieces'. With possessive force: Y *yo amūno žə pūren astet* 'this apple belongs to the son'; cf. Z *wā sahōb ža muškā'yan* 'the owner of the calf', etc.; LSI *m žə spi yaspan zin* (but LSI *y spi yaspan palan*) 'the saddle of the white horse'.

Note Y *žəi lāmə* (= *lāmo* or *lāmen?*) 'from one village (*az yak*

deh'); cf. LSI<sub>m</sub> *že čāh*, *že yu saudāgar*, but LSI<sub>y</sub> *že čāhēn*, *že yu dokandaren* 'from a well', 'from a shopkeeper'.

From pronouns: Y *tu ža-mun ustur*, *zo žimān ustur* 'thou art bigger than I, I am bigger than he'; *ž-tō xuščē* 'smaller than thou'; *yō kyēi žō-mān* 'this house is mine'; *žā-mān yū pūr astet* 'I have one son'<sup>1</sup>; *yō (wō, wōi, yēi) kyēi ž-ēn* (*žō-wān ž-ēf*, *žamōf*) *astet* 'this house belongs to this man' (etc.); Mm *wo lāmo žō-wān* 'this village belongs to him'.

218. I kind of Comitative is formed with *lo* 'with', *šolo* 'together' 'Comitative with, near' with the oblique.

Examples are: Y *lo yoi taten* 'with his own father'; *lo galavānen dārū vīo* 'there was a remedy with the cowherd' (= the c. had); *la pəṇəkaf γurd* 'he seized with his hands'; *lā-mān čā defa* 'don't fight with me' (*qat-i-man*); *wo dārūi lā-mān astet* 'the medicine is with me'. Note *lo malen* 'half full' (: 'with the half').—Y *šolo dukandāren niāsto* 'he stayed with the shopkeeper'; *šolo pādšāan*; *šola daryāhan* '*pēš-i-daryā*'. *šo* (in Ysh *šo dukandare*) is perhaps only an abbreviated form of *šolo*.

219. Local relations are expressed by the prepositions *do*, *tro* and *po* 'Locative' which take the nom. sg., but the obl. pl. of nouns.

Examples of *do* 'in', 'into' are: Y *na kyēin šūi, da kyēi loyoi do* 'he went to his house and entered it'; *do xwoi kyēi rəsīi* 'he arrived in his own home'; *šūi dā Oryōčo* 'he went into O.'; *alāno da lāst kər* 'he put the pomegranate into his hand'; *dəftəd dā hōry* 'they started work'; *do xūben kovūyo goščim* 'in the dream I turned into a pigeon'; *da mažit niast* 'he sat down in the mosque'; *da yū miž* 'in one day'; *da sālē* 'in a year'; M *dā kyoi təyim* 'I enter a house'; Z *šəyat dā bōzōr* 'they went into the bazar'.—Y *wa* (= *va*?) *yōu da laxčief γurdam, driem da čāro* 'I took the grain in the bags, and poured it into the store-room'; LSI<sub>m</sub> *de zazmaf* 'in the fields' (but *de men tūt kei* 'in my father's house', etc.).

<sup>1</sup> See § 203, and cf. Psht. *jmā* 'my'.



The obl. sg. was heard in Ysh *də Čitrāyī rəsī* 'he arrived at Chitral', but this form may have been influenced by the preceding *šūi na Čitrāyī* 'he went to Ch.' Y *də kyāyī tīm* 'I enter the house' probably stands for *kyāy*.

From pronouns we find: Y *šəm da to* 'I speak with thee'; *də to apīr* 'before thee'; *də tō barābar* 'equal to thee'; *dum surdo* 'on this shoulder'; *do-ōf* 'about them'.

Examples of *tro* 'into' are: Y *nā-tə trə lāst kərum* 'I have put into thy hand'; *drio tra šile* 'he threw it on his neck (: back)'; *tro kiyēf loyōi* 'he entered into the houses'; *šie tro poškaf* 'he put it into the trays'.

Examples of *po* 'on', 'at', 'with' are: Y *po yū hory dīd* 'on account of some work (*barā-i-yak kār*)'; *pə Šəyoyo noyoy* 'he came out at Shoghor'; *po fiz šer* 'surrounding (lit.: around on) his face'; Z *p<sup>3</sup> kuyka š<sup>4</sup>yā* 'he killed with a stone'; LSIy *pe lesef*, LSIIm *pe lāsaf* '(he bound) with ropes'.

220. It seems probable that the difference of construction between *no*, *šo*, *lo*, *šəlo* (with the noun in the obl.) on the one hand and *do*, *tro*, *po*, *ro* (with the noun in 'nom.' sg. but obl. pl.) on the other goes back to a time when the first group of prepositions governed the instrumental (or originally the ablative), while the second group governed the locative or the accusative. Cf. Av. *ana* with the acc., but Anc. Prs. with the instr.; Av. *hača* with the abl. or the instr. (rarely with the acc.); *hača* with the instr. But *antarə*, *tarō*, *paiti* and *upa* with the acc. (or the loc.).

At a certain time nom., acc. and loc., at any rate of stems in *-a*, would coalesce, *\*puθrah*, *\*(upa) puθram* and *\*(pati) puθrai* resulting in *pūr*. In the pl. we might perhaps have expected e.g. *\*po pūrē* < *\*pati puθraišu*, but this would have resulted in a three-case system unknown in the sg., and accordingly the instr. was substituted for the acc. and loc. as a general obl. pl. case.<sup>1</sup> Cf. the place-names *Hartef*, *Idyef*, *Twṛakaf*<sup>2</sup> which had probably originally a locative meaning.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *pa* with nom. sg., but obl. pl.

<sup>2</sup> V. List of Names, s.vv. and cf. § 199.

221. The oblique case is used also as an adverb. Thus, e.g. Y *miṣen* 'by day'; *sāharen* 'in the morning'; *jausarēn* 'at daybreak'; *dalen* 'below'; *anīmāf* 'half' (adv.).

### Adverbs.

222. 1) Local: *molo* 'here'; *hurō* 'there'; *olo* 'there'; *woko* 'there' (?); *kū*, *kuzā* 'where'; *ž<sup>u</sup>kū* 'whence'; *lūro* 'far off'; *noyo'sār*, *dalen*, *š'tāhān*, *past* 'below'; *ka'lāpo*, *sāro*, *fursōro*, *psaro* 'down'; *pas'mino*, *vəlyo* 'above'; *dram* (*da-dram*, *na-dram*) 'inside'; *do-kučo* 'out(side)'; *apīr*, *skapīr* 'before, in front of'; *čpāc* (*špāc*, *očapoč*, *wa-čpāc*) 'after, back'; *debāl* 'behind'; *mīr-čoya* 'to this side'; *vračoya* 'to that side'; *drāi* 'hither' (?); *hargeno* 'on all sides' (?).

2) Temporal: *wos* 'now'; *kəla* 'when'; *psāt* 'immediately'; *nawaxt* 'late'; *piro* 'before, earlier'; *bād*, *v<sup>o</sup>ro* 'afterwards'; *dur* 'to-day'; *iziko* 'yestereve'; *wuzir* 'yesterday'; *žirizen* 'day before yesterday'; *čurmo*, *čir<sup>u</sup>izen* 'three days ago'; *pānjemo*, *pčurma* 'four days ago'; *sāar*, *sabā* 'to-morrow'; *yāmo*, *məzdira* 'the day after to-morrow'; *sūy-yāmo* 'three days hence'; *yūyyāmo*, etc. 'four days hence'; *asāl* 'this year'; *prasāl* 'last year'; *žirasāl* 'two years ago'; *čurmasāl* 'four years ago';<sup>1</sup> *jausa'rēn* 'at daybreak'; *miṣen*, *dəmalen* 'at noon'.

3) Modal, etc.: *rastē* 'rightly'; *mal'min* 'thus'; *ča'min* 'how'; *gūya* 'just as'; *magam* 'verily'; *žahānd*, *boh* 'very'; *anīmāf*, *loma'len* 'half'; *nakōi* 'why'.

For particulars cf. Voc. s.vv.—It is not always possible to distinguish adverbs from adjectives or nouns.

### Verbs.

#### Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

223. The nominal sentence without a copula is very common in Y—M. Thus, e.g.: *Ysh tu ž<sup>u</sup>-kū?* 'from where art thou?' *yo mara ž<sup>u</sup> kū?* 'from where is this man?' *zo ži malen*, *zo ž-im kyeyen* 'I am from

<sup>1</sup> The translations and explanations given of the adverbs denoting days and years were often indefinite or contradictory.



here, I am from this house'; *mo kyēi mən-kān* 'this house is mine'; *to cēs nām?* 'what is thy name?' *mūn yū w'ō, loh pūre* 'I have one wife and two sons'; *yū Mēy yasp, yū Wūi yasp* 'one horse was (called) M., another W.'; *M wo ādam luro* 'that man is far away'; *mai yaši, wai liči* 'these are good, and those are bad'. Thus even in the sense of 'exists' the copula may be left out.

224. But very frequently Y employs the original 3rd pl. *astet* (cf. Prs. *hastand*) for the 3rd pl. and sg. According to Bidd. and the LSIy *astet* is also used for the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl., but I never heard *zo astet* 'I am', etc. Examples are: *Ysh ēΔ-mən yū pūr astet* 'I have a son'; *yo mun v'rai astet* 'this is my brother'; *tō cīs nām astet?* 'what is thy name?' *yō kyēi ē-ēn astet* 'this house belongs to this one'; *ēΔ-mən amboh pūre astet* 'I have many sons'; *yēi kyēi ēΔ-mōf astet* 'these houses belong to these men'; *mind ādamen nazdik astet* 'these men are near'; *Yr tō cānd lōydē astet?* 'how many daughters hast thou?' (answer: *xiroi lōydē*).

From M I have only noted *Mg wai v'roi nā-moy astat* 'these are brothers of ours'. Acc. to Zar. *ast* is sg. and *astat* pl., but he also gives the sentence *lu luydi mən ast* 'I have two daughters'. The LSI<sub>m</sub> gives the full inflexion *hast-am, -ai, -ō, -am, -af, -at*, which is probably influenced by Prs, as shown by the *h-*.

225. In Y I have come across a few sentences where *-ō* and *-ē* are apparently used as a 3rd sg. present of the substantive verb: *Ysh tō yār wos kū-ō?* 'where is thy friend now?' (answer: *dō to apir astet* 'he is in front of thee'); *Yr yaši ādam-ō* 'he is a good man'; *yo kyēi mištōrān-ē* 'this house is the Mehtar's'.<sup>1</sup> I dare not express any definite opinion on these forms, but they may represent an ancient *asti*, cf. Sgl.-Ishk. *-ō*.

The negative present 'is not' is Y *čēš*. E.g., *yaši ādam čēš* 'he is not a good man'; *tu Xedāyen banda čēš'a?* 'art thou not the servant of Gcd?'. Cf. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> Or is *mištōrānē* an adj.? Cf. above § 214.

A subjunctive form is preserved in *vii* (< *buyāt*). E.g., *woko cās kīmat vīi* (or *fērmā*)? 'what may be the price of it?'. Cf. § 254.

The preterite of the substantive verb is Y *viem*, *viēt*, *vīo*, *viem*, *vīef*, *viēt*; cf. LSI *viam*, *viāi*, *via*, *viam*, *viaf*, *viāt*; Mm 3 sg. *vīo*, 3 pl. *vīāt*.

Y *šom*, M *šīam* 'I went',<sup>1</sup> 'I became' is used as an auxiliary. A present tense is not formed from this root in Y-M, but note Z *zo gīb āyām* 'I am lost', etc.<sup>2</sup> Cf. about the passive § 247.

226. *kən* 'to do' is used as an auxiliary just as in Prs. and other Ir. languages. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *awāza*, *bāwar*, *rahā*, *salū*, *sucār*, *tagbīr*, *tayār*, *xap*, *xalās*, etc., for examples of compound verbs with *kən*.

*kən* is also used with the meaning of 'being able to'. Cf. e.g. Y *ē-kir kəne*, *vo wulo žo-wən ēe vet kəne* 'thou art not able to do it, thou canst not take his wife from him (*na mētānī, zan-i ūra na mētānī giriftan*)'.

### The Present Stem.

227. The verbal system of Y—M, like that of most other modern Ir. languages, is based upon two stems, the Present and the Past.

The distinction between ancient present stems in *-a-* and *-aya-* excepted, the Old Ir. present classes are preserved only in relics and are of no importance for the verbal system of modern Y—M. Regarding the stems in *\*-aya-* and the causatives in *-āw-*, *-āv-* (and *-ān-*, *-ōn-*), see below § 229.

Ancient root-presents are represented only indirectly by *-əm*, etc. 'I am' as preterite suffix and by *ast*, *astet* 'is', 'are' (v. above § 224). *dāl* 'to give' is an ancient reduplicated present.<sup>3</sup> *as* 'to come'; (*y*)*is* 'to bring'; *prš* 'to ask'; *yuxs* 'to learn' go back to

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the inflexion see § 245.

<sup>2</sup> With M *dyəm*: *šīam* cf. Par. *param*: *chēm* 'to go, to become'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Shgh. *ḍāḍ*.



present formations in Ir.  $s < *sk$ , while *baxš-* 'to divide'; *nuvōš-* 'to comb'; *nišāš-* 'to show'; *waxš-* 'to grow' represent bases in IE  $*s$ .

*mər-* 'to die' is an ancient stem in *-ya*.<sup>1</sup> Stems in *-nā* are: *ken-* 'to do'; *vəzān-* 'to know'; *yān-* 'to grind'; *xōn-* 'to buy'; *pmōn-* 'to rub', and possibly *wien-* 'to untie'. Infixes or radical *n* occurs in *lib-* 'to card' ( $< *dumb-$ ); *āyd-* 'to dress' ( $< *ā-gund-$ ); *xīrd-* 'to shave' ( $< *xīrd-$ ); *xōd-* 'to laugh'; *xap-* 'to fell'; *vad-* 'to tie'; *zīb-* 'to rise'; *cēb-* 'to pinch'; *skəd-* 'to break'; *vēzb-* 'to tighten'; *čad-* 'to fall, stumble'.

A few present stems are formed secondarily from ancient preterites. Thus: *bār-* 'to fill'; M *tuyd-* 'to shave' (cf. *tīš-*); *šift-* 'to plaster'. Zar's *yōn'g'* 'to grind', *mōg'* 'to rub' appear to be based on the 3rd sg. pres.

228. Of great importance for the inflexion of the 3rd sg. is the distinction between ancient stems in *-a* and *-aya*.

In the first group of verbs the 3rd sg. in *-ati* was syncopated at an early date, and the resulting *-t*, *-d* was assimilated in various ways to the final consonant of the root.

Thus, with *t*, e.g. Y *ist*, Z *yist* 'comes' ( $*ā-isati$ ); Z *pist* 'asks' (*pərəsaiti*); Y, M *ništ* 'sits down'<sup>2</sup> ( $*niθati < nišhidaiti$ ); Y *waft*, M *wēft* 'weaves'; Z *niješt* 'shows' ( $*ni-čašati$ ); *yūst* 'brings'. With *d*: Y *avīzd* (*avāzi*), Z *avūzd* 'brings' ( $< *upāzati$ ); Y *γurīvd* 'takes'; Z *γīvd* 'spins'; *lūēd* 'milks'; *neγūyd* 'hears'; Y *pʳevd*, Z *pʳūvd* 'finds' ( $*pari-āpati$ ); Y *šamd*, Z *šēmt* 'drinks'; Y *awūēd* 'hangs'; Y *nūld* 'lays down, goes to sleep' ( $*ni-padati$ ); Z *čēyd* 'sows'.

With assimilation of *n + t*: Y *kʷit*, M *yīkit* 'does' ( $< *kunati$ ); Y, Z *wit/d* 'sees' ( $< raēnaiti$ ); Y *kēd* 'digs' ( $< *kanati$ ); Z *livēd* 'winnows' ( $< *dwanati$ ); Z *vōd* 'brings' ( $< *upanati$ ); Y *vezit*,

<sup>1</sup> Possibly also *diš-* 'to think'.

<sup>2</sup> LSIy *niš*, m *nīθ* =  $*niš$ ,  $*ništ$ ?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 116.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v. *rən*. The asterisked form is simply intended to be a formula.

Z *vzūd* 'knows' (< \**upa-zānati*); Y *xīt* 'laughs' (< \**xandati*); Y *xīt* 'buys' (\**xarnati*); Z *bixēd* 'reads' (*buxōn*-) and other 3rd singulars from stems in *-ōn*.

With assimilation of *r + t*<sup>1</sup>: Y *avīt*, Z *avūd* 'brings' (< *ābaraiti*); Y *ket*, Z *kēd* 'ploughs' (< \**kāratī*); *xūt* 'eats' (< *x<sup>a</sup>araiti*); Y *lāt*, Z *lēt* 'holds, has' (< \**dāratī*); Y *stīt* (Z *stīrd* of secondary origin) 'sweeps' (< \**staratī*); Y *nāvīt* 'takes out' (< \**nižbaratī*); Y *fēt* 'seizes' (< \**faratī*); Z *škid* 'seeks' (< \**škāratī*); *wužūd* 'regards' (< \**wi-žaratī*); *zvit* 'pulls over' (< *us-baraiti*); *giyīt* 'passes' (< \**wi-taratī*); *giyēt* 'lets pass' (\**wi-tāratī*).—Z *žīrd* 'sews', *nīrd* 'enters' (*žiy*, *niy*-) have an unexplained *r*.

With assimilation of *d + t* through *ōd > ō > l*: Y *dīl* 'gives' (< \**dadatī*); Y *pōler*, Z *pīlēr* 'sells' (< \**pārēl* < \**parādātī*); Z *lūrd* 'flees' (with secondary *-d* < \**rūl* < \**raudatī*), Z *tēl* 'kills' (< \**tardatī*). But *t + t > t*: Y—M *žūt* 'speaks' (< \**jatatī*).<sup>2</sup>

With assimilation of *rn + t > nṭ > Y kʷ*, M (n')g': Y *yeikʷ*, Z *yēn'g'* 'grinds'; Z *mēg'* 'rubs'.

After *j* the final dental is dropped in Y, Z *trēj* 'binds'. Cf. also Z *nig* 'pulls out', and Y *wāst* 'places' (*wāst*-).

In some cases M (Z) has 3rd sg.s in *-d/t* where Y has generalized the ending *-ē*. Thus, e.g.: Z *nērīzd* 'licks'; *xīšk* 'pulls'; *šuvd* 'sucks'; *drēt* 'throws'; *avūzd* 'brings'; *čičt* 'falls'. But Y: *nērīzē*, *xošē*, *šuvē*, *drēi*, *avāzē* (and *avīzd*), *tīžē*. On the other hand Z has added *-i* to the apparently suffixless form Y *wast* 'places'.

229. In most cases, however, Y and M (Z) agree as regards the employment of 3rd sg. forms in *-ē*, *-i* (< \**ayati*).

Thus, e.g., Y *i* 'goes'; *āyde* 'dresses'; *mārē* 'dies'; *novē* 'rains'; *rovē* 'barks'; *rāsē* 'arrives'; *vřōfē* 'flies'; *wuzdē* 'washes'; *xīrdē* 'shaves'; *xšī* 'weeps': Z *yī*; *āyudī*; *muri*; *nāvi*; *ravi*; *rēsi*; *wurafsi*; *wūzne*; *xīdī*; *xšī*. Cf. also, e.g.: Y *anuvē* 'bellows'; *ušunē* 'neighs'; *cadē-ste* 'throws in wrestling'; *kosē* 'seeks'; *loynē* 'lies down'; *rukūšē*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 124.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 47 and 47.



'creeps'; *wulē* 'throws'; *waxšē* 'grows'; *žibē* 'rises'; *šūroxē* 'shies'  
 Z *nāmē* 'shows'; *pīi* 'rots'; *wurvi* 'boils'; *zīi* 'is born'.

Some of these forms more or less probably go back to ancient forms in *-āyati* (or *-īyati*, *-ūyati*), cf. e.g. *wuzdē*, *zīi*, *xšī*, *pīi*, *nāmē* < *\*awa-snāyati*, *zāyat(a)i*, *xšīyati*, *pūyati*, *nīmāyati*.

Many others are secondary formations, and, on the other hand, several verbs of the first group originally belong to the *aya-* class. This is no doubt the case e.g. with *lāt*, *lēt* 'holds' and *vəd* 'brings', which go back to *\*dārayati*, *\*upa-nayati*, with secondary transfer into the *-ati* class. Such transfer may account for the umlaut which appears in many cases. It is also worthy of note that the causatives in *-āw-*, *-ōw-* belong to the first group. This type of causative has been borrowed by various E. Ir. dialects under unknown conditions from Indo-Aryan, and we should expect that they should belong to the Y—M verbs with 3rd sg. *-ē*, *-i*. The existing type, Z *aydūd* 'dresses (somebody else)', etc., may be due to the influence of forms in original *\*-āpati*, such as *šuvd* and *pərūvd*. Note also the early lw. Z *giyēt* (from *giyōr-* 'to turn round', trans.).

M also possesses another type of causative, borrowed more recently from Prs., in *bičirōn-* 'to graze', *wurvōn-* (and *wurvōv-*) 'to boil', etc., cf. Y *γaltan-* 'to make fall'. Note the double caus. in G *dəraw-āw-ān-* 'to terrify'.

## 230. Present.

			'I do'																								
			Yzh		Ysh		Yr		Yg, u		Mm		Mt		Z												
1	Sg.	ke'nēm	ke'nēm		ke'nēm		kənēm		'kənēm		'yikenēm		ike'nām		'kənə/um												
2	»	'kenē	ke'nē		ke'nē		kənē		kənē		'yikunēy																
3	»	kit	k'it, k'et		k'it, k'et		k'it		kit		y'kit				kēd												
1	Pl.	ke'nām	ke'nām		ke'nām		kənēm, -am		kə'nām		'yikenām				kunaf												
2	»	ke'nəf	ke'nəf		ke'nəf		kənəf		kə'nəf		'yikənəf																
3	»	ke'net	ke'net, -at		ke'net		kə'net		kə'net		'yikenat																
			'I go'		'I give'				'I come'		'I weep'		'I say'														
1	Sg.	'oyim	Yzh		Yzh		Z		Yzh		Yzh		Yzh		G												
2	»	'oyi	dālrm		dālē		'dalēm		'asrm		asrm		žam, žəm		žāyēm												
3	»	i	dāl		dāl		dāl		asē		asē		žut		žūt												
1	Pl.	'oyēm	da'lem		da'lem		'dalēm		'asēm		asēm		žam		žaf												
2	»	'oyef	dālēt		dālēt		'dalaf		'asēf		asēf		žet														
3	»	'oyet					'dalat		'aset		asēt		žet														



231. The personal endings are in general clear. The 1st Sg. in *-am* is derived from *-ami*, the 1st Pl. *-am* from *-āmah*, etc. The 2nd Pl. has adopted the ancient pronominal suffix, probably in order to avoid phonetic confusion with the 3rd Sg. Cf. the similar development in Sgl.—Ishk. Regarding the 3rd Sg. see above. The forms given by Gauthiot as used by M settlers in Wakhan must be of Ishk. origin.

Quite irregular are the Khow. 3rd Sg. forms employed by Ysh: *lapoir* 'glitters'; *aṣṣtai*, *aṣṣtete* 'bears' (Khow. *aṣṣuran*). I do not know whether such forms are really current among some speakers of Yidgha.—Yg *kenalo* 'works' is a suspect form.

The Present or Aorist is used: a) As an indefinite Present.  
b) As a Future or Subjunctive.

Examples of a) are: *draxtē mūzet* 'the trees are shaking'; *wūi kit* 'the wind blows'; *tu ču žui* 'what do you say?' *mo ādam nayeṇ xut* (*yauyo šamd*) 'this man eats bread (drinks water)'; *nakoi ase tu?* 'why dost thou come?' *mən larza kit* 'I am trembling'; *tū čopik kenē* 'you are lying'; *mo xap čī kit?* 'why is he silent?'

Examples of b) are: *čir mič dič čpāč asəm* 'I shall come back after four days'; *agar Xadāi ču mašče vii oyim rosīm* 'if God doesn't kill me, I shall go and arrive (here)'; *no xoi pūraf wulo čə avazəm-a?* 'shall I not bring a wife for my own son?' *na-men del tā zo ayim* 'give me, that I may go'; *wo dārū na max del, max xōnam, na tō hūy dalem* 'give us the medicine, we shall buy it and give the price for it'; *na xāin no xuṣān čəš, no-man ces dālem?* 'I have nothing to eat myself, what shall I give him?' *vo wulo vānem* 'I shall bring the wife'.

Regarding the use of the Aorist in commands see below § 234.

#### Durative Present.

232. A Durative Present is formed in Y by adding *-(ə)stə*, *-(e)ste* to the Aorist. Examples are: *zo hōr kənem-iste* 'I am working'; *yu maṣa hōr kit-iste* 'this man is working'; *žinkiko niāsto, tāam kyet-istə*

'a woman is sitting and preparing food'; *xuḇbi nāyo-ist* 'it smells (*bū-iš mēāya*)'; *če xšāf-este?* 'what are you weeping over?' *zə pərsəm-istə, lā-mən če defa* 'I am asking him not to fight against me'; *xoref-este, šamef-este, āydaḇ-este āyen daulet* 'you are eating, drinking and wearing his belongings'; *noyər ke də Šoyər xšiyet-ste* 'he came out while they were weeping at Shoghor' (historical present); note also: *wos oyim-este sāharo* 'now I am going (: shall go) into the desert'. Cf. *užerəm-este* 'I am looking'; *šəm-este* 'I am speaking'; *oyim-ste* 'I am going'; *šafum-ste* 'I am chewing'; *xofəm-ste* 'I am coughing'; *kōse-ste* 'thou art seeking'; *kenē-este* 'thou art digging'; *tra awā zyū-stə* 'is flying through the air'; *woxšē-este* 'is growing'; *məri-stə* 'is dying'; *naxči-stə* 'is dancing'; *kit-istə (kənəf-st)* 'is doing'.

The derivation of this suffix is uncertain. It is possible to think either of a form of the root *stā*, or of *asti*.

#### Durative Preterite.

233. A Durative Preterite is formed by adding *vio* 'was' to the Aorist. Thus e.g., *šfə də Drawusə vio, muzdurī kyed-vio, wos ruxsat tūliyō* 'her husband was in Drosh; he was serving; now he has taken leave'; *max dārū kwosem-vio, č purviam* 'we were searching for the medicine'; but we did not find it'. Cf. LSI *m ze via* 'I was beating' corresponds in form to Y *zə xūben wīnem-este vio* 'I have been seeing a dream'. Cf. also LSI *y dīl-vi-este* 'he used to give'.

#### Imperative.

234. The Imperative 2nd Sg. is usually identical with the Present stem. This first type is represented by: *as* 'come'; *kak* 'cook'; *užar* 'look'; *žib* 'rise'; *Mm niž* 'sit down'; *dāl* 'give'; *de(h)* 'beat'; *lār* 'hold'; *Y kən, Z ikən* 'do'; *ləyān* 'throw'; *ai, oi* 'go'; *škōr* 'seek'; *āvər* 'bring'; *xap* 'fell'; *šafau* 'kindle'.



This imperative evidently goes back to the ancient imperative in *-a*.

But besides *de(h)* we also find *dia(h)*, *dea*, and besides *niž* also *niža*. With many verbs this appears to be the regular form. Thus, e.g.: Y *niā*, Z *niya* 'enter'; Y *γur(v)ā*, Z *γirva* 'seize'; Y *sova* (but Z *sōw*) 'smear'; *žā* 'speak'; *zyūa* 'walk'; *dəfa* 'fight'; *tələwā* 'seek'; *isa* 'bring'; *vəna* 'lead'; Z *nīlva* 'sleep'; *pərsa* 'ask'; *yōn'g'a* 'grind'; LSIy *mra* 'die', etc.

The distinction between suffixless imperatives and those in *-a* does not coincide with that between 3rd Sg.s in *-d/t* and *-ē*. And, besides, *-aya* could not result in *-a*. If we assume that the form in *-a* goes back to a subjunctive in *-āh*, we should expect *-o'* in Y and Mm. Is it possible that ancient *-a* in the imperative was lengthened in some verbs before the loss of final short vowels, but did not quite coalesce with ancient *-ā*?

Imperative 2nd Pl. ends in Y *-ē*, *-e*, probably < *-ayata* (*-ata* would coalesce with Pres. 3rd Sg. in *-ati*). Thus: *a'vrē*, *avāzē* 'bring'; *pər'sē* 'ask'; *a'səf*, *nā-mən muzdurə kənē* 'may you come (subj.) and take service (imper.) with me'; *xošānē kənē* 'make merry'; *mailis kene* 'assemble'; *nižē* 'sit down'. The alternative imperative forms in *-i* given by Z are no doubt really plurals.

Once *če defa* was translated by Prs. *jang na šawid*, but the Prs. pl. is probably used by politeness. I do not know whether Mm *maf male nižit* 'sit down here' is a correct and current form.

The Aorist is frequently used in (polite?) commands and interdictions. Thus: *tə čī žūi* 'don't speak'; *tu čöpik č-kēns* 'don't speak a lie (*na gu*)'; *ba nām-i-Xedā del, wačārum na-mən dālē* 'give in the name of God, may you give me alms'; *na-mən čī dale* 'don't give me'; *a'səf, nā-mən muzdurə kənē* 'come and take service with me'. Cf. the similar use of the Aorist in Prs. and in Par.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, possibly, *-e* in all dialects. Cf. § 198.

<sup>2</sup> HFL; I, p. 90.

## The Past Stem.

235. The Past Stems may be divided into two groups: A) Stems ending in a vowel or *-y*. B) Stems ending in a consonant.

## Class A.

This group consists mainly of weak, regular stems in *-i* (*y*) (Z also *-ay*) and *-āi* (Z *-ōy*).

I, a): Ancient, in the modern language irregular, preterites in *-i(y)* are: *ḡi* 'beat' < \**jata*-; *lōmī* 'rubbed' < \**nimaḡita*-; *līi*, *līy* 'gave' < *dāta*-; *xṣī(y)* 'wept' < *xṣīta*-; *vī* 'was' < *būta*-.

I, b): The majority of preterites in *-i(y)* goes back to original stems in *-īta*- or to borrowings from Prs. forms in *-id*. Thus, e.g.: Y *rosī*, Z *resīy* 'arrived'; Y *xadī*, Z *xādīy* 'laughed' (cf. Prs. *xandid*); Y *tulī*, Z *telwīy* 'sought' (Prs. *talbīd*); Y *baḡṣī* 'divided'; Y *trēṣī* 'tied' (Prs. *taranjīd*); Y *ḡībī* 'rose' (cf. Prs. *jumbīd*?).

Other examples are: Y *čadī* (*čad*-); *d<sup>u</sup>ruī* (*d<sup>u</sup>rou*-); *fərxī(y)*-; *fxatī* (*fxot*-); *kak<sup>u</sup>īi* (*kāk<sup>u</sup>*-); *magyī* (*magy*-); *niṣāṣī* (*niṣāṣ*-); *nuvōṣī* (*nuvōṣ*-); *pəcəḡī* (*pəcəḡ*-); *vīzḡī* (*vīzḡ*-); *ḡimeṣī* (*ḡimeṣ*-); *ḡūyī* (*ḡūy*-); cf. Z *durəy*, *fxatəy*, *kətəy*, etc.

Note *yoḡṣī* (*yoḡṣ*-) and *ləreī* (*lərī*-).

236. II, a): A few past stems in *-āi*, *ōy* can be traced back to ancient participles in *-āta*-. Thus e.g.: Y *yāi*, Z *yōy* 'brought' < *yāta*-; *zənāi* 'bathed' (*zənay*-) < *snāta*-; Y *wuzdāi*, Z *wuznōy* 'washed' \**awa-snāta*-; Y *ustāi*, Z *wustōi* 'placed' (*wāst*-) < \**awa-stāta*-.

II, b). But the majority of Y past stems in *-āi* consists of secondary formations. Cf. e.g.: *urzāi* (*urzu*-); *wuricōi* (*wurc*-); *ustuṣcāi* (*ustuṣc*-); *uṣināi* (*uṣun*-); *bidaway*, *ōy* (*bidaw*-); *bohāy* (*boh*-); *cēbāi* (*cēb*-); *ḡəmlāi* (*ḡəml*-); *kunāi* (*i*), Z *kūnōy* (*kun*-); *kuṣmāi* (*kuṣm*-); *k<sup>u</sup>irfāi* (*k<sup>u</sup>irf*-); *lowāi* (*lōw*-); *libāi* (*lib*-); *pufāi* (*puf*-); *tuydāi* (*tuyd*-); *xofāi* (*xof*-); *xuzdāi* (*xuzd*-); *zōmāi* (*zōm*-); *ḡirḡāi* (*ḡirḡ*-); cf. Z *frisōy* (*fris*-); *kiraxōy* (*kirax*-), etc.

A remarkably great number of the verbs belonging to this group denote some kind of bodily movement or function.



237. III). The rest of the past stems in ancient vowel + *t* are:  
*ayoi* 'came' < \**āgata-* (*as-*); *loyoi* 'entered' < \**adi-gata-* (?); *šūi*  
 'went' < \**šuta-* (*oy-*); *Z zūi* 'bore' < \**zāta-*; *M ləvēy* 'winnowed' <  
 \**dwata-* (Av. *bata-*) (*lōvōn-*).

Cf. also *vədi* 'warmed the hands' (*vədō-*); *dri*, *drōy* 'poured out'  
 (*dri-*).

### Class B.

238. Stems ending in a consonant in Y—M. They go back to ancient formations with a final consonant *t*.

I). Stems in *r*: *Y imur* 'counted' (*imar-*); *āvər* 'brought' (*āvər-*);  
*mur* (M *mur*) 'died' (*mər-*); *nəvər* (M *nəvər*) 'took out' (*nəvər-*);  
*stār* (M *stōr*) 'swept' (*stōr-*); *škār* (M *škar*) 'sent' (*škōr-*); *xur* (M *xur*)  
 'ate' (*xər-*); *noyər* (Z *nəyar*) 'went out'<sup>1</sup> (*nī-*); *užur* (M *wužir*) 'saw'  
 (*užer-*); *kər* (M *kər*) 'did' (*ken-*); *yūr* (M *yūr*) 'ground' (*yān-*); *Z zvir*  
 'poured' (*zvar-*). Note that Z's *avər*, *mur*, and *nəyar* are at the  
 same time preterite and present stems.

From *lār-* 'to hold'; *fār-* 'to seize'; *wār-* 'to separate'; *xar-*, *xōn-*  
 'to buy'; *Z giyōr-* 'to let pass', and *bispōr-* 'to entrust' the past  
 stems are formed in *-t*, not in *-r*, *r*. Thus e.g.: *lat*, *fat*, *giyēt*, etc.  
 With *lat* cf. Psht. *lārə*, f. *lārəla* < \**daritā-*.<sup>2</sup> Some of the forms  
 may be recent formations with *t* < *r* + *t*, cf. § 124.

In *bār-* 'to fill' the past stem has been introduced into the present.

Quite irregular are *Y fəčir* 'clef' (*fəči-*) and *vrir* 'broke' (*vri-*),  
 cf. Mm *vrir*: *vriskʷ*, *Z vrir*: *vrir-*. Original \**braiša-*: \**brišta-*  
 should regularly result in \**vri*: M *vriskʷ*, Y \**vrišć*. From *vriskʷ*, etc.  
 was formed a new present *vrir* after the analogy of M *giyēr*:  
*giyāškʷ*, etc., and then again a new preterite Y \**vrir*, M *vrir*.  
 Finally the two dialects made a different selection among the  
 available forms (but Bidd. has '*vrīstcha*' = \**vrišća*):

Y *vrī(y)*: Mm *vriskʷ*.

Mm, Z *vrir*: Y, Z *vrir/r*.

<sup>1</sup> Transferred secondarily into this group.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gr. Ir. Ph., I, 2, 212.

- 239 II) Stems in *l* (< *ḍ*), *d* (< *nd*) and *h* have preterites in *st*. Thus:
- a) *zyast* 'fled' (*zyl-*); *wust* 'threw' (*wul-*); *rust* 'fled' (*lur* < *\*rūl-*); *prist* 'sold' (*plār* < *\*prāl-*); M *nuvōst* 'went to sleep' (*nəliv* < *\*nəvil-*).
  - b) *vāst* 'bound' (*vad-*); *čast* 'threw over' (*čad-*); *skast* 'cut' (*skəd-*); *xrist* 'shaved' (*xird-*, *xred-*); *āyast* 'dressed' (*āyd-*).
  - c) *niāst* 'sat down' (*niḥ-*); *čast* 'fell down' (Y *tiḥ*, M *čiḥ*).
  - d) *xāst* 'threshed' (*xā* < *xwah*).
  - e) *pist* 'asked' (*prs-*) and *kist* 'searched for' (*kos-*) are secondary formations.<sup>1</sup> Note (*i*)*što*, *šta* 'said' < *\*jasta*.<sup>2</sup>
240. III) Past stems in Y *šč*, M *škʷ* are formed from roots in *š*, *r* (< *rt*), *l* (< *rd*), *rz*, *rd*, etc. With the exception of *mašč*, *mōškʷ* 'killed' (*maz-*) all roots in *z* have given up their phonetically regular preterites in favour of forms in *zd*, e.g. *wīzd* 'spread'; *dīzd* 'buried'; *yāzd* 'ran'; *mīzd* 'urinated'; *nerīzd* 'licked'; *avāzd* 'brought'; Z *nuyēzd* 'swallowed'. Evidently the phonetic difference between *z* and *šč* has become too great to permit the morphonologic relation to be kept up. Note also the recent formations of the type Y *nišāžī*, M *nijašt* 'showed', *nuvōši* 'combed', etc.
- a) *nuvišč* 'combed' (*nuvōš-*); *xišč*, *xiškʷ* 'pulled' (*xoš-*); *pašč* 'dug' (*paš-*); *dišč* 'knew' (*dīš-*); M *nuviškʷ* (Y *nuūxt*, Z *neūūxt*) 'wrote' (*nuviš-*). From roots in ancient *š*: *nəyušč*, *nəyuškʷ* 'heard' (*nəyūy-*); *fərmīšč*, *fərmīškʷ* 'forgot' (*fərmou-*).
  - b) *wušč*, *wušk* 'knitted' (*wor-*); *pišč*, *piškʷ* 'farted' (*pīl-*); *pəlišč* 'folded up' (*pəlarz-*); *gošč*, *gaškʷ* 'passed' (*gord-*, *lw.*); *pətišč* 'broke' (from a lost present *\*pətil-*).
  - c) From roots in *r*, after the analogy of Prs.: *gʷēšč*, *gʷyāškʷ* 'passed' (*gʷēr-*, *lw.*); *kišč*, *kīškʷ* 'ploughed' (*kār-*, *lw.*); *uštūšč* 'jumped' (*uštur-*, from Khov.).

Note *lišč* 'saw' < *dərəšta*.

As may be seen above, roots in *l* may form their preterite either in *st*, or in *šč*, *škʷ*.

<sup>1</sup> *\*pišč* < *\*pršta* would have coalesced with the preterite of *pīl-*, cf. below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NTS, VII, 119.



241. IV) Roots in *-v* and *-b* have past stems in *vd* from *ft*. Thus, e.g.: *nīvd* 'rained' (*nov-*); *rīvd* 'barked' (*rov-*); *šīvd* 'sucked' (*šuv-*); *drīvd* 'danced' (*drūv-*); M *γ<sup>r</sup>rīvd*, *γ<sup>r</sup>rīvd* 'seized' (*γ<sup>r</sup>uv-*);<sup>1</sup> *γīvd* 'spun' (*γīv-*); Z *cāvd* 'picked' (*cāb-*); Z *wāzīvd* (Y *vēzbi*) 'tightened' (*wāzīb-*, *vēzīb-*), etc.

This type of preterites is also formed from causatives in *-ā(w)-*, *-ōw* and some other verbs in *w < v*. E.g.: Y *aydāvd*, Z *aydēvd* 'dressed (somebody else)'; *gībāvd* 'destroyed'; *sovāvd*, *sēvd* 'smeared' (*sāu-*), etc.

We find *xāvd* 'descended' (*xafs-*), but roots in *-f* have secondary past stems in *ft*. Thus, e.g.: *wāft* 'wove' (*wāf-*); *dāft* 'fought'; *xīft* 'coughed', etc. Note the introduction of the past stem into the present of *šīft* 'to plaster'.

In some cases roots in labials have weak preterites. Thus, e.g.: *xofāi* 'coughed'; *k<sup>v</sup>īrfāi* 'sneezed'; *pufāi* 'blowed'; *libāi* 'carded'; *zībī* 'rose'; *cābāi* 'picked'; *vēzbi* 'tightened' (but cf. above).

242. V) Roots in *ž*, *xš* and *γ* have past stems in *γd < xt*. Thus: *awāγd* 'hung up' (*awāž-*); Y *trāγd*, M *troyd* (Y also *trēžī*) 'tied' (*trāž-*); *tāγd*<sup>2</sup> 'cut' (*tīž-*); *lūγd* 'milked' (*lūž-*); *mūγd* 'moved' (*mūž-*); Z *wūγd* 'found place' (*wū-*); *bāγd* (and *baxšī*) 'divided' (*baxš-*); *vādayd* 'mixed' (*vāday-*); *zūγd* 'took' (*zuy-*).

From roots in *x(s)* we find new formations in *xt*: *yuxt* 'heard' (*yuxs-*); *š<sup>u</sup>rox* 'shied' (*š<sup>u</sup>rox-*). Note *waxč* (?) 'grew' and *vrexč* 'fried' from *waxš*, *vroč*, possibly with *xč < \*xšč < \*xšt*?

243. VI) Among the numerous roots in nasals only *lēmōn-* 'to rub'; *l<sup>v</sup>vōn-* 'to winnow' and Z *fīršōn-* 'to shake' have retained their preterites in original *-ata*: *lēmī*; M *l<sup>v</sup>vēy*, but Y *lēbad*; and *fīršēy*.

All other verbs in nasals have had their past stems re-formed with *n + t > (n)d*.<sup>3</sup> Examples of forms in *-(n)d* are: Y *lēbad* 'winnowed' (*lēbān-*); *l<sup>v</sup>γad* (M *l<sup>v</sup>γēnd*) 'threw away' (*l<sup>v</sup>γan-*); *vēzad* (Mm also *vēzēnd* 'recognized' (*vēzān-*); *ušād* 'churned' (*ušān-*); *yūcat*

<sup>1</sup> But Y *γur*: *γurd* (Yzh also *γurīvd*).

<sup>2</sup> From which a secondary pres. *tuγd* 'to shave'.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *ked* 'dug' < \**kanita*, cf. above § 238 reg. \**darita*.

'loosened' (*yūwan-*); *wiet* 'loosened' (*wien-*); *xō't, xal* 'bought' (*xō'n-, xar-*); *loyod* 'fell asleep' (*lōyn-*).

The causatives in *-ān-, -ōn* have preterites of a recent formation in *-nd*, e.g.: *γaltand* 'rolled'; *bičirēnd* 'grazed', cf. *vəzēnd, l'γēnd* above.

Verbs in *-m* have past stems in *nd*, or still more recent ones in *md*. Thus: *vriṇd* 'stood' (*v'rēm-*); *pižānd* 'entrusted' (*pižām-*); *šamd* 'drunk' (*šam-*); *rīmd* 'pleased' (*rīm-*); *ptṛəmd* 'seized'. *Z frakēvd* 'gargled' (*frakōn-*) is irregular. Reg. Y *yāg<sup>v</sup>iī*, Z *yēn'g* 'ground' (but Yr *yīr*, Mt *yūr*) from *yān-*, cf. above § 327.

### Preterite.

244. While M has preserved the distinction between the inflexion of transitive and intransitive preterites, Y has generalized the transitive endings. The result is that Y has established a system with two sets of personal suffixes, one for the present and one for the past tenses. But even in M the purely passive construction of the transitive preterite has been given up through the introduction of the accusative as the case of the object in such sentences, and through the partial adjustment between transitive and intransitive endings. Note also the incipient use of the nominative instead of the agent as a subject of a transitive preterite.<sup>1</sup> The tendency towards the dissolution of the ancient system has probably spread from Prs. to M and from Khaw. to Y.

The intr. suffixes of the preterite in M are identical with those of the present except in the 3rd sg. In the trans. the 2nd sg., and, acc. to Zar. p. 118, also the 1st sg. have special forms.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1st sg. the ancient pronominal suffix and the auxiliary have been amalgamated, and this fusion has led to the introduction of *-m* also in the 1st pl. pret. of trans. verbs instead of *-n*, which is preserved in Sgl.—Ishk., Wkh. and Sar.

The 2nd sg. pret. trans. (Y also intrans.) in *-t* contains the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 211.

<sup>2</sup> Pres. and Trans. Pret. 1st sg. *-u/əm*, Intrans. Pret. *-am*.



pronominal suffix in a form which points to its preservation as a separate word till a comparatively recent date.<sup>1</sup> In the 2nd pl. the trans. suffix in *-f* has been generalized not only in the pret. of intrans. verbs but also in the present.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the development of the pronominal suffix 2 pl., Av. *vō*, into Y—M *-f*, Sgl. *-f*, *-v*, Wkh., Sar. *-v*, Sogd. *-β* cf. Gauthiot, Gramm. Sogd., I, p. 121.

Finally, as a result of this partial fusion of trans. and intrans. suffixes, the intrans. 3rd pl. in *-et*, *-at* was introduced also into the transitives.

In the 3rd sg. we find, besides the expected suffixless form, also one ending in *-o*, *-a*. Thus, e.g.: Y *lišč* 'he saw'; *yurd* 'he seized'; *kər* 'he did'; *vōft* 'he flew'; *avər* 'he brought'; *vət* 'he brought'; *loyoi* 'he entered'; *xavd* 'he descended', etc. But: *līo* 'he gave'; *pisto* 'he asked'; *što* 'he said'; *fāto* 'he seized'; *šīyo* 'he beat'; *nīvdo* 'it rained'; *resīo* 'he arrived'; *drio* 'he poured'; *mavdo* 'he measured', etc. Note *niāst* and *niāsto* 'sat down'; *lat* and *lāto* 'held'; Y *mər* and M *muro* 'died'.

I have not been able to detect any difference in the use of these forms, nor any phonetic factors conditioning the presence or absence of *-o*. In one or two cases, however, Y *niāst* seems to mean 'sat down' and *niāsto* 'was seated'. But no such distinction can be traced in other verbs, nor is it possible always to take the forms in *-o* to be perfects.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., on the other hand, Sgl. *-δ*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 230 sq. [In the present *-f* < *-v* is probably derived from the 2nd pl. medium *-δwam*. Cf. Par. *-δr*, *-ēr*, and Khwarizmi (acc. to Henning) *-βi*. — Corr. note.]

## 245. Intransitives.

	'I was'		'I went, became'			'I came'	'I sat down'
	Yr	Mm	LSIm, Z	Yzh	Mm	LSIm	Yzh
1 Sg. <i>viem</i>			<i>vīam</i>	<i>šom</i> (r <i>šūyem</i> )	<i>šiam</i>	<i>šiam</i>	<i>nāstēm</i>
2 > <i>viel</i>			<i>vīai</i>	<i>sūit</i> (p <i>šūyit</i> )		<i>šiai</i>	
3 > <i>vīo</i>		<i>vīo</i>	<i>vīa</i>	<i>sūi</i>	<i>sūi</i>	<i>šoi</i>	<i>nāst</i>
1 Pl. <i>viem</i>			<i>vīam</i>	<i>šom</i>		<i>šiam</i>	
2 > <i>viēf</i>			<i>vīaf</i>	<i>šof</i>		<i>šiaf</i>	
3 > <i>viel</i>		<i>viat</i>	<i>viat</i>	<i>šut</i>		<i>šiat</i>	<i>nāstet</i>

## 246. Transitives.

	'I brought'		'I gave'		'I did'	'I saw'
	Y	Y	Y	Mm	Y	Y
1 Sg. <i>šim zh, g, šim sh</i>	<i>vōdem</i>	<i>līm</i>	<i>līm</i>	<i>šuyom</i>	<i>kərem</i>	<i>lišim</i>
2 > <i>šit sh, šit g, šit r</i>	<i>vōdel</i>				<i>kəret</i>	<i>lišūt</i>
3 > <i>š(y)o</i>	<i>vət</i>	<i>lio</i>	<i>lio</i>	<i>lio</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>lišē</i>
1 Pl. <i>šiem</i>						
2 > <i>šief</i>						
3 > <i>šiet sh, šit g</i>	<i>vōdel</i>	<i>liet</i>	<i>liet</i>		<i>kəret</i>	



The preterite is not infrequently used as a *futurum exactum*. Thus, e.g.: Ysh *wōs ke šūt, tro kyēi kəlo ōyōit* 'when thou now hast gone and have entered into the house, . . .'

247.

## Imperfect.

'I was beating'

	Yg	Biddulph
1 Sg.	žim-stəm	žierm-stem
2 »	žit-stət	žit-stet
3 »	žī-što	žier-sto
1 Pl.	žiem-štəm	žier-stəm
2 »	žief-štef	žief-stef
3 »	žit-stet	žiet-stet

Cf. also Yr 1 sg. *žiem-ištəm* and 2 pl. *žief-ištəf*. Examples of the use of these forms are: *zo vətō žiem-ištəm* 'mā tāna zadam'; *mōx vəmən žief-ištəf* 'šumā māna zadin'; *mən vto žim-stəm, tō vəmən žit-stət, māf vəmən žief-štef*, etc.

Unfortunately I did not succeed in securing a complete and wholly certain paradigm of this tense. It is scarcely probable that forms in *st* and in *št* are parts of the same paradigm, as asserted by Yg, and apparently we have to do with two different tenses, although the material does not permit us to distinguish between them.

In Biddulph's paradigm "*er*" probably represents *ē*, and *m* has been dropped in the 1st pl.

The forms in *st* are probably connected with those of the Durative Present mentioned above § 232.<sup>1</sup> *št* can hardly be compared with Sogd. 'štn, Yaghn. -išt,<sup>2</sup> as ancient *št* should regularly result in Y šč.

None of these forms are known from M.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *žit-stet* for \**žit-st* < *jata + tai + asti*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gramm. Sogd., II, 39.

11 — Kulturforskning.

## Perfect.

248. Just as is the case in most other Ir. languages the Perfect in Y is based upon the Past Participle enlarged by *-ka-*.

## Intransitives.

'I have sat down'		'I have become tired'		'I have become hungry'		'I have become'	
(='I am sitting')		(='I am tired')		(='I am hungry')			
Yzh		Yr		Yzh		Yzh	
1 Sg.	<i>niastəyəm</i>		<i>u'zəyəm</i>		<i>u'şiadayəm</i>		<i>şuyum</i>
2 »			<i>uzəyət</i>		— -ət		
3 »	<i>niāsto</i>						<i>şūi</i>
1 Pl.					— -am		
2 »					— -əf		<i>şuyəf</i>
3 »	<i>niāsti</i>						

## Transitives.

'I have done'		'I have seized'					
Y		Y		Y		Biddulph	
1 Sg.	<i>kəryum</i>		<i>yurdoym</i>		<i>žiyəm</i> 'I have beaten'		<i>žigam</i>
2 »					<i>xuyet</i> 'thou hast eaten'		<i>žiget</i>
3 »	<i>kəro</i>		<i>yurdo</i>				<i>žī</i>
1 Pl.							<i>žigam</i>
2 »					<i>pərvīayāf</i> 'you have found'		<i>žigaf</i>
3 »							<i>žīē</i>

249. Other examples are, e.g.: Ysh *x<sup>h</sup>šovōyi mīx zo muzdurə kəryum* 'I have worked night and day'; mən *xis'mat ē-kəryəm* 'mā xismat na karda-im'; mən *uto žiyəm* 'I have beaten thee'; *štəyəm* 'gufta am'; *liščəyəm* 'I have seen'; *ayoi* 'he has come'; *pistəyəm* 'I have asked'; *āvreyəm* 'I have brought'; *xristəyəm* 'I have shaved'; *sčiyəm* 'I have slipped'; *şuyəm* 'I have become'; *barryəm* 'I have filled'; *fsaiyom* 'I have risen'; *a'vɾe* 'he has(?) brought'; *škārə* 'he has(?) sent'; *pəcigyō, pəzgyō* 'has broken (*burrīda šud*)'.



Note Ysh *žinkiko* (*yū akābur*) *niāsto* 'a woman (an old man) is sitting', but *loh šināmī niāsti* (not \**niāstet*) 'two girls were sitting'. Apparently *niāsto* is construed as an adjective, not as a finite verb. Cf. Biddulph 3 pl. (trans.!) *žīē*.<sup>1</sup>

The only corresponding form heard in M was *lūyūm* 'I have given', and acc. to LSI 'the Perfect tense is not used in M'. But acc. to Zar. the Perf. in M is formed with *-iyam*, *-əyəm*, e.g. *muriyam* 'I have died'; *neyiškəyəm* 'I have heard'.

### Pluperfect.

250. The Pluperfect is formed from the Perfect through the addition of *vio* 'was'. Thus, e.g.: *žiyəm vio*, *šuyūm vio* = Prs. \**zada-am būd*, \**šuda-am būd* instead of the existing Prs. form *zada*, *šuda būdam*. The Y paradigm is based upon the 3rd sg. *šūi vio* 'šuda būd', where the personal suffix was zero, and could be interpreted as belonging either to *šūi* or *vio*.

The following examples have been noted: Yg *žūyūm vio* 'I had sewn'; zo (*mən*) *v(ə)to žiyəm* 'I had beaten thee'; Yr *drəviyəm vio* 'I had feared'; Ysh *li vio* 'he had given'; *yauyo urwāi vio* 'the water had been boiling'; *ku šuyəf vio?* 'kujā rafta būdīd?' *mo žinkiko ayoyi vio* 'this woman had come (*āmada būd*)'.

Note Mm *lūyūm vīō* 'dāda būdam'.

### Various Modal Forms of the Verb.

251. A number of finite verbal forms have been noted, but so sporadically that it is only possible to label them quite provisionally. With all reserve they may be called respectively First Conditional, Second Conditional, Subjunctive, Potential and Concessive.

<sup>1</sup> But Ysh *'culi a'vəzde* 'he brought wives' (sg. *'culo a'vəzdo*) can hardly be a Perf.

## First Conditional.

252. This form is based upon the Perfect, to which has been added the particle *va* (< \**bawāt*?).<sup>1</sup> Examples are: *Ysh wos a'γōi, wo mən daw'let lišči-va* 'if he should come now, he would see my wealth'; *yō vira mən šifien kə vī-va, xoyo a'γōi-va* 'if this burden were my husband's, he would have come himself'; *wos ke mən šifə a'γōi-va, lišče-va wo mind ābādief* 'if (or 'that') my husband should come now and should see these cultivated fields, . . . '.

Cf. LSIy *kerrem-va* 'I would have done'; *baryum-va* 'I would have been satisfied'; LSI<sub>m</sub> *yikeriam-ica* 'we would have made'; *xūriem-ica* 'we should have eaten'.

## Second Conditional.

253. This form is also based upon the Perfect, but the particle added is *vīi* (cf. Anc. Prs. *biyā*?). Cf. Par. *kuṛō bē*, etc., IIFL, I, p. 101.

Thus, e.g., *Ysh agar Xadāi čv mašče vīi, oyīm* 'If God should not kill me (*kušta bāšad*),<sup>2</sup> I shall come'; *amax tad zindo vīi, ču muro vīi* 'our father may be alive, he may not be dead, . . .'; *šūi vī, š' dalen čpāč āγ'ōi* he might have gone away, etc.<sup>3</sup>

## Subjunctive.

254. We also find *vīi* 'bāšad' alone as an equivalent of *fərmə* in Ysh: *agar 'štyot ki kīmat vīi* (or *fərmə*), *č-pərviam* 'even if—they said—the price might be (with us), we have not got it' (?). Regarding *fərmə* (< Prs. *farmāy*) v. Voc. s.v. It appears to form a kind of Subjunctive in LSI<sub>m</sub> *ze ferme ki duhum* 'I may beat'; cf. *Ysh woko čəs kīmat fərmə?* 'what may be the price (here?)?' *moi koi-kān fər'ma, kōi yurdo fər'ma?* 'az ki bāšad, ki girifta bāšad?'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the use of this particle in forming indefinite pronouns.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. the use of the Past as a Futurum Exactum, see § 246.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Texts, 39.



*Concessive.*

255. This label may provisorily be put upon the forms in *-yuz*: Ysh *li-yuz Parvardigār*, *mašču-yus Parvardigār*, *tu rastē xismat ken* 'may God give (thee wealth), or may he kill (thee, in any case) thou shalt serve him rightly'. It is possible that we ought to analyze *liy-uz*, *liy* being the Perfect; but *-uz* remains unexplained.

*Potential.*

256. Finally we may mention the forms in *baš*, e.g.: Yu *yasp yazevda baš* 'the horse could be made to run' (?); Ysh *vrūtē žie baš* 'the moustache could be cut' (?); *žūya baš* 'it could be sewn'; cf. LSIy *men žia baš* 'I should (?) beat'; *risia-baš* 'may come'; *šuya baš* 'I should be'. This form, which is not found in M, is of Khw. origin. Cf. Khw. *žibiko baš neki* 'it is not to be eaten'; *aželi koriko baš* 'she is going to bear a child', etc. It can have nothing to do with Sgl. *buš*.

*Passive.*

257. The Passive is formed with *š-* (Prs. *šudan*) and the Perfect Ptc. Cf. Zar. p. 123, and LSIIm *ze žia šiam*, LSIy *zo žia baš šom* 'I am beaten'.

*Interrogative Particle.*

258. In accordance with other Pamir and Dardic dialects<sup>1</sup> Y—M employs an interrogative particle *-ā*. Thus, e.g.: *tu Xodāyen bande češv-a?* 'art thou not the slave of God?' *wo maṛa ko dārū avre, mōy-a* 'is this the man who brought the wealth?'. Cf. Voc. s.v. *-ā*.  
The origin of this particle is unknown.

<sup>1</sup> And also Burushaski, cf. Lorimer, Grammar. §§ 147, 340.

## Nominal Forms of the Verb.

## Participles.

259. The Perfect Participle is formed from the Past Base by adding Y -o (*yurdo* 'seized'), M (Z) -igā, f. -igagā.<sup>1</sup> I have not come across any Present Participle.<sup>2</sup>

## Infinitive.

260. The most usual form of the Infinitive is formed by adding -ān to the Past Base. It may be derived from an ancient infinitive in -tanai, but more probably it is simply an oblique case of a verbal noun in \*-ta- or \*-ti-.

Examples are: Ysh *šui no tūliyān* 'he went to seek (*talabistan*)'; *no xu'rān na'yeŋ čes, no āy'stān pū'sāk čes* 'there is no bread to eat and no clothes to put on'; *yurd xu'rāk no xu'rān, yurd pū'sāk no āy'stān* 'he took food to eat and clothes to wear'; *no no'of no xu'rān če astet* 'they have nothing to eat'; *niāst šo dukandarə muzdurə kə'rā* (= *kə'rān*?) 'he stayed with the shopkeeper in order to serve him'; Yu *no tagbīr kə'rān šui* 'he went to make a plan'; cf. LSI *m waīna neyer* 'he went out (for) hunting'.

More dubious forms are: Ysh *loyoda waxt* 'sleeping time (*xuftān*)'; *wōs šibe tar oyem* 'now I rise and go (: I go after rising?)'; cf. LSIy, m *šia* 'to beat'. Probably -a < -aka.

## Conjunctions.

*ke* 'that', etc.

261. Like Prs. *ki* (from which it is borrowed) and Par. *če*<sup>3</sup> Y—M *ke* is used in manifold ways.

- a) In Substantive Clauses: Y *'što ke* 'he said that'; *tə čə žūi ke* 'don't say that . . .'; *niūr kə yūi k'ei huro astet* 'he saw that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zar., p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Voc. s.v. *wuššiy'aday*.

<sup>3</sup> HFL, I, p. 104.



- his brother-in-law's house was there'; Mm *wužir də kyoj kə* *ʃəhōn rūpāyo* 'he saw that there was much money in the house'.  
 But Ysh: *wəz užerem-este, moi kyeyin dīr šūi* 'now I see (that) . . .
- b) In Causal Clauses: Y *wəz ālə kən, ke zo na-to tāt* 'now listen, because<sup>1</sup> I am thy father'; *mailis kene ke zə oīm* 'make an assembly, because<sup>2</sup> I shall come'.
- c) In Final Clauses: Mm *kədo və zəmīn ki yū l'vər noyər* 'he dug in the earth, so that a door appeared'.
- d) In Temporal Clauses: Ysh *kə āy<sup>o</sup>ōm* 'when I came'.
- e) In Conditional Clauses: Ysh *kə . . . ʔpāč asəm* 'if I come back'; *xismat kə kəyet da sālo* 'if thou servest for a year'.
- f) *ke* as a Relative Particle: Mm *jāi . . . ke yū wīya vīo* 'a place where there was a willow'; Y *etis ke nā mun resī* 'whatever comes to me', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Or: "as if I were"?

<sup>2</sup> Or: "in order that I may come"?

## TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

### I.

(Ysh).

1. Žū'wān 'vīo, yū 'wulo 'vīo, loh 'pūrē vīet. 2. Žū'wān 'šūi no tūli'yān, šūi tro 'šāhar, tro ki'yēf lo'γōi.

3. Lo'γōi dē 'kyēi, yū a'kābur ni'āsto; lo'γōi dē 'kyēi, sa'lām kər. 4. "Wā'lēkam wəsa'lām, āi žū'wān! Na 'koi ā'γōit?" 5. "Gadā'i tala'ūm, ba 'nām-e Xa'dā. Wa'čārum 'nā mən 'dēl!" 6. Wa'čārum na 'wən li'o, na'γən na 'wən li'o. 7. "Ai žū'wān" 'isto. Žū'wānen 'isto ke: 'Āi 'tāt, āi a'kābur, gab 'diah!"

8. Akābu'ren 'isto kə: "Āi žū'wān, 'γūi lār, vo 'mən gap γu'rā! Wos 'ālē kēn, ke 'zo na 'to 'tāt, 'tu mun 'pūr, 'zo ftō nasi'āt ke'nēm. 9. Wōs ke šū'it, tro 'kyēi kə lo'γōit': 'ba 'nām-e Xə'dā 'dēl, wa'čārum

### I.

(Ysh).

1. There was a young man, who had a wife and two sons. 2. The young man went begging, he went through the town and entered the houses.

3. He entered a house, (where) an old man was sitting. He entered the house and salaamed. 4. (The old man answered:) "And peace be with you, young man. What did you come for?" 5. "I am begging for alms in the name of God. Give me alms." 6. He gave him alms, and he gave him bread. 7. "Young man," he said. The young man said: "Father, grey-beard, please speak."

8. The grey-beard said: "Young man, listen and grasp my words. Now behave as if I were your father, and you were my son; I shall give you advice. 9. Now when you have gone (from here) and have

<sup>1</sup> Written *ka'lo-5γ<sup>o</sup>*.



na 'mən da'lē'. 10. Agar 'kōi ke li'ēt, 'ya'sēn; 'kōi ke 'ēi li'ēt, na 'xāyi ki'ō 'kit, 'wos 'ale 'kēn muz'durə kēn, gadā'i lə'γān, 'ēi tēlə'wā gadā'i, muz'durə kēn. 11. Wos ke šū'it, no 'yū kua'tinen muz'durə kēn. 12. Dukan'dār fər'mē, kua'tin fər'mē; š'lo 'won ai, muz'dur ken, ha'lāl muz'durə ken. 13. Žə xo<sup>a</sup> 'in xušči'en xis'mat ken; agar 'rīza 'vīo 'pūr' žā; agar də 'tō ba'rābar kə 'vīo 'vrai' žā, agar iž 'tō 'xušče vīo 'tād' žā. 14. Ha'lāl 'xismat ken, no xšo'vū xšo'vo 'če žā, xšo'vō tā 'miš xis'mat ken. 15. Xis'mat kə kə'ret da 'sālo, tē 'če 'žūi kə: 'Mən 'min xismat kə'rum'. 16. Čes kə Xedā'iyen 'lio, do 'yū miš ha'zār rupā'yo na 'to rə'sē. 17. Tē 'če 'žūi: 'Mən xis'mat 'č-kə'γəm, ha'zār rupā'yī na 'mən 'ēi da'lē. Da 'yū miš ha'zār rupā'yī ro'sī'. 18. Agar da ha'zār 'miš yū 'surx 'pāisō rə'sī, tē 'ēi 'žūi: 'Āi Parvardi'gāra a'zawuy-em 'tū, 'mōzē-em 'tū, da'lē-em 'tū'. 19. Wos ha'lāl 'xis'mat ken, 'li'γuz Parvardi'gār, maščuyuz Parvardi'gār, tu 'rastē xis'mat ken, xis'mat kə'ret."

entered a house, (then say:) 'Give in the name of God, may you give me alms.' 10. If somebody gives you<sup>1</sup> anything, it is well. If nobody gives you anything, (but) labours for himself, then you must act thus: Take service (with him) and give up begging; do not ask for alms, but take service. 11. Now when you have gone, take service with a rich man. 12. Let him be a shopkeeper, (or) let him be a rich man; go to him, and take service with him, lawful service. 13. Serve one older than yourself; if he is younger, call him 'son', if he is of equal (age) with you, call him 'brother', if he is elder than you, call him 'father'. 14. Do lawful service. Do not call the night 'night', but work by night and day. 15. When you have worked for a year, do not say: 'I have done so much work.' 16. If God gives anything, a thousand rupees will come to you in one day. 17. Do not say: 'I have done no work, please do not give me a thousand rupees; I have got a thousand rupees in one day.' 18. If you get one copper penny in a thousand days, do not say: 'O Creator, thou lettest me be born, thou killest me, and thou givest me (my reward?).' 19. Do now lawful service. (Whether) the Creator give (you a reward), (or) the Creator kill (you), you must serve righteously, (and) you (will have) served (truly).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 205. <sup>2</sup> Cf. § 255.

20. Wo rux'sat šūi, do xwoi kyēi rə'siy, wo xoi zə'monəf lišē, wo xoi 'wulo lišē. 21. Wo no 'wulo 'štō: "Ai 'wulo, zo a'im no muzdu'riēn". 22. Lo naha'ri no 'won 'kər, 'yurd, ra'hi 'šūi. 'Šūi 'sahro, šūi na Či'träyi, da Či'träyi rə'si.

24. Ni'äst šo dukan'darə muz'durə kərä. Yū 'sälə ni'äst, šə'lo dukan'daren muz'durə kər. 26. Xə'sovō tā 'miš nə pəč 'štō, no 'yox 'štō, no p'xuftəm 'štō, no ušiyādəm 'štō. 27. Wos 'štō ke: "Äi dukan'där, 'wo mən rux'sat kən, 'mun yū wu'lo a'stet, loh 'pürē a'stet, no noöf no xu'rān 'čē a'stet, no n' äyə'stān čē a'stet, 'hāč 'kuči 'čēs. 28. Wo 'mən rux'sat kən, wa 'mən 'muz'durə 'na mən 'dēl, 'tā zo a'yim, kə mun zəmo'nak-k-ə" (?) <sup>1</sup> mun 'wulo šilo'xo šūi 'vīo. Wos wa šūi nə 'tat kyəyin-ä, da kyēi ži fərmi-ä?"

30. Dukan'däre(n) 'štō ke: "Ni'yā də kuči'o". 31. Nə'yoj do kuči'o. 32. Woz dukan'där 'yurd yū alāno, nəvur do kuči'o li'e (li'o?) nə žu'wānen. 33. Žu'wānen 'yurd, dukan'där 'əpāč šūi na du'kānen. 34. Žu'wānen wa alāno da lāst kər 'fsāyo hu'ro.

20. He took leave and came to his own house, he saw his sons and his wife. 21. He said to his wife: "O my wife, I am going away to (seek) service. 22. (She) made two loaves for him; he took them and started off. 23. He went into the desert, he went to Chitral and arrived there.

24. He stayed with a shopkeeper in order to serve him. 25. He stayed one year with the shopkeeper and served him. 26. Night and day he did not say that it was hot, nor that it was cold, he did not say that he was tired or hungry. 27. Then (at last) he said: "O shopkeeper, give me leave, I have a wife and two sons; they have nothing to eat, nor anything to wear, they have nothing (at all). 28. Give me leave and give me my wages, that I may go, because my children and my wife have become destitute. 29. Now has she gone to her father's house? Or may it be that she is still (?) in (my) house?"

30. The shopkeeper said: "Go out into the street." 31. He went out into the street. 32. Then the shopkeeper took a pomegranate, brought it out into the street and gave it to the young man. 33. The young man took it, and the shopkeeper went back into the shop. 34. The young man put the pomegranate in his hand and stood up there.

<sup>1</sup> Prob. = u.



35. I'sto kə: "Āi Xa'dāi, x'so'vōyi miḡ zo muz'durə ku'ḡum, yū 'sālə 'sūi, ča'min ke'nəm? Nā mun yū a'lāno ro'se! 36. Āi Parvardi'gar, mun 'ces gu'nā, ces xatā'i, ces āib? Wo 'mun mal'min če ke'nē-este?"

37. Wos 'ḡurd wa a'lāno, 'žio da av'ḡuš, ra'hē sūi. 38. Sāhara sūi, sūi də Orḡo'čo. 39. Yū 'maḡa ži da'len ā'ḡoi, 'guya da Dra'wuso 'vīo. 'Šūi vī, ži da'len čpāč āḡ'oi. 40. 'Wōi ā'beli žōi lāmə vī'et. 41. 'Wən čo'ḡurd, 'isto kə: "Āi žu'wān, tə na'ḡen xurḡet-ā, 'yāxio xurḡet-ā, kə to wos zəmo'ne, wu'lo mal'min šilaxe sūi?"

42. Nə xu'rān na'ḡen 'čes, no āḡə'stān pū'sāk čes. Tu ča'min wo xōi nəfs ke'nə? Də aḡḡāl 'xabar 'čes-ā. 43. Yā pū'sāk škōr, yā na'ḡen škōr. Tu Xa'dāyən 'bandə 'čes'-a? Tu Pai'ḡumbaren 'ūmed 'čes'-a? Tu do'of 'xabar 'čes'-ā? 44. Agar 'isto kə: 'Āi vrāi, wos 'ḡūya kən', o'ḡim-əstē 'sāharen, wo 'mən xuzdāi, po yū 'hory dīd, kə wa-čpāč 'čir miḡ 'čpāč asəm. 45. 'Čir miḡ dīd 'čpāč asəm.

35. He said: "O God, I have worked night and day, a year has gone. What shall I do? I receive a pomegranate (for wages)! 36. O Creator, what is my sin, what is my fault, what is my error? Why dost thou treat me thus?"

37. Then he took the pomegranate, put it into his lap, and went off. 38. He went into the desert, he went to Orguch<sup>1</sup> 39. A man came from below, as if he was [; had been] in Drosh. He might have gone away, (and now) he came back from below. 40. They were both from one village. 41. He (who) returned, said: "Young man, have you eaten bread or ashes, since your children and your wife have now become so destitute? 42. They have neither food to eat, nor clothes to wear. How do you treat your own family?<sup>2</sup> Have you no news about your family? 43. Send them either clothes or food. Are you not the slave of God? Have you no hope in the Prophet? Have you no news about them? 44. If you say: 'O brother, do now thus,'<sup>3</sup> (you must know) that I am going into the desert, (somebody) has sent me<sup>4</sup> on a certain errand, from which (?) I shall come back after four days. 45. After

<sup>1</sup> I. e. to a place as far from his home as O. is from Chitral where the tale was told (some 5 miles).

<sup>2</sup> Literally: Your own soul.

<sup>3</sup> Prs.: āli amī kārti bukan.

<sup>4</sup> Prs.: mara raucān karda ast.

Kə ā'γ'ōm ži 'mol v<sup>ro</sup>, u'xšo 'miḡ zə nə k'i'yen ašəm. 46. 'Cis ke 'nā mun re'sī, wo 'xoi (mən) 'muzdure γū'rum, a'səm nə kyē'yen. Wos o'yīm-əstē 'sāharo."

47. Wo a'lāno lio no 'maraken. I'sto ke: "Tu wum i'sa no mən 'k'ēyen, no mən 'zəmana'kef 'del. 48. Mun zumanakē<sup>1</sup> (da k'ēi) žē[t] kə: 'A max 'tad 'zindo vii, ču 'muṛo vii'; xū'sānē ke'net. 49. 'Zo əm o'yīm, ro'səm; agar Xa'dāi ču 'mašče vii, o'yīm, ro'sīm."

50. Wo a'lāno γurd, šōi sāaro, na Dra'uso šōi. 51. Wo 'yū 'maṛa ā'γōi wel'γōo. 'Šūi, pə Šəγo'yo no'γor. No'γor ke də Šəγoyo xši'yet-ste. 52. I'sto ke: "Äi 'vrāi, čə 'xšēf-este?". 53. "Agar nə max 'istet ki'o za'rūr 'šūi, 'xšiyem-esto no xoi zarūrien; ki tu ni'xā malo." 54. "Na maf 'ce za'rūr?". 55. 'Što kə: "Äi vrāi, na max za'rūr šūi, kə 'magam max yū pād'sā astet, pād'sā lur'vū šūi. 56. 'Dir pād'sāan žo lura'γan 'kāγez kəro, 'škār-ən: 56. 'Äi ādamē<sup>2</sup>, agar

four days I shall come back. And when I have come<sup>3</sup> I shall come to (our) home six days later. 46. Whatever I get I shall take as my wages, and come to (our) home. Now I am going out into the desert."

47. He<sup>4</sup> gave the pomegranate to the man and said: "Take it to my house and give it to my boys. 48. My boys (in the house) will say: 'Our father must be alive and not dead;' and they will rejoice. 49. I shall also go and arrive there; if God does not kill (me), I shall go and arrive there."

50. He took the pomegranate and went out into the desert. He went to Drosh. 51. And the other man came up. He went and appeared at Shoghor.<sup>4</sup> He appeared there when they were lamenting at Shoghor. 52. He said: "O brethren, why are you weeping?" 53. "If it is necessary for us to speak,<sup>5</sup> we are weeping at our distress,<sup>6</sup> so that you must now stay here." 54. "What is your distress?" 55. They<sup>7</sup> said: "O brother, our distress is that we have a king, and he has fallen ill. 56. Another king has written a letter from afar and has sent it to us. 56. (Its contents are as follows): 'O men, if

<sup>1</sup> Prob. *okē* (pl.).

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: When I have come from here.

<sup>3</sup> The man who had served with the shopkeeper.

<sup>4</sup> Name of a village in Lutkoh.

<sup>5</sup> Prs.: Agar ba mā gap zadan zarūr šuda ast.

<sup>6</sup> zarūri.

<sup>7</sup> He (?).



pādsā i'ziko mu'ro, i'ziko va mēk ɣu'ram; agar sa'har mu'ro, sa'har ɣu'ram.' 57. Wos a'max 'pādsā leriwū šūi."

58. Wos yaspē ɣa'zēvdet, vādet 'sāro. A'nīmēf su'wār šut val'γō, a'nīmēf šet 'sāro. 59. Yū dēm šūit, a'γōt ēpāč, rēsiet hu'ro.

Maṛakā 'št'o: "Ku šuyēf vi'o?" 'Št'o: "Max dārū k'o'sem viō. 'Drust mēk 'nāse<sup>n</sup> nēvu'ram, ē-pur'viam."

62. "Wokə cəs dārū vīo, 'woko 'cəs 'kīmat vii,<sup>1</sup> kə 'wōu ē-pər'vīa'ɣāf?" 63. Agar 'št'ot ke: "Kīmat 'vii, ē-pər'vīam." 64. 'Št'o kə<sup>n</sup>: "Wo dārū<sup>i</sup> la mēn astet." 65. Wōf 'št'ot: "Wō dārū na max del; 'max xō'nam, na'to 'hūy da'lem. Čan ke 'tū ke'nē 'hūy da'lem; 'čand kī'mat ke ke'nē, 'max wo 'ɣuram." 66. 'Štyo kə: "Zə da'lem no 'māf. Tārā'zū a'vre, 'mām də tārā'zū."

(your) king dies to-night (?),<sup>2</sup> I shall seize the country to-night; if he dies to-morrow morning, I shall seize it then.' 57. Now our king has fallen ill."

58. Then they let their horses gallop,<sup>3</sup> and brought them down. Half the horsemen rode upwards and half of them rode downwards. 59. They suddenly went off, returned and arrived there.

60. The man said: "Where have you been?"<sup>4</sup> 61. They said: "We have been searching for some medicine. We have travelled all over the country,<sup>5</sup> but we have not found it."

62. (The man said:) "What was the medicine there,<sup>6</sup> and what might the price be, that you didn't get it?" 63. [If]<sup>7</sup> they said: "(Although) we may have the money to pay for it,<sup>8</sup> we have not got it."

64. He said: "I have got that medicine." 65. They said: "Give us the medicine; we shall buy it and give you money (for it). We shall give as much money as you demand, we shall take it for the price you fix." 66. He answered: "I shall give it to you. Bring some scales and let us weigh it."

<sup>1</sup> Or *formə*.

<sup>2</sup> The construction is not clear.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *aspara davāndan*.

<sup>4</sup> *Kuja rafta būdid* 'where had you gone'.

<sup>5</sup> Lit.: We have pulled it out completely (Prs. paraphrase: *sar-ba-sar gaštīm*).

<sup>6</sup> *woko*, Bad. Prs. *uko*.

<sup>7</sup> *Agar* seems superfluous. But cf. sentence 44.

<sup>8</sup> Translation uncertain. Cf. § 254.

67. A'vret, drīet, mav'det. 68. Maṛa'ken da tāra'zū drī'o, mav'do, ba'rābar ǝi nōy'or. 69. Wən 'št'o kē: "Yə to hūy kəb nō'y'or, zo wo xoi dārūi ǝi dālem. 70. Wos oī<sup>b</sup>, am'boh māl a'vāl; zo wo xoi dārūi u'gah dālem."

71. Wōs šut, wo mālef a'vret, rišə(v)det. Wo dārū lī'o. Yāt; wo dārū yāt, na pād'sāan līet.

73. Pād'sā tāza šūi ba hokm-e Xa'dāyen. Ādamē xo'sān šut. "Wo maṛa drāi a'vāze." Wo maṛa vədēt šəlo pād'sāen. 75. Pād'sāen pištō: "Wo maṛa ko dārū a'vret, mōy-a?" 76. Zōpə, bū'tə lī'o; wōro lī'o, pīra'hān lī'o; kuṭ lī'o, ǝā'dur lī'o; dō yū bō'žei ašera'fi līet.

77. Tūrd wo maṛaken, vīrevdo, ra'he šūi. 78. A'γōi, rəsēi, nə xoi kyšin ǝūi, šūi n'ou maṛa kyšin. Šūi, lo'voi da kyēi. 79. Wo vira la'yadə da kyēi: "Žiŋki'ko<sup>a</sup>, wo vira γu'ra<sup>b</sup>." 80. Žiŋkiko 'št'o kē: "Ya ǝəs min vira? Yo vira kōi-kān?"

67. They brought (the scales), put (the money into them), and weighed it. 68. (Then) the man put (the medicine) into the scales, weighed it, but the weight did not come out as equal. 69. Then he said: "This money of yours<sup>1</sup> has come out (appeared) to be too little, I will not give you my medicine." 70. Go now, bring much money, then I shall give you my medicine at once."

71. Then they went, fetched the money<sup>2</sup> and brought it there. 72. He gave them the medicine. They took it; they took the medicine and gave it to the king.

73. By the command of God the king recovered, and the people rejoiced. 74. (The king said:) "Bring that man here." They brought him before the king. 75. The king asked: "Is this the very man who brought the medicine?" 76. He gave him clothes, boots, trousers, shirt, coat and turban, and they gave him gold-coins in a bag.

77. The man took it (all), loaded it (on his horse), and departed. 78. He came and arrived (at his village); he did not go to his own house, but he went to that man's house. He went there and entered into the house. 79. He threw down his burden in the house (and said): "Woman, take the burden." 80. The woman said: "What burden is this? Whose is this burden?"

<sup>1</sup> Sg. for pl.

<sup>2</sup> Or goods.



81. Wo maṛaken 'štə kə: "Yo 'vira ta-kan." 82. "Yo 'vira nā-mən 'kōi škār?" "Ta 'šifien 'škār." 83. "Wo mən 'šifien 'vira škār, 'xoyo 'kū šūi? Yo 'vira mən 'šifien 'čes, tu 'čə'pik kenə." 84. Č<sup>a</sup> 'fxatiyo. "Yo 'vira mən 'šifien ke vi-va, 'xoyo aḡō'i-va, tu 'čə'pik 'č-kənə." 85. O vira l<sup>a</sup>yədo, 'šūi, 'štə kə: 86. "Yo 'vira ta 'šifien 'nā to škārə. Yū a'lāno 'li viə, mən wo 'prəstəm, 'yurdum aš<sup>a</sup>ra'fi, wos a'vrum na 'to. 87. 'Na tə trə 'lās kərum, zo 'oyim no xoi 'kyēin." Šūi no xoi kyēin.

88. Žiṅkiko u'žur 'yū miḡ, 'lo<sup>b</sup> miḡ, 'maṛaken dərak 'č-šūi. 89. Žiṅkiki (y)'u'gah žə aš<sup>a</sup>ra'fiəf yu t'rəft, 'ya' no ba'zārən, 'lio da ba'zār, 'yurd xu'rāk no xu'rān, 'yurd pu'sak no āḡə'stān, 'avər no xoi 'kyēin. 90. 'Sko yū aš<sup>a</sup>ra'fen 'mind dau'lat šūi.

91. "Wos na xa'in lə'zo kə'nium." 92. Wos 'xabar kər no āda'məf: "A'səf nā mən muzdura kənə, no yu 'miḡen 'pānj ru'pāya da'lem." 93. 'Adamə ā'ḡot, pər 'šət, 'ambo<sup>b</sup> ā'ḡot dəftəd də 'hōry. 94. Do

81. The man said: "This burden is yours." 81. "Who has sent me this burden?" „Your husband has sent it." 83. "Has my husband sent that bundle? Where has he gone himself? This bundle is not my husband's, you are lying." 84. She did not take it, (but said:) "If this burden had been my husband's, he would have come himself; do not tell lies." 85. The man threw down the bundle, went away and said: 86. "This bundle your husband has sent to you. He had given me a pomegranate, I sold it, got gold-coins (for it), and now I have brought them to you. 87. I have put them in your hand, and now I go home." And he went home.

88. The woman kept watch, one day, two days, but she did not catch sight of her husband. 89. Once the woman stole one of the pieces of gold, took it to the bazaar, sold it<sup>1</sup> there and brought food to eat and clothes to wear, and brought it all to her house. 90. Such riches came from one piece of gold.

91. (Then she thought:) "Now let me build a castle for myself." 92. Then she made known among the men: "Come and work for me, I shall give five rupees a day in wages." 93. The men went, they went in great numbers, many came and started working. 94. They

<sup>1</sup> Litt.: gave it.

'yū mæx xalās kə'ret, li'zo kə'ret, ta'yār šūi. 95. Bāya kə'ret, hargeno 'haule<sup>2</sup> pəzgi'et. Miwa'yē ži'et, gu'lē kšči'et.

96. Šäilē šūi, žiŋkiki 'štə kə: "Ai da'rīy<sup>3</sup>, a'žəp 'säilē kə'γum. 97. Wos kə mən 'šife a'γōi-va, lišče-va wo 'mind ābā'di'ef. 98. Wos 'pāžə ta'yār šūi, no 'xoi 'pūrəf 'wulo čə avazəm-ā?"

99. 'Wulo a'vāzdo, no a'beli 'pūrəf 'wuli a'vəzde, ni'äst sko dau'let; dau'let, pu'sāk, na'γen bi'nās šūi. 100. Wōs xalās šūi, 'štyo kə: "Ai Xədāi, wo mən 'šife čə-avazi-ā? Wos a'γōi, wo mən dau'let lišči-va."

101. Šfə də Dra'wusə vī'ō, muzdu'rī k'ed vī'ō, wos rux'sat tūli'yo. 102. "Wo mən 'muzdura del," išto, "tā zo o'im."

103. Yū pi'skō no 'won li'ō; 'γurd, ži'e de a'γuš. 104. Ra'he šūi, da 'pādo a'γōi, žiyo čigāli, nə'vur mē'di.<sup>1</sup> 105. 'Štyo kə: "Äi Xədāi, na xāin no xu'rān čəš, no 'man 'ces delum?" 106. 'γurd, lə'γado da laxčī'ō, 'drio tra šile, ra'he šūi.

finished it in one month, they built the castle, and it was ready (for use). 95. They laid out a garden and they made<sup>2</sup> a wall on all sides. They planted fruit-trees and sowed flowers.

96. It became a wonderful sight, and the woman said: "What a pity, I have prepared a wonderful sight. 97. Oh that my husband came, oh that he saw these cultivated fields! 98. Now it is all ready, should I not bring wives<sup>3</sup> for my sons?"

99. She brought wives,<sup>3</sup> she brought wives for both her sons, and she settled down with her wealth. Her wealth, her clothes and her food were copious. 100. Then it was finished and she said: "O God, why dost thou not bring my husband here? If he came now he would see my wealth."

101. (Meanwhile) her husband was in Drosh, he was working, and he asked for leave. 102. "Give me my wages," he said, "that I may go."

103. (His master) gave him a cat; he took it and put it in his lap. 104. He left, came out into the road, it scratched him with its claws, and he took it out.<sup>4</sup> 105. He said: "Oh God, I have nothing to eat myself, what shall I give it?" 106. He took it, put it into a skin-bag, placed it on his shoulder, and went on.

<sup>1</sup> Or mē'li?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Voc. s. v. *hargeno*.

<sup>3</sup> Litt.: a wife (: for each of them).

<sup>4</sup> Prs.: *az bayal ba-dar (ūsū) kad*.



107. A'γōi da p'ado, \*u'šio kər. U'žūr kə yū<sup>1</sup> k'ei huro as'tet. Šūi, lo'γoi do k'ei. 108. U<sup>1</sup> žiŋkiko ni'asto, t'āam k'et-isto. 109. Kər, nə'vur da ra'za, bəyd wo žie tro poš'kəf, ta'yār kər, a'vər, ust'ai no 'maraken da a'pīr.

110. Wos p'arye no'γ'et, ā'γot no poš'ke. 111. Žio wōf, wos van šūi da lax'cio 'nigio. Wo p'ško la-kər, f'ato wo p'aryef.

112. Žiŋkiko xalās šūi, nā'γen xur'et. 113. "Šābaš," žiŋkiki 'štyō, "šābaš, wo 'mən xalās kər'et! 114. Yo 'cəs mīn žān'dār wo mən xalās kər'et? 115. Wos wā'ī 'nā mun 'del, 'nā to 'hūy dā'lem."

116. Lī'o no 'wən, γūrd, fəci'nəvdo. 117. A'γōi, yū bō'žei aš'rāfi a'vər, lī'o no 'maraken.

118. Maraken γūrd, vī'rəvdo, ra'he šūi. 119. A'γōi, rə'si də xoi k'ei. Lo'γoi də k'ei; u'žūr kə yū žiŋkiko, loh šināmī ni'asti.

120. Žiŋkiko: "Čai šəm," pisto wo zin'ef: "Āi zə'nī, yo 'ma'a

107. When he came on the road, he became hungry and he saw that there was a house there. He went and entered the house. 108. A woman was sitting there, she was cooking food. 109. She prepared it, took it out on the platform, divided it and put it into the dishes, made it ready, brought it, and placed it before the man.

110. Then the mice came out and came to the dish. 111. He struck them; then he stretched out and opened the skin bag. He let out the cat, and it caught the mice.

112. The woman got rid of them, and they ate the food. 113. "Well done," said the woman, "well done. You have rid me of them. 114. What kind of animal is this? You have rid me (of the mice).<sup>2</sup> 115. Now give it to me, and I shall pay you for it."

116. He gave it to her, and she took it and hid it. 117. Then she came with a bag of gold-coins which she gave to the man.

118. The man took it, loaded it (on his horse), and went off. 119. He came (home), arrived at his own house, entered it, and saw one woman and two girls sitting there. 120. The woman (said to him:) "Drink tea," and she asked her daughters-in-law: "My daughters-in-

<sup>1</sup> In sandhi: *k'ei (y)ā*.

<sup>2</sup> One would expect *kər* 'it has'.

ž<sup>u</sup>kū wāi pər'sə!" 121. Zi'nief pɪstet: "Äi tāt, tu ž<sup>u</sup>kū?" 122. "Äi luydeo, 'zo ž-im k<sup>ɛ</sup>eyen. Mo k<sup>ɛ</sup>i mən-kān. 123. Zo šu'γum vī'o no muzdu'rīen; ža'hānd sāl sūi, wo ā'γ<sup>w</sup>ōm. 124. Yū wu'lo, lo<sup>h</sup> 'pūre mən-kān-e 'molo vīet; wos a'γōm no 'xoi k<sup>ɛ</sup>eyen. 125. Wos uzerem-əstə, moi kyeyin dīr sūi, wos 'baγake sūi. 126. Zo na'žan 'wīnum kə: 'Moi kōi-kān fərma, 'kōi 'γurdo fərma?' 127. Zə pər'səm-istə, lā-mən čə defə, zo 'xabar γu'rum."

128. Žiŋkikī na zənī'ef 'što: "Äi zənī, wāi pər'sə: Tu ž<sup>u</sup>kū sūi?" 129. Zənief pɪstet. "Zə ži 'malen, ž-im k<sup>ɛ</sup>eyen. Mun yū wu'lo, loh 'pūre."

130. Wos žiŋkikī 'što: "Äi 'maγa, to 'cəs nām?" 131. Wo 'γoi nām lī'o, wo 'γoi 'pūref nām lī'o, wo 'γoi 'wulə nām lī'o. 132. Žiŋkikī 'st<sup>o</sup> kə: "Äi zənī, yo mun 'šifə. O<sup>th</sup>, wo mun 'pūref u'šāwa." 133. Wo 'pūref u'šavdet, ā'γot. 134. "Äi 'pūre, 'mō a'maf tāt. 135. Mō dau'let kə as'tet, a'maf ta'ten. 136. Xoref-este,

law, ask this man wherefrom he is." 121. The daughters-in-law asked: "O father, from where are you?" 122. (He answered:) "My daughters, I am from this house. This house is mine. 123. I had gone away to seek service; many years passed, and I came back. 124. I had a wife and two sons here; now I have come (back) to my own house. 125. Now I am looking about. There has been a change in this house,<sup>1</sup> it has become a garden. 126. Being unknown I see it (thinking:) 'Whose can this (house) be? Who can have bought it?' 127. I am asking; don't quarrel with me;<sup>2</sup> may I be informed."

128. The woman said to her daughters-in-law: "O daughters-in-law, ask him from where he has come." 129. The daughters-in-law asked him. (He answered:) "I am from here, from this house. I have a wife and two sons."

130. Then the woman said: "O man, what is your name?" 131. He told his name and told his sons' names, and his wife's name. 132. The woman said: "O daughters-in-law, this is my husband. Go and call my sons." 133. They called the sons, and they came. 134. (She said:) "My sons, this is your father. 135. This wealth which we have got, belongs to your father. 136. You are eating, drinking

<sup>1</sup> Translation uncertain. Litt.: (something) other has come to (?) this house.

<sup>2</sup> Litt.: With my wish.



sāmeḡ-este, āydeḡ-este ā'yen dau'let. 137. Wos lo ȳoi 'taten xo'sānē kə'ne!''

138. Xo'sāne k'et, bo<sup>b</sup> ȳipe dau'let, an'jām, sarfērā'ze; də ȳoi k'ei ni'āstet. 139. Zo ā'ȳōm.

II.

(Yu).

'Tu bi'land-a 'kūh bi'land.

Sul'tān ba'rāmad 'rū-i 'band.

'Gūvd: "Dar ba'yal ȳi 'dārī?"

"Ki'tāb-i 'pər ȳa'zal."

"'Barār tā 'buxānim."

"Nə 'dārad 'sar u 'bar."

Qūm'qūm-i-fūxta,

har'dū ja'mālīš 'bāfta.

'Qissa-i mā dūr-i<sup>1</sup> di'rāz

'sūfi'āra dar na'māz.<sup>2</sup>

and wearing his wealth. 137. Make now merry with your own father."

138. They made merry. There was great plenty of riches, clothes and ornaments. They settled down in their own house. 139. And I came here.

II

(Yu).

You are high, and the hill is high.

The king came out onto the dyke.<sup>3</sup>

He said: "What do you have in your lap?"

"A book full of songs."

"Bring them that I may read them."

"It has neither head nor tail."

(It is like) a ringdove's throat,

both its curls<sup>4</sup> are plaited.

My tale is far and long, for sūfis in prayer (?).

<sup>1</sup> Probably for dūr u.

<sup>2</sup> This introductory verse is in Prs.

<sup>3</sup> band for bām?

<sup>4</sup> jamāl-iš was explained by mūi 'hair'.

1. Yū 'ādamen 'xūben lišē: Imo'γō do 'urjug<sup>1</sup> suv'dō, mīra-čām do 'čep suv'dō. 2. Wo 'qissa 'γurd, nē 'šāharen šūi, nē tag'bīr kē'rān šūi. 3. 'Šahar bar 'šahar, 'kūh bar 'kūh, bi'āban bar bi'āban, xi'āban bar xi'āban, 'pādšā-i bar'bād, 'xirman-i bi'bāt.

4. "Assa'lām a'lēkum." "Wa 'āliku sa'lām." "Qissa 'γurdoğum,"<sup>2</sup> na tag'bīren o'im." 5. Yū gala'vān vi'ō, gāla'vānen vo naql 'γurd, šūi. 6. Šūi, da yū 'šāher 'xavd, da yū ma'žit šūi. 7. Da ma'žit ni'āst. 8. I'sto ke: "Hai da'rīx! 'Wos či ilāj kenem? Zē da šeri'et mu'xālīšēm."<sup>3</sup> Vo 'māl hāl lim nōn."

9. Yū 'pādšā 'pūr da ma'žit lo'γoi, ü<sup>4</sup> wa'zīr 'luydo da ma'žit lo'γoi. 10. 'Pādšān 'pūr: "Ās, tā lu'rōum." 11. Yū 'Mēy yasp, yū 'Wūi yasp. 12. "Zē vto lu'rōum."

13. Vo 'yaspē pa'lān ži'ō. 14. (Skō) 'yū yasp 'pādšā 'pūr su'wār šūi, yū yasp wa'zīr luydo su'wār šūi. 14. Šet nē 'šāharen. Wa'zīr

1. A man had a dream. (He saw) the moon on his right shoulder and the sun on his left. 2. He took the tale with him, went to town to get an explanation. 3. He went through town after town, hill after hill, desert after desert, flower-garden after flower-garden, to the overthrown king, to the windless threshing floor.<sup>5</sup>

4. (Then he met a cowherd and said:) "Peace be with you." "And peace be with you." "I have brought a tale, and I go to find an explanation of it." 5. There was a cowherd, he took the tale and went off. 6. He went and descended into a town, he went into a mosque. 7. He sat down in the mosque. 8. Then he said: "Alas! What remedy shall I find? I am . . . (?)<sup>6</sup> in the law of Islam. I have given him my possessions."

9. Then a prince, and a vizier's daughter entered the mosque. 10. The prince (said to her): "Come, I will carry you off." 11. (He had) one horse (called) Cloud, and one horse (called) Wind.<sup>7</sup> 12. "I will carry you off."

13. Then he saddled his horses. 14. The prince rode one horse and the vizier's daughter the other. 14. They went into the town. The

<sup>1</sup> Or *urjug*?

<sup>2</sup> Or *γurdoğum*?

<sup>3</sup> Read *šēm*?

<sup>4</sup> = *yū*?

<sup>5</sup> Pers. formula.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of *muxālīš* is unknown to me.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Parachi *A'ir* and *Tāphōne*, Tajiki *Abr* and *Bod*. V. II FL, I, 165.



luŷdo pādsā pūr pisto: "Mo ča'mīn žaŷa? 15. Yasp ŷa'zevda baš?"  
16. Wo xap keŷ. 17. Wa'zīr luŷdo što: "Mo xap čī kīt?"

18. Šut da ū šahēr xavdet. 19. Nə pādsān nə salāmat šut, salām k'et. 20. Pādsāan pūr vi'ō. 21. A'ŷoi wo pisto: "Ku ōī?"  
22. Wən što ke: "Wu'lo a'vezdem." 23. Mən što ke: "V'to xai vrai ŷurdum." 24. Pādsā pūren no xoi k'ēyen a'vezdo.

25. Wo yūyen nām Zanŷu'lām vi'ō. 26. "No širen škūr ke'nam."  
27. Wən što ke: "Tašē." 28. No žanŷa'len šut, no širen škūr šut, vo šir māščet. 29. Pādsāan pūren što ke: "Vo wulo v'e'nem."  
30. Pādsān što ke: "Č-kir kənē, vo wulo žo wən čē vet kənē."

31. Wo wulo što: "Da Kunjīkaf oi! 32. Žə čīrien və čūrwakaf āvər, žə a'mun vo gəl āvər. Də bāŷ da-dram č-oi." 33. Wo što ke: "Bīaql žīnkiko! Də bāŷ čī č-o'īm?" 34. Də bāŷa šūī, ləŷot.

vizier's daughter asked the prince: "What kind of place is this?  
15. Can the horse be galloped?"<sup>1</sup> 16. He kept silent. 17. Then the vizier's daughter said: "Why does he keep silent?"

18. They went and alighted in a town. 19. They went to salute the king; and they saluted him. 20. The king had a son. 21. He came and asked: "From where have you come?" 22. He<sup>2</sup> said: "I have brought my wife." 23. The other said: "I have taken you as my brother." 24. The prince<sup>3</sup> took them to his own house.

25. One of them<sup>4</sup> was called Zang-Ghulam. 26. (He said to his host:) "Let us hunt the lion." 27. The (second prince) said: "Very well" 28. They went to the forest and hunted the lion, and killed it. The (second) prince said (to his father): "Let me take his wife." The king said: "You cannot do it, you are not able to take his wife from him."

31. The wife said: "Go to Kunjikaf.<sup>5</sup> 32. Bring the unripe fruits from the apricot-trees and the flowers from the apple-tree. But don't enter the garden." 33. He answered: "Stupid woman! Why shouldn't I enter the garden?" 34. He went to the garden (of Kunjikaf) and entered it.

<sup>1</sup> Prs. paraphrase: *jāi xūb ast davāndan* 'is the place fit for making the horse run?'

<sup>2</sup> The first-mentioned prince.

<sup>3</sup> The second prince.

<sup>4</sup> The first-mentioned prince?

<sup>5</sup> A corruption of *Kōhīkaf*, the Fairy Mountain.

35. Hurō də 'baya barzange nə'yor, vo barzange 'mašč. 36. Vo 'čirief la 'pəŋ'kaf, la 'vorɣen 'ɣurd, ra'hā kər, 'šui. 37. Parizāt nə'yor. 'Što: "Vo mun və'na." 38. Vo parizāt su'wār kər, 'ɣurd, 'šui.

39. Šui, do xoi k'ei re'sio. 40. 'Pādsā 'pūren što: "Və to 'wulo 'vənem." 41. Vo<sup>1</sup> 'taten što ke: "Am'boh pežə 'xap, la'žino 'deh, rūɣun da burž deh, və la'žino žafa'ū." 42. Vo la'žino 'deft. 43. Pād'sān 'što: "Da āxerat žə mun 'taten 'xabar ɣura." 44. Wo što ke: "To tat ta'zō<sup>2</sup> təndu'rust as'tet." 45. Pādsā 'guvd, xa'lās šui. 46. Žə pād'sān vo wulo 'vət gala'vānen. 47. Gala'vānen 'čir 'wulə šut.

48. Gala'vān wa'zir luydo do 'v'yuš žio, lo'ɣot. 49. Wa'zir luydo 'kōviyo gošč, na as'mine<sup>3</sup> šui. 50. Da as'mino ča'tir vio, də ča'tir loh šināmi vi'et. 51. Wo žinkiko da ča'tir šui. 52. Išto ke: "Mailis kene, ke zə o'im, ke 'banda-i xākī aŋ'gāhi." 53. Lo gala'vānen

35. There, in the garden, an ogre appeared, but he killed it. 36. He picked apricots together with leaves and fruits,<sup>4</sup> started and left. 37. Then a fairy appeared and said: "Take me." 38. He made the fairy mount (his horse), seized her, and went off.

39. He went, and arrived home. 40. The prince said: "I shall bring your wife." 41. His father said: "Fell much timber, build a wood-pile, pour clarified butter over the tower, and set fire to the wood-pile." 42. The wood-pile took fire.<sup>5</sup> 43. The king said: "Get news about my father in the next world."<sup>6</sup> 44. He said: "Your father is sound and healthy." 45. The king caught fire, and was finished. 46. The cowherd took the king's wife. 47. The cowherd got four wives.

48. The shepherd took the vizier's daughter in his embrace and entered. 49. The vizier's daughter turned into a dove and rose to heaven. 50. There was a tent in heaven, and in the tent were two girls. 51. The woman went into the tent. 52. She said: "Make a feast, because I am coming, so as to awaken the slave of the earth."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *wo?*

<sup>2</sup> = *tazā u*.

<sup>3</sup> For *as'mino* with palatalization before *š*?

<sup>4</sup> Or 'foliage'?

<sup>5</sup> Uncertain translation.

<sup>6</sup> Or: in the end, at last.

<sup>7</sup> I. e. 'human being'?



dārū-i bihušī vi'ō. 54. Wo a'γoi, də k'ei rə'sio. 55. Gala'vānen isto ke: "Zə 'xūben 'winem-este vio. Do 'xūben ko'vīyo goš'čim." 56. Wo žiŋkiko vispač šui. 57. Wov loh žiŋkač avezdo. 58. Šut, gala'vānen 'pānj 'wulə a'vezdo. 59. "Wo 'xūben ku liščut?" 60. Wən 'što: "Imo'γō 'dum suvdo, mira-čam 'dum suvdo, 'stāri po fiz žer šut."

### III.

(Yu).

1. 'Skandar pādšā nā 'tā-duni'ā šui. 2. Da 'zaγa šui, šela daryāhan lo'γot. 3. Yū kur'mo 'ptrəmdo. 4. 'Skandar pādšā vo kur'mo pis'to: "Čen-este?" 5. Kur'mo što: "Nā-mən yū až'der nər, va mun xut." . . . (Unfortunately the narrator was interrupted, and he left me without continuing the tale).

53. The cowherd had a narcotic drug. 54. He came and arrived in the house. 55. The cowherd said: "I have been seeing a dream. In the dream I turned into a dove." 56. The woman went back. 57. He brought those two women.<sup>1</sup> 58. They went; the cowherd (now) brought five wives. 59. (He asked): "Where did you see the dream?" 60. He answered: "I saw the moon on this shoulder, and the sun on that<sup>2</sup> one, and stars surrounded my breast."

### III.

(Yu).

1. King Alexander went to the Lower World. 2. He went to a place, and in the neighbourhood of a river he entered (the Lower World). 3. Then he caught a tortoise. 4. King Alexander asked the tortoise: "What are you doing?"<sup>3</sup> 5. The tortoise answered: "A dragon to me . . ."<sup>4</sup> it will eat me.

<sup>1</sup> Or: the two.

<sup>2</sup> Litt.: 'on this one'.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. čika mēkini.

<sup>4</sup> nər? Meaning unknown.

## IV.

(Yr).

You ɣal'bīl kenəm; xosto ɣadəm da xu'rum; ɣau vastəm; polmo  
 šūi; ɣau lo kerəm; wōu lə'badəm; xosto žə yo'wən wōdyo šūi.  
 ɣal'bīl ɣūrdam; wōu ɣal'bīn<sup>1</sup> žīam; paz'γō šūi. Və yōu rāš kerəm;  
 wo yōu da laxčief ɣurdam, driem da čāro.

## V.

(Yp).

Māmə<sup>2</sup> šəšo<sup>3</sup> do Warto da pe'žō  
 nuvə'rum vo kēro, tālum vo pə'žō.  
 Kū ki tu šūyit, zo asəm;  
 ispač na dūlen zo ro'sum.

## IV.

(Yr).

I sift the barley; I put the straw on the threshing-floor; I harnessed  
 the ox; (the grain) became crushed;<sup>4</sup> I let the ox loose; I winnowed  
 the corn; the straw was separated from the barley(-corn); I took the  
 sieve; I sifted the barley, it became clean. I heaped up the barley; I  
 took it in baskets and poured it into the store-room.

## V.

(Yp).

The old woman . . . is at the log in Wart.  
 I pulled out my knife, I whittle the log.  
 Wherever thou hast gone, I shall come,  
 I shall arrive behind the mill-hopper.

<sup>1</sup> wōu = vo you? ɣalbīn for ɣalbīl.

<sup>2</sup> Expl. *kampīr* 'old woman'.

<sup>3</sup> Expl. *nām na dārad, hamtari yak gap ast, mā ba tū āteq šudam*. "it has no  
 name (meaning?); a word is like that. I fell in love with you." I can make  
 nothing out of this explanation.

<sup>4</sup> Litt. "soft".



## VI.

Šāl'xān zəx'mo Ov'xizo,  
 Mästiko 'pälef 'dizo.  
 Šāl'xān šui di'ärē  
 Mästiko šui xi'älē.

## VII.

(Mm).

1. Vio yū ā'dam. Wo hādāmen lu luydi vīat. 2. Jə'hōn ā'jiz ādam vīo, bī'čāra. 3. Yu čad 'mixi 'gyask'at, guza'rān 'či šui. 4. Və luydaf yuruvd, ba'dār šui, jo'hōn 'jāi šui, ke yū 'wiya vīo. 5. Ūra ni'āst, və luydaf 'šta kə: "Maf 'male 'ni'xit,<sup>1</sup> za da 'sāh'ro ayum, 'bada hasum." 6. Mə šui, šuy-u 'či a'yoī. 7. Mai luydi ni'āstat 'wuro, 'woxrōgī, 'uč ku 'či vīo. 8. Bad žo 'wan wo yuk'e'gin

## VI.

Shālkhan<sup>2</sup> is wounded in Ovkhizo,  
 Mastiko<sup>3</sup> is squatting.  
 Shālkhan is looking about,  
 Mastiko is thinking.

## VII.

(Mm).

1. There was a man who had two daughters. 2. The man was very poor and destitute. 3. Some days passed, and he had nothing to live on. 4. Then he took his daughters and went away; he went to a very (far off?)<sup>4</sup> place where there was a willow. 5. He sat down there and said to his daughters: "Sit you down here, I shall go out into the desert and then come back." 6. He went away, went and did not come (back). 7. The daughters sat down there, they were hungry and had nothing. 8. After that one of them dug in the earth, (with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 234.<sup>2</sup> Sher Khān?<sup>3</sup> His wife.<sup>4</sup> Or: to many places, in one of which there . . .

'k'ēdo və zə'mīn, ki yū lə'vər no'yor. 9. šūi da'rūn də k'oi. 10. Wu'žir də k'oi kə jə'hōn rūpā'yo. 11. Bād ni'āst 'wuro; wo au'qātīs giyašk'.

*Variants of Grammophone Text.*

1. 'ādamen, vī'āt. 4. ba'dār 'šū, k'yū. 5. 'šta, ni'xit, 'sāh're aḡayum (?), 'bāda. 7. uni'āta (?) woxrōgi. 8. bād zo, 'yukye'gīn 'kēdo, k'yu lə'vor'. 10. rūpā'yō. 11. 'bād.

the result) that a door became visible. 9. She went into a house. 10. She saw in the house that there were many rupees. 11. Afterwards she settled down there and found a livelihood.



## VOCABULARY

The words are arranged in order of their consonants, the vowels coming into consideration only as a secondary factor. *y* and *ɣ* are put after *n*. *š* has not been distinguished from *ʃ*, nor *q* from *k*. For words in *'st-* etc. see *st*. Note *-di*, *-di*, *-di*, not (with *Z*) *-dy*, etc.

Y(idgha) forms are placed before M(unji) forms. Within Y preference is given to Yzh, in the second instance to Ysh, in M to Mm.—“Y” after a word means that it was noted in identical form from Yzh, sh (v. § 4) and two other informants.

Forms from Z(arubin) and G(authiot) are given for the sake of facilitating comparison; more rarely I quote B(iddulph) and M(ullah) F(aiz) B(akhsh) (= Shaw).—The Khovar translations given by my Y informants have in many cases been added, sometimes these Khov. words are dubious, or at any rate unknown from other sources.—“\*Prs.” denotes that I do not know the word in question in the form or with the meaning given here.

The etymology of genuine Y—M words has been briefly indicated, even when known before, or obvious. Cognate words from Sgl.—Ishk., Wkh. and the Pamir dialects in general have been quoted more fully than such as belong to other Ir. languages. To a large extent I have, however, mentioned forms of interest from recently published material, and in some cases I have ventured upon etymological digressions at greater length. I believe in the usefulness of suggesting possibilities of derivation in a work of this kind, if only to stimulate other workers in the field to propose something better.

### Vowels.

*-ā* interrog. particle.—*no xoi pūrāf wulo*  
*čə avazəm-ā?* Ysh shall I not bring  
my sons a wife? *tə na'yen xorjet-ā?*  
have you eaten bread? *yāxio xorjet-a?*  
have you eaten ashes? *wos wa šūi*  
*nə tat kyēin-ā, da kyēi šī fərmī-ā?*

has she now gone to her father's  
house, or is she in (my) house? *wo*  
*mən 'šife 'č-avazī-ā?* don't you bring  
my husband? *tū hōr(y) kənē-a,*  
*č-kənē-a?* Yg do you work, or not?  
*tu do'of 'xabar čēšy-a?* don't you

- know about them? Cf. Wkh., Khov., Burushaski -a, (Sgl. -i). The origin of this particle is unknown, v. § 258.
- ai, ai Ysh, hai u, ē Z "O".—āi žucān, āi parvardigāra; āi Xadāi Ysh, hai dariz u. Prs.
- e Ysh, u izāfat.—ba nām-e Xadā; banda-e xākī 'slave of the soil, human being'. Prs. V. § 213.
- u, u<sup>u</sup> Yah and. —'mən zəmo'nakk u<sup>u</sup> mən 'wulo my son and my wife. Prs.
- ā'ib Ysh fault. —mən cis ā'ib? Ar.-Prs.
- ābā'dī Ysh, ābād G cultivated field, cultivation.—lišē-va wo mind ābā'dief if he saw these fields. Prs.
- ā'brūo šog'gō Ysh a kind of wild pear. < \*hamrautā; Z amrūt from Prs. amrūt. Cf. also Brahui amrūt, Shgh. marūd, etc.
- ā'būya Yzh, o'būa p, ābiy M(g) moraine, 'abey m. Z rock.—Cf. Ishk. Gr. ambol moraine, Sar. amūl hill (LSI). Poss. < \*ham-paišaka, cf. Skr. sampeṣa- pounding, crushing.
- ā'car'dinē Yzh, ōni sh wedge for fastening the ploughshare to the plough. Khov. ačhār'dīni.—V. yuvazgo.
- 'ida m. Yzh, sh, 'ida, p, 'ida, i'dak Z, ida'ka G slave; ida LSI m, yuda LSI boy.—yo mən 'ida this is my slave; 'ida a'istai a boy is born. V. idiko, hadē.
- i'dou m. Yzh, g, iō sh, yiō Mm, g, i'daw Z, yi'dau, ya'daw G fever. — Cf. Khov. lw. andau, Wkh. andav < \*han-tapak, cf. Av. ham-tapta- hot, tafnu- fever.
- 'idiko f. Yzh, sh, yudike LSI slave girl. Cf. Psht. inga female who accompanies a bride < \*aindg + ā < \*han-takī? V. ida.

a'damā, v. ha'damā.

- ādām Yzh, r, ā'dām sh, ādām g, 'ādam Mm, oō g, ā'dām G, oō Z man, homo.—Ysh yo '(h)adam, yēi adame this man, these men; ādamē xō'šān šot the men became happy; āi ādamen O men; no āda'maf to the men; ye adame ory kənet Yr these men are working; yū ādamen xūben lišē Yu a man saw a dream; vīo yū ā'dām, ico 'hādamin lo 'lōydi vī'at Mm there was a man, the man had two daughters. mo ādām, myend ādame Mm; mō ā'dām, myend ādāmī Mg. — Ar.-Prs. 'afsno Yzh, u, 'yufse<sup>no</sup> Mm, 'fsūne g, (g), ti whetstone.—< \*abi-sān(y)ā, cf. Prs. afsān, Wkh. pisūn, Sgl. vāsīn, Khov. lw. u'sanu.
- af'sinyo Yzh, af'sənyā Mti ladder.—< \*af'siŋgā < \*af'siŋ'gā < \*upa- or \*abi-srišnakā? Cf. W. Oss. 'asinā, v. EVP p. 78 s.v. šel. Note also Tokh. klis stair.
- af'sirne Yzh, af'serr'nē sh, oorn r, oōn g summer-wheat.—< \*upa- (or abi-?) srdnaka-? V. §§ 127, 165.
- af'tovo Yr, af'tovaga Mm bucket. Prs.
- 'agidro Yzh, 'ago sh, r, g, 'aglero Mm, 'aglera t, aglō g, 'aglrā (g), oore ti, agl'ra G grape.—Cf. Shgh., Prs. (as spoken by a Yarkand Turk) argūrō, Prs. angurda a single grape. Cf. § 127.
- u'gah Ysh instantly, hamī sāt, yak sāt.—zo wo xoi dāruī uō dalem I shall give my medicine at once; šixkikī uō šō āsərafief yu t'raft the woman instantly stole one of the gold-coins.—Prs. \*ū-gāh = ān gāh.
- ag'min Yzh, agmin sh, r, agr'min g, ag'min Mm, G, 'agmin Mg, agibin B honey (Mm also 'bee'?).—Cf. Phl.



*angpēn* (Frah. i Phl. *angmēn*), Brahui *hangumēn*, Psht. *gabina*, Wanachi *angin*, etc. Not necessarily lw., as supposed by G and Horn s.vv.—Prs. \**ang* bee (v. Horn), is supported by Kurd. *hang*, cf. Talish *bizang* (*biz* goat).—Transsylv. Gypsy *yabjin* honey may be an Ir. lw. V. *sāt*.

*ag'min-kur'miki* pl. Ysh. *agi'men* kurmiko g bee. V. *ag'min*, kurmiko.

*ag'min'yēx* Yzh bee-hive. V. *yēxio*.

*d'gungv* Mm, *o'gunj* (g) dough.—< \**han-garšana*-. Cf. Psht. *āyāzəl* to mix, knead (and Prs. *γuršnāk* a herb used in washing?). V. *lvaza*, *gūy*.

*agar* Ysh if.—*agar kēi ke liēt, yāšē* if somebody gives you, it is well; *agar rizo vīo* if he is small; *agar da hazār miš yū surx pāisō rēst* if you get one copper coin in a thousand days; *agar ištō (ištōv) ki* when he (they) said that . . . Prs.

*o'guščō* Y, *āguškya* Mm, *o'guškya* t, *o'guškya* g, *o'guškya* (g), *o'guškya* ti, *o'gušk'a* Z, *o'gušk'a* (?) G *uguške* LSI'm finger.—Prs. *angušt*, etc. Cf. *coromī o'guščiko*, *malanē o'guščigo*.

*āyē* Yzh, r, sh, g, *āyēst* zh, r, *āyūst* sh, g, *āyūd* : *āyūst* Mm, *āyō* t, *āyō* Z to put on clothes, to dress oneself. — *āyēm* 1 sg., *āyē* 2, 3 sg. Yzh; *āyēfeste* 2 pl. sh, no *āyēstān* inf. sh, *zōpō āyēm* r, *āyūdem* Mm, *ayūdam*, *āyūstēm* Mt.—Cf. Psht. *āyūstəl* to dress, E. Oss. *ayūd* cover, shell, Phl. Turf. *āyūst* bound, Skr. *gudh-* to conceal, bind (cf. Charpentier, Act. Or. VII, 181).

*aydā(w)* Yzh, sh, r; *ay'dāvd* sh, *ōāvd* r, *aydōv* : *aydēvd* Z, *aydav* LSI'y to dress (caus.).—*ay'dāum*, *ay'dāvdēm*.

*ā'yām* Yp stubble.—Khow. *ā'yām* (Lor.) land specially kept for self-sown lucerne grass.

*d'yury* Yzh, *o'* sh, r, g, *o'yūy* Mg, (g), *ēvō* t, *o'yurx* (sh), *ar'yūg* m, Z, *ōūk* G. *orgūh* B egg.—\**ā-gaura-*, cf. Rosh. (Lentz) *yur* egg. Skr. *gola(ka)* ball, glans penis? Cf. the following word.

*d'yurya* Yzh, *o'yakē* pl. sh, *o'yūryakē* r, *ā'yōrō* g, *o'yarkō* Mm, *ōkye* g scrotum.—Cf. Sgl. *yor*, Wkh. *yūr*, Shgh. *yarin*.

*o'yuzo* Yzh, sh, *ōr*, *o'yūzo* g, *āyuzo* Mm, *ōyūza* g, *ōyūzā* (g), *āyūzā* f. Z walnut.—\**āgauzā-*, cf. Prs. *gūz*, Psht. *yūz*, *ūyz*, *yūcoz*, Talish *vīz*, Maz *ayuz*, Hebr. lw. *ēgōz*, etc.

*ā'jiz* Mm poor.—*jō'hōn ā'jiz ādam vīo*, *bī'cāra*. Ar-Prs.

*u'kāb* Mm eagle (?). Ar-Prs. V. *karyaz*.

*ā'kābur* Ysh old man, *ā'kābur* Mm rich.

—*yū ākābur niāsto 'yak mū-safid . . .*;

*ā'kāburēn ištō* the old man said.—

Ar-Prs. *akābir* pl. rich, powerful.

Also Khow. *akābir* old man.

*ā'kadē* Yzh, sh, *ōr*, *oi* pl. g, *ā'kodiy* Mm,

*ā'kondi* ti, *ā'kōndi* (g) thorn, bramble.

—Cf. Sgl. *kāndāk*. Connection with

Skr. *kaṇṭa-* improb. V. *vury-ak'ōndi*.

*ō'kōk* M(g) groan.

*au'qāt* Mm, existence, condition.—*wo*

*ā-īs giyāšk' 'guzarān-iš šūd'*. Ar-Prs.

*ālō* Ysh so much (?), *āmtarikār* (?). —

*wos ālō ken, ke zo na to lat* 'now

do it in this way, because I am your

father (?)'; *wos ālō 'kēn, muz'durō*

*kēn*.

*ālū* Yzh, *ālū* Mm plum. Prs.

*olo* Yzh there. — *olo dā' kyūi 'd'amū*

*xāna'*. — Av. *avaḍa*.

*ilāj* Yu remedy, medicine. — *wos ci*

*ilāj kenem?* Ar-Prs.

- ālq* Mt throat (interior), *alqa* Z. Ar-Prs. V. *kāyeko*, *stūya*.
- a'ldno* Yzh, sh pomegranate. — *dukan'dār* *yurd yū* a° the shopkeeper took a p.; *wo* a° *lio* no *mayaken* he gave the man the p. — < \*ā-dānā, or \*ha-dānā, cf. Psht. *anang* (*ouotink* de Morgan), Afr. Psht. *nāngrōnsa* ('p. tree'), Waz. Psht. *wōlang*, id., Av. *haḍānā-patā* (v. Tavadia, *Śāyast-nē-Śāyast*, p. 133). Prs. *anār*, *rānā* can scarcely be a dialect form < \*āḍān. Cf. Chin. *tan-žo*, acc. to Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 283 fr. Ir. \**dānak*.
- ilr* Y, 'Alr Mt, 'īr° (g), *yī'lar* m, °er LSīm belly (exterior). < Av. \**udara-*. Cf. Sak. *ūra-*, Psht. *lōrai*, etc. (v. KZ, 61, 32 sqq.).
- ilira* Ysh, 'lōro Mg, ti, 'līro (g) calf of the leg, *ilira* B muscle. — Cf. Wkh. *iškamba-i-pā*, Par. s.v. *iškambek-i pāi*, and also the Romance forms of Lat. *ventriculus* mentioned by Goldberger, *Glotta*, 18, 37.
- a'larsnē* Yzh, °enī p, *larsnē* sh, °r, g, 'alarsn Mm, 'alr° t, ti, 'alārsn (g) threshold, Yp also footboard of spinning-wheel. — 'siri, *ta'hē* a° zh upper, lower th. — < \*aḍara-sayanaka-lying below? Resemblance with Khov. *ambōrcerēnī* accidental. V. *yūvōrsn*.
- al'vān* Ysh, in *yūr* a° *ziēm* I extinguished the fire.
- alvōsta* v. *avlāsto*.
- alīxa* MFB ribs. If correct, cf. Sgl. *wofoz* ribs.
- °m encl. pron. I sg. V. § 205.
- °m Ysh, Z also. — *zo* °m *oym*. Prs. *am'bōy* Yr cowwife. Prs. *ambāy*, cf. Khov. *ambōxēan*. < \*ham-bāgā-? Cf. NTS, V, 47.

- am'boh* Ysh, r, g, u, °ox zh much, many. — *yauyo* a° the water is deep; a° *pūre* many sons; a° *ayot* many came; 'mind a° *kyā'yī* these many houses; a° *pežə xap* fell much timber; *ambōh-ōnī* (?) *hor kəret* they did much work. — Khov. *ambōh* fr. Prs. *ambūh*.
- ambu'ro* Y, *Ambo'ro* g pincers. Prs.
- am'brōz* °og'gō Ysh a kind of pear. — Khov. *Ambrōz* fr. Prs. \**am(b)rōd*, cf. "Prs." *ambarūd*, *arbū*, *xarmul*, etc. V. *ābrūo*.
- 'ūmed Yzh, sh, *umēd* G hope. Prs.
- umid'vāro* Yzh, *umid'vār* sh, *imid'vōr* r pregnant. Prs. V. *vōzičo*.
- imo'gō* Yzh, ūm° sh, 'yima'gō Mt, (g) linseed, transl. *zayir* (prob. *brassica campestris*, cf. Vavilov, *Agricult. Afghanistan*, p. 114).
- imo'yo* Y, i'mōyo u, *yumago* Mm, *ima'yēka* t, i'mayakā (g), *yu'mayika* g, *yima'yeka* ti, *yu'magā* f. Z, *yuma'ga* G, °ega LSīm moon. — Cf. Wkh. *žə'mak*, Sgl. *wūlmēk*, Psht. *wūngiē*, *gumakai*, etc., Kurd. *hūw* (\*ušm-). — < \*uxš-māh-(kā) (not \*uxšya, v. Benveniste, JA, 1930, cf. *Morgenstierne* NTS, III, 298). Psht. *wāzmai*, Sogd. *waxšymw* < \*waxš(y)a-.
- d'muno* Yzh, sh, r, °o g, a'mun u, 'amīng'yo Mm, °a g, 'āmīng'gā (g), *amin'g'a* Z, *amīng'a* G, MFB apple, (Yu apple-tree?) — *žə* a'mun *vo gəl āvōr* Yu 'bring the flower from the apple tree'. Cf. Sgl. *mičr*, Wkh. *mur*, and v. EVP s.v. *maṇa*.
- i'mār-*: *imur* Yzh, sh, *yumar-* Mm, t, *yūmra* B to count. — *i'mārēm* Yzh, *ima'rēm* sh, *yumarem* Mm, *yu'maram* t. — Av. pres. *hišmar-* (mar-).
- i'mār* (f) Ysh number. V. *i'mar-*.



am'sāyo Yr, oyaga Mm neighbour. — Prs. V. gram'bešu.  
 a'maxno Yzh, ə sh, 'amaxnā M(g) sloe.  
 — \*āmarnaxā demin. of ā'muno?  
 Cf. Psht. māñū, V. § 96.  
 āi'no Mm, ə G mirror. Prs. V. šišōyo.  
 'ino Y, B, '(y)ina Mt, 'yino m, ə g,  
 əā (g), əe ti, əa Z, ə'a G blood. —  
 Cf. Sgl. wēn, Wkh. wuñen, Psht.  
 wīne, etc. V. Henning, ZII, 9, 226 sq.  
 (\*vohūn- > \*vñūn- > vñ- etc.??).  
 ind Yzh, r so much, ikada. — mox ind  
 ory keyzm Yr we have done so much  
 work. — Cf. mind. V. § 210.  
 an'diša M(g) thought. — Prs. V. diš.  
 an'jām Ysh dress. — Khov. (from Ir.,  
 cf. Prs. jāma).  
 a'nimef Ysh half (adv.). — a° suwār šot  
 wā'wō, a° šot 'sāro one half of the  
 horsemen rode upwards, the other  
 half rode downwards. From nīm.  
 anār Mm, anār LSīm pomegranate. —  
 Prs. V. a'lano.  
 anuv- Yzh, sh to bellow. — yavo a'nuvō zh,  
 yawō a'nuvo sh. — Cf. Skr. ā-nu- to  
 roar towards?  
 a'nazno Yzh, ə sh, əx'nə r, əxən g nail.  
 — Prs. nāxun, etc., but why a-?  
 V. § 96. Cf. nāxun.  
 ang'a(h) Yzh, r, g awake. — a° šom zh,  
 aŋ'gāhi u, you awaken (them); ʔə  
 'xōvən ang'a šuyəm r. — Khov.  
 angah, angā, from Ir., cf. Wkh., Sar.  
 (Sh.) agah, agāh fr. Prs. Cf. bivāre.  
 angah- : angahavd- Yzh, aŋ'gāh- u to  
 awaken (trans.). — aŋ'gāhi r 3 sg.,  
 angahum, angahavdum zh. — Khov.  
 angahav-.  
 'ingut Yzh halter, headstall of a horse.  
 — Khov.  
 a'pīr Yzh, sh, Mm, 'apīr Z before, in

front of. — 'nā-mən d-a'pīr Yzh in  
 front of me; da tō a° astet sh; ustāi  
 no maŋaken da a° sh be rose in front  
 of the man, pēs-i ā. — Doubtful  
 whether with Z < Av. pairi (not  
 pairi- or para-), or < paōirya- in a  
 local sense. V. skapīr.  
 ar'bāb Yzh headman of a village. —  
 Ar.-Prs. arbāb lords, used as a sg.  
 also in Taj. (Semenov, Mater. II,  
 44). V. cār-wāl.  
 'ārīco Mm, t shrub with eatable berries,  
 strawberries(?). — Scarcely < \*ārīncō,  
 (cf. Brabui ārcin 'wild almond', Prs.  
 arjan, etc.).  
 'ārdi Yzh floor. — Khov. (Lor.) ardi  
 middle part of a room. (But Kurd  
 ard floor < Ar.).  
 rryō'yo Yzh, sh, ə r, yu° g, yir'yaga Mm,  
 əgo m, ir'yaga Z lucerne, riška. —  
 \*uyarakā- (?), cf. Sgl. yurūk, Shgh.  
 yorj, etc. (v. Z s.v.).  
 a'raq Mg, m, Z, G perspiration. — Ar.-  
 Prs. Cf. xul.  
 a'raq Yzh a kind of wine, made in Shoghor,  
 a'rak sh fruit-juice. — Ar.-Prs.  
 d'runyo Yzh, sh, o'runyo r, g light,  
 brightness, arungo B light, arūnco B  
 lightning. — \*ā-rauxēnakā. Cf.  
 ru'sān.  
 ar'ra Mm, Z saw. — Prs. Cf. gir.  
 ara'rōy Yzh, 'yōruya M(g) eructation. —  
 a° kenem = Khov. āra'rōy koman.  
 The Khov. word with redupl. from  
 Ir., cf. Prs. ārōy, Sgl. arək, Sar. rēy.  
 V. EVP s.v. aržai.  
 ārusō Mm, d'rūs Z bride. — Ar.-Prs.  
 Cf. šābuk.  
 aršō'min Yzh, sh barley bread. V.  
 arzōmin, kōskən, yadmin, maymun  
 and yeršio.

*uric-*: *uricai* Yzh, sh, *icuric* r, *icuric*: *wur'icai* M(g), *icurv* Z, *urv* G to be boiling (Z caus. *wurcōn*-, *wurcōv*-). — *yduyo ur'icai* Yzh, *yauyo icuricai* r, *ur'wo* sh; *yduyo uricai vio* (pluperf.), *icos axleno šui* zh. — Cf. Sgl. *wārv*, Sar. *wāraiv*, Shgh. *wūrv* (v. N. Shgh. s.v.), Par. *γariv* < \**warb* < \**bariv*.

*ur'iz-*: *ur'izd* Yzh, r to spread manure, *pāruwa parišān mēkinam*. — *ur'izēm*, *ozdēm* zh, *am* r. — < \**auca* (or *ui*?) *razaya*, cf. Av. *raz*.

*ur'zu-*: *ur'zā* Yzh, *wurzayevd* M(g) to stretch the arm. — *ur'zum*, *ur'zāim* Yzh, *wurzayevdum* M(g). V. *urzuγ*.

*ur'zū* Yzh, *hur'zū* sh, g, *ur'zūγ* r, *ur'jug* (l) u, *ur'zug* Mm, *ozγ* g, *wurzay* (g), *ozog* G, *wurzug* Z, *hur'zūh* B right, straight, true. — *wurzax kerem* M(g) I straightened; *do ur'jug* (ēp) *su'v'dō* Yu on the right (left) shoulder. — < Av. *urzu*, not with G < \**wyz*. Cf. Khov. *horak* id. fr. Ir. \**urzu*(u)k. Not with Benveniste (JA. 223, 227) (*w*)*urzug* < \**vi-rūzaram* = Sogd. *urzric*.

*arzō'min* Yzh, sh millet bread. Cf. Prs. *arzanin*. V. *aršōmin* and *yūrcōn*.

*ar'ziz* Yzh, r, g lead. — Prs.

*ar'e'yedē* Yzh wood-carving. — Prob. from the past ptc. of a caus. verb. — From Khov.??

*as-* Y, M, Z, G: *āyōi* Y, M, *aγoy* Z, *a'yāy* G to come. — *asēm*, *as*, *a'γom* Yzh, *asom*, *as*, *a'sof*, *ā'γōm*, *ā'γ(w)ōi*, *kōla aγoyit?* when did you come? *na kōy āyōit?* whom did you come for? *ā'γōt ēpāē* they came back Ysh; *as*, *ā'γōm* r, *ā'γōm* g, etc.; *hasom* *ā'γēyam*, *aγoi*, *āyōit* Mm, *asam*, *ā'γōyam* t, *aγicai* LSIy. — \**ā-is-*:

\**ā-gata*, cf. Sgl. *is-*: *āyad*. — Cf. Tedesco, BSL, 25, 53.

*is-*: *yāi* Yzh, sh, *yis-*: *yāy* Mm, *yis-*: *yāy* G, (y)*is-*: *yōy* Z to carry (an inanimate thing). — *i'sim* Yzh, *isom* sh, *'yisam* Mm; *i'sa* imper. 2 sg. Ysh; *'yāim* Yzh, sh; *yāi* sh, *'yāyam* Mm. — *'tu wum i'sa no'men* *'kyēyen* Ysh take this to my house; *wo dārū yāt* Ysh they took away the medicine. — Cf. Yazgh. *ayas-*: *ayed*, Shgh. *yās-*: *yād*, Ishk. *uss-*: *wud*, etc. to take away, Psht. *yōs-* to carry, Av. *yāsa* (Meillet, BSL, 24, 116).

*as'kān* Yzh, sh, B easy. Khov. *as'qān*, fr. Ar-Prs. *isqān* giving repose; cf. Kurd. *askān* ease. Cf. *ā'sān*.

*a'sāl* Yzh, sh, *a'sāl* Mm, t, *yim'sāl* G this year. — Cf. Sgl. *a'sāl*, Shgh. *asid*, Par. *āsuf*, Orm. *asul* etc. < *ā-s(a)rda-* *yimsāl* < \**ima-*.

*as'mino* Yzh, r, u, *oino* sh, g, *asmuno* Mm, *as'mūna* f. Z, *asm'na* G (lw.) sky, heaven.—*na as'mine*, *da asmīno*. Prob. ancient lw. — V. *pasmino*.

*ā'sān* Mm easy. — Prs. V. *as'kān*.

*aspolan* Yzh, sh, r stable. — < \**aspa-* *dāna*, cf. Av. *aspastāna*. V. *axta'xāna*.

*ast-*: *vi* Y, M to be. — Y in all persons *as'tet* (v. § 224). *mən yū ktyū astet* I have a book; *mən yū wulo astet*; *kōi-ste* who are you? (?)

*as'tio* Yzh, *'astiah* B abuse. — *a° kō'nem*. I abuse (Khov. *diš lū koman*).

*us'tada* Yzh, sh, *w°* g spider. — Prs. *ustād* is not used in this sense, but cf. Par. Voc. s.vv. *diwu'rāk*, *jō'lāk*, *γa'fak*; Sköld, Materialien, s.v. *džalo-k*. Cf. *ustāt*. V. *dorzkur'yūz*, *zariškyo*.

*as'tano* Yzh, sh vestibule. — Prs. *āsītān(a)*.



*ustušē*: *ustušēai* Yzh, sh, *ustušēah* B to jump. — *ustušēam*: *ustušēaim* zh, *ustušēam*: *ustušēam* sh. — *ustušē* is prob. originally the past stem of \**ustur-*, from which Khov. *uštur-* 'to flee, run'.

*ustāt* Ysh, *ustād* G carpenter. — Prs. Cf. *ustada*.

*usxūbon* Yzh awake. — \**us* + *xūbon*. V. *angah*, *bīdār*.

*iš* encl. pron. 3 sg. V. § 205.

*ōš* M(g) porridge. — Prs. *āš*.

*āšeo* Yzh, *ā°* p, *āš'ēō* sh, r, g, *ōš'kvo* Mm, g, *°a* sh, *°a* (sh), *°ē* t, *ōškvā* g, *āš'kva* G, *d°* Z, *āškie* LSim eight. — Av. *āšta*.

*iš'čiy* Y, *ōš'kiy* Mti, *°a°* t, g, *yēškig* m, *yis'kig* G, *°ik* Z roof. — *dā iš'čiy* Yzh under the roof. — < \**usēo-kataka-*, cf. Sgl. *kiskut*, Wkh. *iskakut*, Yazgh. *škād*.

*āšeo-miž* Yzh week. — Cf. Bajui *waš'mēd* (Sköld), but Shgh. *ūw'mēd*. Sogd. *βtmyd*. V. *miž*.

*iš'čīn* Yzh, *°in(°)* r, *°in°* sh, *š'čīn°* g, *yis'kūna* Mm, *iš'kyin* g, *°yi°* ti, *š'kyino* (g), *š'kyin* t, *iš'kyin* G female breast. — Av. *fštāna-*, Kurd. *fštān*, cf. Meillet, BSL, 23, 106, Benveniste, MSL, 23, 405. V. *pštān*.

*us'čeno* Yzh, *us'čkyeno* Mm place for keeping hay and straw (*jāi ki kā mendāzi*). — Cf. Sgl. *uštīn* hayrack, Or. *wā'tōn* < \**wastra-dānd-*.

*ušk* Yzh, g, *ušk* sh, r, Mm, G, Z, *wū°* Mg dry. — Av. *huška-*.

*ušk-māžiko* Yzh ankle-bone. — Numerous Ir. and IA names of hard and protruding parts of the body are compounded with a word denoting 'dry' ('thirsty', 'tinder', etc.). Thus, e.g.

Bal. *wisk haqđ*, Badakhshi *kāk-i-pā*, Khov. *čuču'dēki*, Lhd. *sukpañđ* 'shin-bone'; M *šāxek-i-sar* temples; Prs. *xušk nāy* throat, windpipe, etc., etc. V. *wuškiosia*.

*ušk'sāl* Yzh year of drought, *sāl ki barf na kard*. — Prs. *xušk'sāl*.

*u'sun-*: *uši'nāi* Yzh to neigh. — *yasp u'sunē*.

*ašera'fi* Ysh gold coin. — *sko yū aštra'fen*, *šo ašera'fif*. — Ar.-Prs.

*a'sasto* Yzh, *ašosti* pl. M(g) small shrub with red berries resembling grapes. *uštum* B voice. — Acc. to Tomaschek (p. 200) < Av. *staoman-*, but prob. misunderstood for *ištum* I said.

*uštu* Yzh, *°ū* B brick. — Khov.

*uši(y)ār* Yzh, *hu°* sh, *ušyār* Mm wise. — Prs.

*u'šā-*: *u'šard* Yzh, *u'šāw-*: *u'šard* sh, r, *u'šar-*: *u'šard* Mm, *wu'šōw* (g), *u'šāw-* G, *wūšōw-*: *wūšōw* Z to call, shout. — *u'šāum*, *u'šardum* Yzh, *u'šācam*, *u'šaudam* r 'faryād mekunim'; *wo mən* 'pūrāf u'šāwca sh call my sons; *wo pūrāf u'šardet* sh they called the sons. — < Av. \**us-sravaya-*, cf. Orosb. *šōy* to read, Yazgh. *ašaw-*, Psht. *šōwul* (q.v.) to teach, show (cf. Kashm. *hāwun* id.), Prs. *surādan* to sing, etc. Cf. Wkh. *širaw-*.

*u'šān-əm*: *u'šād-əm* Yzh to churn. — Cf. *fīrōn-* to shake.

*aš'le* Yzh, *°ele* sh porridge, *āš*. — Evidently an IA lw., but no direct corresponding form in Khov. or elsewhere. Is Prs. *atāla* 'a kind of porridge' also of IA origin?

*arda* Mg, (g), *ab'da* (sh) seventeen. — Prs.

*ōed*, *ōed* Mg, (g) ford. — \**ā-bda-* place

where one can place the foot? Cf. Wkh. *vədek* 'path' < \**ābda*? Mokr. Bal. *badūk* 'beach impassable at high tide'; Av. *abda* (v. s.v.).

*avdo*, <sup>1</sup>*ā*° p, *avdō* sh, r, <sup>2</sup>*ā*° g, *ovdō* Mm, g, <sup>3</sup>*a* sh, G, <sup>4</sup>*a* M, (sh), <sup>5</sup>*t*, *ovd* (g), <sup>6</sup>*a* Z, seven. — Av. *hapta*, etc.

*av'yuš* Yzh, sh, u, *yivguš* Z embrace, lap. — *što da av'yuš, dō 'v'yuš* he put in his lap. — Cf. Sogd. *'pkšy* 'flame' (Benveniste); Shgh. *bejuš* armpit. < \**upa-kaša*, or \**upa-gauša* (cf. EVP s.v. *γῆζ*, etc.)?

*av'eli* Yzh, *ā'beli* sh, *abeli* B, *avel'yi*, etc., Z both. — *uoi ā° šoi lāmo riet* Ysh they were both from one village; *no a° pūrēf* to both sons. — Av. *uraya* (*avaya*.) + *dea* (*duye*?).

*av'lānd* Yg hem of a cloak. — \**upa-dāmanta*? Cf. *lōmadd*.

*av'lāsto* Yzh, sh, *alvosto* Mm, <sup>7</sup>*ōs'ta* f. Z sleeve. — \**upa dastā*, cf. Or. (Lentz) *abdōst* leather glove.

*āvər*: *āvər* Yzh, sh, g, *āver*: *āver* Mm, *āvər*: *āvər* Z, *āvar* G to bring (inanimate obj.). — *āvərūm* Yzh, *āsti-va 'āvərūm* Mt I bring something; *avīt* Yzh, sh he brings; *və ēūrēakāf āvər* Yu bring the apricots; *amboh māl avāf* Ysh bring much goods; *tārazū a'vře* Ysh bring the scales; *avrum* Ysh; *a'vər no xoi kyēin* Ysh she brought it to her own house; *uo mālāf a'vret* (*a'vret*) Ysh they brought the goods; *āvərəm* Yr I have brought; *a'vře* Ysh he has brought. — Av. *ā-bar*; cf. Sgl. *āvīr*, Shgh. *vār*: (*a'vūd*, Sogd. *βῆρ*, Orm. *war*).

*a'vāz*: *a'vāz* Yzh, sh, : *a'vāz* u, *ā'vāz*-um Mm, *avēz*: *avēz* Z to bring (animate obj.), to fetch. — *zo 'yauo*

*a'vāzəm*, *a'vāzīm* Yzh, *yau-a'vāzəm* sh, *niaske a'vāzəm* sh I yawn; *'uulo avāzəm*, *a'vāzdo* sh; *uo mən 'šife 'ā-avāzī ā?* why don't you fetch my husband? *avīz* zh he brings; *a'vāz* imper. 2 sg., *a'vāze* 2 pl.; *u'lo a'vāzəm* u, *gala'rānen pānj 'uulē a'vāzdo* sh. — Av. *upa-az*, but Psht. *bōz* (*bōtōl*) to lead away, Shgh. *bāz*, Or. *abōz* to send (away) < \**apa-az*.

*av'zano* Yzh, sh, *āno* p, *yivzāno* Mm wooden ladle. < \**upa-zācanā*?

*av'zaniko* Yzh small wooden ladle.

*av'zino* Yzh, sh first watering of the fields, *zūkāva*. — Av. \**upa-zayanā* following the winter (cf. Av. *upa-naxtar*), cf. Yazgh. *zīn* winter (Sköld). V. *livdē*, *zōkova*.

*av'lān* Yzh, sh, r, *av'lānd* g (? cf. *av'lānd*), *av'lān* B single bridle. — Cf. Psht. *mlūna*, *ulūna*, Wan. *aulūn*, Sar. *vidān*, Yazgh. *avdēn*, Kurd. *zicāna* (Soane), Sak. *ryāna*, Sogd. *βδ'nh* (Benv. JA, 233, p. 241), Oss. *uido'n*, Av. *aiwi-dāna*. Cf. Wackernagel. KZ, 43, p. 282. V. *lo'jōm*, *qiza'gī*.

*a'vāzxo* Yzh flame. — With dissim. fr. \**avēlāzxo*, cf. Av. *urvāzra* (\**erāzra*) heat?

*a'vāzsp* Yzh, sh, a° Mm, *a'vāzsp* Yg, *avāz'sto* (?) r, *a'vāzsp* Mm plough-beam. — Cf. Sgl. *āvīsp*, Wkh. *vāsp*. — Cf. Av. (*upairi*.) *spā* to place at the top of?

*a'vāusto* Yzh, *āw°* sh, <sup>8</sup>*ā*° r, g, *āvāusto* Mm, <sup>9</sup>*a* t, <sup>10</sup>*ā* (g) dark-leaved willow. — With *uo* < *vu*, fr. \**ā-paustā* having bark?

*a'vāz* Yzh noise. — *yango ha'vāz* kit the stream is roaring; *avāza* kit (the trees) are sighing. — Prs.



once zōn Mg hanging. — o° *kerim*. — Prs. *a'wēl-im*: *a'wēl-d-əm* Yzh to hang up. —

*a'wēl* 3 sg. — Prob. < \**auca-hanj*, cf. Old Prs. *fra-hang* (v. Nyberg, Uppsala Univ. årsskrift, 1934, 2, p. 59 and Henning, ZII, 9, p. 198), Prs. *āwang(ān)* hanging, etc. The relation to Prs. *āwēz*, *āwēxtan* is uncertain, but this form may be a cross between \**ā-waič* and \**auca-hanj*.

*i'xō* Yzh, r, *i'xō* sh, *y'xa* M, t, ti, °o m, °ā (g), *y'xa* g, LSim, *i'xa* Z, *y'xa* G, *y'xo* B, *yaxwa* MFB (°: \**خود*) = \**y'iroh*?) sister. (I cannot trace the source of G's Y form *y'xwāh*.) — Poss. < \**yaxwā* (cf. Sgl. *y'xōai*, Shgh. *yax*) < \**h'ahwā* < \**hwahā*. *i'xōgo* Yzh, *i'xōgo* sh, *yē* ° g husband's brother's wife, g also co wife. — Fr. \**xwahič* + ° and secondary suffix -go? V. *yana*, *yū-wulo*.

*i'xō* Yzh, *y'xigo* g sister (demin.). V. *i'xō*.

*ax'len* Yzh, °en r, °eno (f.?) g, *yax'len* sh, °len Mm, *y'ax'len* g cold. — *yduyo* uricai rō, *wos ax'leno šūi* Yzh the water had been boiling, now it became cold. — \**axa-dāna*, cf. Prs. *yax*, etc.?

*ax'rio* Y, °i pl. p, *ax'riā* Mg, *ax'rigo* t, *ax'rikyo* m wild rose, briar, Khov. *gilgitok*. — Cf. Or. *a'šar*, Shgh. (Sköld) *šar* id. (but note š!), Khov. *xu'ri* (lw.) wild rose, Prs. *xār* thorn, Skr. *khara* rough; thorny plant. V. *ax'ri-gula*.

*ax'rūr* Yzh, sh, r, °ur g, *ax'rūr* Mm, °ti ti manger. — Prs.

*ax'ri-gula* Yzh wild rose (flower), *ax'ri-ku'luxa* fruit of the briar, hip. — V. *ax'rio*, *k'pox*.

*ax'rāt* Yu in the end, finally. — *da ā*°.

— Ar-Prs.

*ax'sō* Y, °šō p, *ox'sō* Mm, g, °a sh, °a (sh), *ux'sō* (g), *ox'sō* t, *ox'sā* Z, *ax'sē* LSim six. — *ux'sō* miš Ysh. — Av. *xšaš*. Cf. §§ 94, 168.

*ax'sin* Yzh, °en sh, r, °en g, *āksin* B blue. — Av. *axšaēna*. V. *kabūt*.

*ax'sen-s'rē* m, Yzh, *ax'sē-serē* sh a kind of large duck.

*ax'sōw*: *ax'sērd* Z to chew. — Z compares Ishk. *šūw*. Wkh. *šūw*, cf. also Prs. *xasāidan* to chew, *xasāidan* to bite.

*axta'xāna* Mm stable. — Prs. (also in Wkh. and Shgh.), from *axta* gelded, bull, horse. — V. *aspolan*.

*āya* B perhaps. — Originally an optative 3 sg. of the verb substantive??

*oy*, *šūi*, š Y, *dy*: *šūi*, š- Mm, t, *dy*: *šay* Z, *āy* G to go, to become, Z also to come. — *oyim*, *oyim*, *o'im* Yzh, sh; *oi'h*, *oi'h* Y imper.; *šom*, *šūi* Y; *dyom*, *hdi*, *šiam*, *šūi* Mm, t; *wōs do šūy dyom* Yr 'āti da kūca mērim'; *zo sa'bā o'im* g I shall go to-morrow; *ku ōi u* where do you go? *dā kyoi ayum, za da sāhoro dyom* Mm. Cf. §§ 85, 229 sq. — *oy* from \**ayaya* (or *ā* + *ayaya*), a secondary -aya- present of the root *ai-* to go, cf. Par. *šē* to come. Scarcely fr. \**ā-hat* (cf. Yazgh. *bad-* to go < \**upa-hat*), and not, with G, borrowed from Prs. V. *šūi*.

*izē* Yzh, *i'ze* sh, *y'ijya* Mm, *ōjyo* g, *y'izio* ti, *i'ijya* Z goatskin bag used for carrying sour milk in, *mask*. — \**iziyaka*, cf. Orm. *iz* 'mussuck', (Bal. *hiz* leather churn). V. EVP s.v. *zai*, and cf. Paht, Bal. *zik* skin for ghee.

*ázáda-pó'lang* Mm a kind of leopard. —

\*Prs.

*í'zíkó* Ysh, zh yester-eve, *bēgā*. — Cf.

Sāmn. *í'zī*, Wkh. *yez*, etc., cf. Horn, s.v. *di*.

*iz'mā* Yzh, sh, g, *iz'mā* r, *'yazma* Mm,

*'yazmo* ti, *yiz'mā* G, *'iz*° Z (m.) fire-wood. — Cf. Av. *aśma-*, Prs. *hēzum*, etc.

*'ziānē*, v. *ziānē*.

*a'zōr*, v. *hazār*.

*a'zito* Y, *'a*° Mm, *'āzītā* (g) Berberis

*chitria*. Prs. *zaryūl*, *zarang*, *zārij*.

Khov. *čowēz* (: *čowēj*) jungle plant with red, useless fruit, (Lor.). —

\**a-zarītā*, v. *zīt*.

*a'zuryō* Yzh, sh, o° g, o'j° r, *'u'jizya* Mt,

*'uē*° (sh), g, *'uē'jizyā* (g), *'uējuzgo* m,

*'uējuzga* f. Z, °ēga G frog. —

*'uējuzga* < \**uējuzgo* < Av. *vazaya-*

+ *kā*. Cf. e.g. Gilaki (de Morgan)

\**γuzyā* ("rhous-rhā"), but Mazand.

(Barfrush) "*vāk*" < Old Prs. \**waḍa-*

*yaka*.

*iz* m, Y, Mt, Z, B, *yiz* Mm, g, (g), *yiz* (?)

(sh) snake. — Av. *azi*; cf. Maz. *āzik*

'ver de terre' (de Morgan).

*'āzda* Mg, (g), °*'da* (sh) eighteen. — Prs.

*a'zder* Yu dragon. — Prs. (similar forms

in Khov., Bur. and Shina).

*a'z'āl* Y, zh, sh, *a'zga'l* B family. —

*də a*° *'axabar ček-ē?* Ysh have you no

news about your family? — Khov.

*a'z'āl*.

*a'zōp* Ysh wonderful, *ajib*. — Av.-Prs.

*u'zēr*: *u'zūr* Yzh, sh, *u'zār*: *u'zūr* r, *u'zār*

M(g), *u'zār*: (w)*u'zūr* m, *u'zār*:

*u'zūr* Z, *u'zār* G, *u'zūr* LSim to

perceive, to look. — *u'zēr em este* Ysh

I am looking, *u'z'ar*, *u'zār* r, imper.

2 sg.; *u'zūr kə yū kwei 'huro astet* Ysh

he saw that there was a house there;

*zīnkiko u'zūr 'yū mīx, loh mīx* sh

the woman looked out for him for

one day, for two days; *u'zūr də kyoi*

*kə jō'hōn rūpā'yo* Mm he saw that

there was much gold in the house.

— \**wi* (\**ai*ca-*ē*)*car* (cf. Prs. *nigaridan*

etc.) or \**jar* (cf. Yaghn. *γār* to

regard, look)? Paht. *gōrəl* may go

back either to \**han-kār* or to \**han-*

*gār*.

*d'zuryō* Yzh, o'j° r, *d'zūrī'yo* sh, *d'z'urū*

M(g) burning coal, ember, *qarib-i*

*murda ki šud*. — Apparently fr.

\**ā-gaur*, \**ā-qaur*, cf. Wkh. *zāgūrg*.

*a'zistai* Yzh, p *āzistai* sh is born,

*a'jista* B to be born. — *a'zist-este* is

being born, Khov. *a'zuran*; *olo dāi*

*kwei ida a'zistai* Yzh there, in that

house a boy is being born. — Khov.;

note the remarkable retention of the

Khov. inflexional form. Cf. § 231.

*a'zawuy* (?) Ysh to bear a child. —

*a'zawuy-e m tū* you are bearing me,

*tu mara paidā mēkunī*. — Khov.

*'ūzūt* Yzh, *'ūzūt* sh, *ūjūt* B, *u'jud* LSIy

belly (interior). — Khov. *'u'jūt*, *'ojūt*

the privates.

## B

*ba* Ysh in. — In the Prs. formulas: *ba*

*nām-e Xadā*, *ba hōkm-e Xadāyēn*. —

Prs.

*bai* Yzh, g, B, LSIy, *bōi* Mm, (g), *bāi*

LSIm uncle, *tāya*. — Cf. Shgh. *bāb*,

Wkh. *bōē*, etc.

*bāi* Yzh rich. — Turk.

*bū* Yzh, sh, r, g, *'bū* Mm, g, *būm* Z

owl. — Prs. *būm*, *būf*; also Khov. *bū*.

*būi* Y, Z, G smell. — Prs.

*būi'gōn* Mm stinking. — Prs. \**būy-i gand*.



*bu'buka* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>uk g, *babūa* a black and white bird, Khov. *bu'buk*. — Cf. Prs. *bōbak* hoopoo, pewit, Wkh. *bibuk* cuckoo.

*bi'āban* Yu desert. — In the Prs. formula *b<sup>o</sup> bar b<sup>o</sup>*, — Prs.

*bo'burē* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>e sh, r, <sup>o</sup>o g wasp, *bobēr* M (sh), *ba<sup>o</sup> g*, *bēbēr* (g), *bambur* m humble-bee. — Prob. fr. Khov. *b'ūmbur*. V. *surx-boburē*.

*bi'bāt* Yu windless (in Prs. formula).

*bi'cāra* Mm helpless, destitute. — Prs.

*bici'rōn* : *bicirēnd* M(g) to graze. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *becārān*- and Z *bipēcōn*- to twist, *bispōr*- to entrust and other lws with generalization of Prs. *bi*. V. *bōdaway*.

*bu'čayi*, <sup>o</sup>u'i Yzh, <sup>o</sup>a'i sh bud, flower. — Khov. *bučū* blossom (O'Brien), *bučhužik* to flower.

*bād* Mm afterwards, after. — *b<sup>o</sup> zo wan* 'bād az ū', *bāda hasom* 'bād mēāyam', *bād niāst*. — Ar.-Prs.

*bod* Yzh, *bot* g, B closed. — Early lw. fr. Prs. But cf. Khov. *botik* to bind.

*bo'da* Yzh dyke, dam; ankle-bone; *bōnd* Mg ankle-bone, *banda* m knuckle. — Prs. *band*. Cf. *bot*, *trōboda*.

*bā'dām* Yzh, *ba<sup>o</sup> sh*, *bō'dēm* r, *bā'dām* Mm almond. — Prs.

*bod'rui* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>ri g, *bād'rui* r ugly, bad. — Prs.

*ba'dār* Mm off, away. — *b<sup>o</sup> sūi* he went off. — Prs. *ba-dār*.

*bi'dār* Mm awake. — Prs. V. *bivāre*. : *bō'daway-am* Mm, *bidaw* : *bidawōy* Z to run. — Prs. V. *yāz*.

*bū'qir* Yzh large hammer, sledge. — Khov.

*bē'gāna* Yzh foreign, strange. — Prs.

*bāya* Yzh, *bāya* sh, u, B, *bāy* Mm, G

garden. — *dō bāya sūi*, *hu'rō da bāya* Yu; *bāya kō'yet* sh they made a garden; *dō bāy da dram ē-oi* Yu don't enter the garden. — Prs.

*ba'ake* (pl.?) Ysh a small garden. — *ba'aks sūi* (sg.) there had grown up a garden (gardens?).

*ba'ālē* Yzh walnut-shell.

*bu'ymoz* Yzh, *bo<sup>o</sup> sh* grape-juice, *bōymaz* B wine. — Cf. Prs. *bigmāz* wine, *ba<sup>o</sup>* drinking-glass.

*bayaz* Yr bellowing, bleating. — *yawo*, *vzo b<sup>o</sup> kit oste*. — Cf. Z *bey*- to bellow, Ishk. *bay*- etc., Khov. *blay*; Sgl. *ba'as*. Cf. § 193.

*boh* Ysh much, very. — *boh fi'pī dau'let* very great riches. — Khov.

*boh-um* Yzh : *bōhay-em* r, *bōy* : *bōy* Z, : *bahāi* LSIm to kiss. — Cf. Sgl. *boh*, Khov. *bā*, *bah*, Bur. *bā*, Wkh. *bā*, etc.

*bo'hor* Mg, m, *ba'hōr* Z spring (season). — Prs. — V. *fsidro*.

*bīhu'si* Yu fainting. — *dā'rū-i b<sup>o</sup>* a remedy against f. — Prs.

*bāja* Mm wife's sister's husband, <sup>o</sup>je g brother's wife (?). — Cf. Sgl. *bō'jā*. Kab. Prs. (< Turk.?).

*bī'aql* Yzh, sh, <sup>o</sup>ql u, *bēaql* Z stupid. — *b<sup>o</sup> zīnkiko* u. — Ar.-Prs.

*bakrē'da* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>nda g, <sup>o</sup>ēnd r, *nar-ba'kēnd* sh male calf, 1—2 y. old. — IA; Cf. Sgl. *baken'di*, Gawar-Bati *bāken'da* etc. Not known from Khov. — V. *ju'āna*.

*bīl* Yzh, sh, *bēl* g spade. — Prs.

*bōl* Ysh the Pleiades. — Khov. (orig. "The Host, Army", cf. e.g. Hind. *Kacpaciā* : *kacpac* 'crowd', etc.).

*bīlēō* Yzh, p small spade, especially one used for roasting upon. — Prs.

- baï'laydo* Yr female cousin. — V. *baï, laydo*.  
*bāl'yam* Yzh mucus from the mouth, phlegm. — Ar.-Prs., cf. Sgl. *bal'yām*. V. *nez'yo*.  
*bal'ko* Yzh <sup>o</sup>*lko* sh, *bol'ka* r, *bōl'ko* Mm hammer. — Cf. Khw. *baloka, balka*, Sgl. *bal'kē*, Par. *bālu'kā*, fr. Turki *bolqa*.  
*bā'lūlo* Mm the mouthpiece of a blacksmith's bellows (?), *kūra* (cf. Prs. *kūr* a smith's forge?).  
*br'lānd* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>*and* sh, r, g, Mm, (g), *bōland* Z, G high, tall. — *jāhānd b° as'let* Yr he is very tall. — Prs.  
*bī'lār* G to love. — ?  
*bī'laxša* Yzh, *blax°* sh n. of a wild vegetable, growing in the hills, *sanza*. — Cf. Bad. Prs. (Lor.) *bilaxša* thin?  
*blā'cā-um* Yzh to collect. — Khw. *blacēiman*, imper. *blacāuc*.  
*bam'bofi* Yp beard of the maize-cob. — Said to be a Khw. word. Acc. to Lor. *bambēdi* (δ = f) is of uncertain meaning, but possibly refers to crop-plants. Cf. Psht. *bambal* 'beard of corn' from Lhd.  
*bām-se'zto* Ysh n. of a shrub. V. *se'ziyo*.  
*'bande* Y slave. — *'banda-i xākī* human being; *tu Xadāyen b° cēs'a?* art thou not God's slave? — Prs.  
*banda'wā* : *banda'wōvd* Yzh, r, *banda'vā* : <sup>o</sup>*vōvd* sh to command. — Khw. *bandēiman*.  
*ba'na'fēo* Yzh, sh violet (flower). — Prs.  
*banj* Yzh, Mm, *bānj* M(g), *bānš* Yg holly-oak. — Khw. *bānj*.  
*bī'nās* Ysh copious, complete. — *dau'let, pu'sāk, na'yen b° šūi 'pur šud'*.  
*ban'qax* Yzh, p, *ban'dax* sh hollow in a large stone used as a hand-mill (for pounding rice in, zh). — IA?  
*ban'qax'čuxo* Yp wooden apparatus for pounding gun-powder.  
*'baï-pūr* Yzh, sh male cousin. V. *baï*. Cf. *vrai(min)*.  
*bar* Yu on. In Prs. formula *šahar bar šahar*, etc. — Prs.  
*bar'bād* Yu desolate, waste. — Prs.  
*ba'rābar* Ysh equal, similar. — *do to b°* like you; *yū b°* alike; *b° čī nq'wōr* it was not equal (in weight). — Prs.  
*ba'rābar xšovo* Ysh, *kšovo b°* B midnight. Cf. Shgh. *barābar xšab* (Sköld).  
*barg* Mm, ti, Z, G leaf. — Prs. V. *ponik*.  
*brāyiko* Yzh, g, *bra°* sh, r, Mm, *brāyika* g, *b°ra°* f. Z sparrow. — < \**mray* < \**myg* (v. BSOS, VI, 440). Cf. Sgl. *mōryōg*.  
*barq* Mm, g lightning. — Ar.-Prs. V. *'velico*.  
*'bārik* Yzh, *bā'rik* G, *bō°* Z thin. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bā'rān* Mm, g, G, *bō'rān* Mti, Z rain. — Prs. V. *wāriyo, novē*.  
*bu'rīnj* Mm, *bo°* G, *br°* Z husked rice. — Prs. V. *gōrīnj*.  
*brūt* M(g) moustache. — Prs. V. *v'rut*.  
*bra'xā-um* Yzh to knock. — Khw. *braxē iman*.  
*bar'zengē* Yu demon, *dēw*. — *hūrō dō bayā bar'zengē no'yōr* an ogre emerged there into the garden. — Cf. Or. (Lentz) *bārzāg'gā*.  
*burš* Yu tower (?), zh corner of a house, *čār-burš* B four-cornered. — *rūyūn da burš deh* Yu pour ghee over the tower. — Prs. *burj* tower; cf. Shgh. *burj* wall (Sköld).  
*'bořiko* Yp small, round basket, made of thick twigs (v. Fig.). — Cf. Khw. *bēfu, bōfu* reed (pipe) (Lor.)?



*bār*: *bary* Yzh. *bar-* g. *bar*: *bary-* r, *bār* Mm. : *bary* LSIy to be satisfied; *barav* LSIim to fill, satisfy. — Cf. Av. *ham-par*, Sak. *hambaqa* filled, Prs. *ambāridan* to fill. *r* from past stem, cf. § 227.

*brök* Yzh, sh, g knuckle, hipbone, *brök* sh bud. — *da pišcan* b° g. — Khov. *blōy*, *blök* bud.

*bos kən*- Yzh to weep (?).

*bist* Mm, t, ti, (sh), *bist* g twenty. — Prs. V. *icisto*.

*bāstiko* Yzh shearers. — \**ham-basta*, cf. Skr. *sambaddha*- joined, bound together (Prs. *ambast(a)* bound, stiff, etc.)?

*baš* Ysh, u, LSIy a particle giving the verb a subjunctive force. Khov. V. § 256.

*bāša* Yg, *bāšo* Mm falcon. — Prs.

*bu'sā-um*: *bu'savd-o* Yzh to win, to be victorious. — Khov. *bu'šēman*

*būto* Ysh boots. — *būto* (pl.?) I'o. — Engl. (through Hind., Khov.).

*bī'vāre* Yg awake. — b° *šom*. — Prs., but older borrowing than *bī'dār*, q.v. Cf. *angah*, *usxūbon*.

*bīwo* Yr, °*aya* Mg, °*o'go* m widow. — Prs. V. *wā'sarico*.

*bāwar* Yzh belief, trust. — b° *kenem*. — Prs.

*bu'xōn*: *bixēd* Z to read. — Prs.

*boxš* Yzh dividing, distribution. — Prs.? Cf.:

*baxš-im*: *bayd-em* and *bax'si-m* Yzh to distribute food at a feast; *baxš-om*: *bayd-om* sh, *boxš-am*: *boyd-om* Mm, t, : *bayd* LSIy to divide, distribute. — *tāam bayd* sh he distributed the food. — Prs., or genuine < \**ham-baxš*.

*baxšyo* Yzh, in *yduyo* b° a stream di-

vided into many rivulets. — Perf. of *baxš*-. Cf. Khov. *bāš*, *bašōy* minor channel of a river < Ir.

*būz* Mm female markhor. — Prs. Cf. Wkh. *buz* f. ibex.

*ba'zār* Ysh, *bō'zōr* Z bazar. — *do* b° in the b; *yai no bāzāren* he brought it to the b. — Prs.

*bo'zāi* Yzh, *bō'zēi* sh bag, sack. — *do yū* b°: *yū b° ašrafī* sh one bag full of gold coins. — Cf. Psht. *bōjai* from IA (cf. Hind. *bojh* load?).

## C

*cē* Yzh, sh, *ci* u B what? — *na maf cē zarūr* sh what need is there for you? *icos ci ilāj kenem* u what remedy shall I use now? — Cf. Psht. *cə*, Sgl. *ce* what; Wkh. *cə-waxt*, Shgh. *ca-waxte* when < Av. *cit* (used as an indefinite particle). Cf. *cə'min*.

*cēb-um*: *cēbāi-m* Yzh, *cēb-um*: *cēbai* r, *cēb-um*: *cēd-am* Mm, Z, *cēb-um* Mt to pinch (e.g. with the fingers), *gazidan*. — Ir. \**cimb/p-* (cf. Wkh. *cip-* to pick?), or fr. IA., cf. Nep. *cepu* to press, squeeze, *cimfanu* to pinch (v. Nep. Dict. s.v.v.), Kshh. *cipiñ* pinching? V. *cepio*.

*ci'gyerē* Yzh mushroom, Khov. *brangālu*. — V. *xarpušt*.

*c'kən* Ysh, r, *ckən* g, *skən* Mg, *skin* (g), *skən* m, *skən* Z puppy. — Cf. Wkh. *skən*, *skən*, Sgl. *skēnok* and v. Z s.v. and Tomaschek, p. 761, who compares Slav. \**šteno* (Russ. *ščenok*, etc.) < \**sk*° (of Asiatic origin?). Y c appears to be secondary. Cf. the foll. word.

*c'ke'na* Yzh, *ck'na* g, *ck'nakē* (pl.?) sh puppy.

calan'durē Yzh window. — From Khov.  
calax'duri id., crossed with caren'daru  
door-frame.

cə'min Yzh what? — c<sup>o</sup> trik astel? 'ēi  
ēiz ast?' c<sup>o</sup> zūi? what do you say?  
— Cf. cē and min.

cəpio Yzh, cē<sup>o</sup> sh pincers for pulling  
out hair. — Cf. cēb, v. mūi-čino.

cəpō-um Yzh to wink. — cəmaf c<sup>o</sup>.

cə'ra'ū Yzh, c<sup>o</sup>ū sh, r, g, cə'roug Mm,  
cə'roug g, c<sup>o</sup>ouy (g) male markhor,  
"trowoo" B wild goat. — Prob. horr.  
from Kafri, cf. Waigeli cōw < \*crōw (?),  
Kati šu'ru, etc.

cə'roug-wə'zo Mm female markhor. —  
V. mačoyo and būz.

cə'rox Yzh, cu'roydā (perf. ptc.?) g spark.  
— Common Hindukush word, cf.  
Khov. cə'rox, Wkh., Wershik. cə'rax,  
Ishk. ceraxak, Sgl. čeraxak, but also  
Oss. čāxār.

caro'yo Yzh, sa<sup>o</sup> (?) r bustard (?) (kabutar  
rang, kā mēxura, halāl ast). Prs.  
čarda. — čarda not in Prs. lexx.,  
but v. Burhān ud-Dīn, Karraran u  
Baxaxman p. 122 چرخ پهاasant, and  
cf. Prs. čarz, čāl bustard, partridge  
čarda a bay horse, etc., čarad bay  
colour < \*qel-to-? Cf. Walde—Pok. I,  
440 sq.). Cf. Psht. cārai 'bustard'.  
ces Yzh what? — V. § 210.

### Č

čāi Yzh tea. — c<sup>o</sup> čəm drink tea. — Prs.  
čai-m: čaid-əm Yzh, čai-m M(g) to  
sprinkle, čoy: čey- Z to sow, scatter.  
— < \*hača-hāy-?

čā, čē, čā, č Yzh, etc., čī Mm, G, Z not,  
nothing, don't. — ču mūro vūi he  
may not have died; mən xismat

č-kəryəm I have not done any ser-  
vice; kəne-a č-kəni-a do you do it, or  
not? yaši ādam čī-ō Yr he is not a  
good man; čūi = č-šūi 'na raft'; vo  
mon malmin čē kenč-este Ysh are  
you not making me like this? 'pilf  
no'yo'ra čīi sh (the river) cannot be  
forded; čī a'yoī Mm he did not come,  
uč kū čī vīo Mm 'hēc čīi na būt';  
no no-ōf no xw'pān čē astel there is  
nothing (for them) to eat; tō čē zūi  
(subj.), čē zūā (imper. don't say;  
č-kene don't do, say (na gu); na'waxl  
č as don't arrive late; čī dalē don't  
give; čī tūwā gaddī Ysh don't beg.  
— G s.v. compares Prs. (h)ēc. Is čī,  
etc. an early lw. from Prs., or has  
a parallel semantic development of  
\*aiva-čit taken place in Prs. and  
Y—M? Cf. Gypsy čī anything >  
nothing. V. čēs.

čē, čī Yzh, sh, u, LSly what? why?  
čī B why? — čē xāšf-este? why are  
you weeping? dō bāy čī č-ōim Yu  
why shall I not go into the garden?  
'ba čī na mēravim?' mo xap čī kit? u  
'xap ba čī mēkina?' tu čī va-mən  
de'hē? zh, tu va-mən čī de'hē? g why  
do you beat me? tu čī hor? č-kenē?  
zh why don't you work? tu čū zūi?  
maf čī zaf? čī (= cə'min) zūi? Yzh  
what (?) do you say? — Prs. — It is  
often only the context which permits  
us to distinguish between čē 'not'  
and čē 'what'.

čēi Yr something, čizi. — na to čēi  
pčānum I entrust something to  
you. — Cf. Madaglashti Prs. čiz  
thing.

čū: čūrd- Yzh, sh, r, čū: čud g, jūc:  
jurd Mm, jū- t, (g), jūr: jūrd- Z



to pick, *čuvda* B to choose. — Cf. Wkh. *čip*. *čup*: *čōvd* to gather, Sar. *cev*, Khov. *capiman* to pick, collect. *čāčk* Yzh a kind of beetle. *čāc* r, g a long and slender, black and white wasp. — Khov. *čac* grasshopper, *malax* (unknown to Lor., who has got *čāčk* buzzing). Scarcely orig. Ir., cf. Orm. *čānē* 'bee, flea'?

*čad*: *čast* Yzh to fall, stumble. — *čast(am)* 'yaltid(am)'; *čadem* 'mēyalt-am'. — Cf. the following words. — Scarcely connected with Phil. Psalter *čnd* 'to shake', Bal. *čandag* (Cf. Bailey, BSOS, VI, 822. But note: *čandag* < Sindhi *čandh*).

*čad-am*: *čā'di-m* Yzh to throw in wrestling. — *čā vto* *čadem*, *dur*, pres. 3 sg. *čadeste*; *mān vto* *čā'dim*, *mo* 'adam *vō'mān* *čādīō*. — Possibly < \**hača-kand* to make to sit down? Cf.: *čad-am*: *čā'di-im* Yzh, sh to pour out. — *yduyo* *čadem* zh, sh I let water into an irrigation channel.

*čādūr* Yzh, sh, r, g. (sh also *čā'dūr*) turban, *čō'dōr* Z veil. — Khov. *čādūr* turban fr. Prs. *čādar* veil.

*čof* Yzh ceiling made of reeds.

*čogōō*, v. *kyogo*.

*čogulo* Ysh, *ō* r, *ī* (pl.?) zh, *čō'guli* g hoof. — Cf. *čigali*. V. *somb*.

*čiguli* Yzh, sh, *ō* r, *čigali* g. *čāngoli* M (sh), *čāngol* g, *čōng* m, *čāng* Z claw. — *čiyō čō* Ysh 'zad ba čāng'. — Cf. Sgl. *čingāl*, Or. *čingāl* fr. Prs. *čāngāl*.

*čugurē* Yzh, *čik'ri* M(g) rhubarb, *čugurē* Ysh sorrel (*čigiri*), *čigi'ri* r a plant with an acid taste. — Cf. Prs. *čukri* sorrel, Khov. *čuku'ri* small, sour cherries; Orm. *čuk'ri* rhubarb.

*čō'yū-um*: *čō'yūd* Yzh, *čō'yūd* sh, *čō'yūe*: *čō'yūd* Z to return, 'pas *gaštan*'. — *mīr čō'yū'a* zh return here, Khov. *ači yari*; *žyūa* (f) as sh return and come; *wōn čō'yūd* 'pas *gašt*'. — Cf. Sar. *icašēib* < \**awa-gaip*; Or. *icašēib*: *wižēd*. V. *yī* and *žyū*.

*čayul* Z pit, ravine, gully. — From Prs. *čayal* plait, fold, wrinkle, and not *ayil*, *nayil* sheep-fold as suggested by Z.

*čkalpiš* Yzh, g golden oriole, Khov. *mayōn*.

*čkyūgo* f. Mm, *škūga* Z urine. — < \**čōskyō* < \**čāštākā*, cf. Sgl. *čīš*? V. *mizyo*.

*čalo* Yzh, *čā* sh mane. — Khov. *čāl*. *čel* Mm, *čil* g forty. — Prs.

*čauli'i* Yzh, sh, *ō* li g stirrup, B horse-shoe. — *yū čau'li* zh. — Cf. Prs. *čaul* crooked.

*čula* Yzh, sh, *čul* Mg, m glans penis; *sar-i-kir*; *čāl* Z, G penis. — Prs. *čul*, *čol* penis, cf. G s.v.

*čil'yānē* Yp apricot kernel. — V. *žir malē*.

*čil'kyō* Yzh, r, g, *čilki'o* sh weeping willow. — Khov. *čiliki*.

*čal-kirmo* Mg n. of an insect, *kōrmuk*. — Cf. Prs. *čalāk* black beetle?

*čilim* Yzh waterpipe. — Prs.

*čaliya*, v. *kaliya*.

*čam* Yzh, g, p, *LSiy*, *čām* Ysh, r, *LSim*, *čām* Mm, G, *čōm* Mg, ti, Z, *čō'm* Mt, *čōm* (g) eye. — Av. *čāman*, etc. Note Chr. Sogd. *čm*; cf. Oss. *časm*, *cans* window, mask.

*čāmō* Yzh, sh, *čāmo* B round brooch worn at the breast. — Khov. *čama* (also in Kalasha, Bur. and Shina).

*čim'derio* Yzh, *čūm'derio* sh, *čūm* p,

frying pan. — Khow. *čindōri*, *čūndōri*, *čon'dēri* (čumuri + *dori* ladle).  
*čāmin* Y how? how much? *čemin* B how, because. — *čō kenəm?* sh 'čiqadrī, *iktāri* (= *či-šauri*) *bukunam?* *čikō kenəm?* 'tu *čō vo xōi nafs kenē?* sh how do you deal with your own family? *mo čāmin 'šāya?* u what kind of place is this? 'i *štari šā?* 'čō *šūi* zh how do you speak? what do you say? *čemin lūro* B how far? — *čē + min*.

*čumursū* Yzh spit. — Khow.  
*čimtkeryo* B maid. — Khow. *čumut'kēr*.  
*čūmax* Yzh, *čax'mox* Z firestone, flint.  
 — Turk. Prs.

*čan* Ysh, r *čā'na* m, zh, g, 'čā° Mm, 'čāno g newborn kid. — IA., cf. Khow. *čhāni*, Kati *čā*, Pashai *čhanik* f., etc. V. *nar'čān*, *čānoyo*.

*čen* Yu? — *čene-ste* (= \*č-kene-ste?) 'čika *mēkini*'.

'*činē* Yzh, °ni g, *čīnino* Mm cup. — Prs.

*čua'no* Yzh, sh, Mm, *čūo'nō* Yp threshing fork. Cf. Sgl. *apēūn?*

*čand* Yzh, sh, B, *čad* Mm, *čēd* G, *čed* LSim how many? how much? some. — *čand paisa yurdet* Yzh how much money did you take? *čand ādame?* *čand ki'mat ke ke'ne max uo 'yuram* sh we shall buy it for the price you fix = *čan ke tu kenē, hūy dalem* sh; *tō čand pūrē (leydē) astet?* r how many sons (daughters) have you? *yū čad miš* Mm a few days. — The Y-form is prob. infl. by Prs.

'*čānoyo* m, M(g) male kid, one year old. — V. *čā'na*.

*čī'nār* Y, °ār Mm oriental plane, *čēnar*. — Prs.

*čī'nur'yo* Yzh, sh, °r'yo r, g, 'čm'ur'yo (r?) Mm, 'čindērya g starling, *maina* (acc. to zh = *brūyiko* sparrow). Cf. § 44.

*čū'na* Yzh lime. — IA.

*činto* B whip. — Prs. *čanda* (lex.)?

*čop* Y, *čop* u, *čap* Mm, g, Z, G left (hand), Yzh, sh also untrue, lie. — *do čop suv'dō* Yu on the left shoulder. — Prs. *čap*.

*čō'pi* Yzh, sh, B, *čopik* sh, g lie. — *tu čō'pik kene* Ysh; *tu čō'pik č-kē'ne* don't lie; *čō'pik kyt va-mən* Yg you lied to me. — V. *čop*.

*čapē* Yzh, sh, *čā'pī* pl. p door-frame. — Cf. Prs. *čamba* a large bar, spar, *čām* curved, *čafta* curved, a vaulted roof.

*čpāc* Ysh, *čēpōc* Mm, *čēpōc* Z after, back (adv.). — *dukan'dār čō šūi* the shopkeeper went back; *kō wa-čō čir miš čō asəm* if I come back after four days; *šī dalem čō āy'wōi*. — Cf. Wkh. *sibas*, Sar. *zabō, zabūc*, Prs. *sipas* < \**hača-pascā* (not with Z < \**hača-paršta*), cf. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, p. 212. — V. *špāc*, *wa-čpāc*. Cf. Ishk. *čpāst*.

*čū'pān* Mm, *čū'pōn* Z, LSim shepherd. — Prs. (č. < *fx*).

'*čāro* Yr store-room for grain, *ambār*; p hollow, pit in the *čārsār* (q.v.); *čora f. Z* pit for storing grain. — *driem da čō*. — Prs. *čāla* vault, depository for grain, *čār* potter's kiln; Khov. 'čāri pitted from small pox < Ir.

'*čirē* (čī'rē) m, Yzh, °rī sh, g, Mm, g, Z, G, 'čirī Yr, °i Yu, Mti apricot (*prunus armeniaca*). — *ro čirief yurd* Yu; *šō čirien* u from the apricot-tree. — Cf. Yazgh. *čī'rai*, Prasun *čī'rē*, Kati 'čirē, Ashkun *čī'rā*, Kshn.



cer, Bhadrawahi 'cīrō. But note also Armen. *ciran*. Cf. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 540. V. *cīryīšē*.  
*cūr* Yp cross-bar separating the strings of a pellet-bow. — Khov. *cūr*.  
*cōrda* Mg, (g) fourteen. — Prs.  
*cīr'grinj* Yzh, sh milk-ricē. — Khov. *čīr + grinj*.  
*cīr'vīzen* Mt three days ago, *se rūz šud*. — \**čādrū + azanya*. Cf. *čīrizen*, and v. *čurmō*.  
*cērly* M(g) a kind of cultivated grain or seed, *dōna*. — Possibly linseed from which lamp-oil is prepared (v. Vavilov, *Agricult. Afgh.*, p. 114). Cf. *cīrūy*.  
*cīrūy* Z, °y-lān G lantern. — Prob. an early lw. from Prs.  
*cīr'yīšē* Yzh dried apricots. — Cf. *cīrē* and Prs. *kīšta* dried fruit, esp. apricots (v. Vavilov, p. 452), Psht. dried apricot.  
*cīrk* Mm, Z dirty. — Prs. V. *kīz'yo*.  
*čorō'mī*, v. ē° *oguščiko*.  
*čūr'mō* Yzh, sh, 'čūremo Mm three days ago. — < \**čādrū + ama*, not < \**čādnēara + ama* as in most dialects (v. Gauthiot, MSL, 17, p. 151). Cf. *čīrgyīzen*, *pčūrma*, *čurmosāl*, *čoromī*.  
*čār'mak*, *čār'māk* Yp the wool on the spindle. — Prs.  
*cī'rom* Yzh, in : na ē° no 'šūya near the river, *pēš-i daryā* (?).  
*čorō'mī o'guščiko* Ysh, 'čor° o° g index finger. — *čoromī* fourth, cf. *čūr'mō*. V. *čarag'gušē*.  
*čurmo'sāl* Yzh, sh three years ago. — V. *čūr'mō*.  
*čarag'gušē* Yzh the index finger; g the four fingers, °*gišt* sh id. — \*Prs.  
*čār-pā'yāl'yo* Yp stone lid of the *čāro* (q.v.).

*čōrpo'yī* Mm, *čārpā'yī* G bed. — Prs. V. *žen*.  
*čār'sīr* Yp elevated platform made of brickwork, in one corner of the house.  
*čār'wāl* Yzh headman of a village, *čārbū*. — Khov. *čār'wālū* headman of several villages (O'Brien). — V. *arbāb*.  
*čīr'wašk* Yzh, *čūr°* sh resin, gum, Khov. *tum*. — Prs. *čarwīš*, *čarbiš* fat? V. *rūyno*, *wāziyo*.  
*čār'woyi* pl. Mm, *čōr'vōy* m, Z small cattle. — Prs. *čār-pāya*, Taj. *čorvō* sheep. Cf. LSI m *čūr-pālaf* (obl. pl.) cattle.  
*čārē* Yzh, g, p, Mg, *čōrē* m spinning-wheel. — \*Prs.; cf. *čārē*.  
*čār'xo* Yzh avalanche of stones. — Cf. Wkh. Shgh. *čarza* id. < \*Prs. — Khov. *čokāl* id. (\**čak'ra*la-) is a parallel formation.  
*čār-xi fa'lak* Ysh the Milky Way. — \*Prs (cf. Khov. *čār'falak*, acc. to my Gawar-Bati informant). V. *pado*.  
*čār'xānuk* Yp handle, crank of a spinning-wheel. — V. *čārē*.  
*čūr'tea* Yzh, u unripe apricot. — *čā* *čīrien čūr'wakaf āvār* Yu bring unripe apricots from the apricot-tree. — Cf. Sgl. *čū'wēl*, Wkh. *čū'wān* apricot.  
*čēs* Ysh whatever, *čēs* B, *čēs* LSIy what? — *čēs ke Xadāyēn lio 'čizi ke Xudāi dād'*. — Cf. *čē*. — *čēs* < \**čēs* < \**čīšēt*?  
*čēs* Ysh, *čēs* Z, G is not. — *hāč kučī čēs* there is nothing, 'hēc *čizi nēt'*; *yo čira mən šifēn čēs* this burden is not my husband's; *tu Xadāyēn bande čēs a?* are you not God's slave? *tu do af xabar čēs ā* have you no news

about them? *no xu'rān na'yeŋ čēs*  
there is no bread for eating. — Cf.  
*če*, acc. to G compounded with *šš* <  
Av. *ačša*-, but this is phonetically  
improbable.

*čēsō* Yzh, *ča°* sh, *čēša* p, *čēšē* Mg,  
*čēša* f. Z the pin of a spindle. —  
< \**čaštrā/i*-, cf. Paht. *cāšai*, Orm.  
*tisk* (< \**cisk*), Kurd. *taši*, *teši* spindle.

*ča'tir* Yu tent. — *da asmiŋo č° vīo*; *da*  
*č° loh zināmi vīet*. — Khov. *ča'tir*,  
in its turn fr. M. Ir. \**čātēr*, cf. Prs.  
*čādar*, -ir, Russ. lw. *šater*. Cf. BSOS,  
VIII, 680.

*čāir* Yzh, p, LSly (zh also *cāir*, *c's'ir*, p  
*c's'ir*), *čir* Ysh, g, r, u, B (misheard  
for *čāir*?), *čfir* Mt, g, ti, *čfir* (sh),  
*čfir* m. LSIm, *č°* Z, G (G also *č'fār*),  
*ča'fir* MFB, *čavir* Y, acc. to G (from  
what source?) four. — *čir miš* Ysh,  
*čir uulē* sh, *čfir-pālaf* LSIm (obl.  
pl.) cattle. — Av. *čāhucārō*, etc. Cf.  
§ 102.

*čoŋ* Yzh antler. — Khov. (Lor.) *čoŋ* knob  
on ibex horn. Cf.:

*čofē* Yzh knuckle. — Khov. *čoŋ* knuckle,  
twig (cf. preceding word).

*čuwa* (= \**ču va*?) Yzh something. — *mən*  
*č° astef* I have something. — V. *če*.

*čā'ueuk* Yzh whip. — Prs. *čābuk*.

*čaxt* Ysh piece of wood used for tight-  
ening a rope. — Cf. Prs. *čaxidan*  
to twist.

*čič*-, v. *tič*-.  
*čiy*-, v. *čiy*-. Z to freeze, to feel cold. —

Cf. Prs. *čāh'idan*, Zaza *čā*- to feel  
cold, Sar. *pa-ci*- to become cold,  
Orm. *čāik* cold, and perhaps Khov.  
(Ir. lw.?) *čoi.ik*, *čho-ik* (Lor.), *čohik*  
(O'Brien) to be frostbitten. Z com-  
pares also Shgh. *čety*-. V. *pēio*.

*čōy*-, v. *čai*-.  
*čūš'iyā* Yzh, °*yak* zh, g, °*yakē* pl. sh,

*čō'iyā* Mm, *čūš'io-ō* (g) °*iyā* Z chicken.  
— Cf. Badakhshi *čūča*, Madagl. *čūčik*.

Prs. *čūja*, etc.

*čāi'zūl* Yzh, *čāz°* sh tea-kettle. — Prs.

## D

*da*, *dā* Y, Mm, Z, *do* Ysh, n, Z, *dā* G,  
etc., into, in, at, etc. — Y: *lo'oi*  
*dā kyei* he entered into the house;  
*nəvur dā kučio* brought it out into  
the street; *nīā (nə'yor) dā kučio*  
went out into the street; *dā yū mā'it*  
*šūi* he went into a mosque; *šio dā*  
*av'us* he put it in his lap; *za dā*  
*sāharo dyom* Mm I shall go into the  
desert; *šūi darūn dā kyoī* Mm he  
entered the house; *šūi na Čitrāyī*,  
*dā Čitrāyī rāsi* Ysh he went to Ch.  
and arrived there; *dā urjug suv'dō*  
Yu on the right shoulder; *u'z'ir dā*  
*'kyoi kō jə'hon rūpā'yo* Mm he saw  
that there were many rupees in the  
house; *dā iščiy* Yzh under the roof;  
*dā tō apir astet* Ysh he is in front  
of you; *dā laxčio nīgio* Ysh he took  
it out of (?) the bag; *dā āxrat* Yu  
finally; *lō tō barābar* equal to you;  
— Prob. < Av. *antarō* (cf. Prs. *dar*)  
not with G, < Av. -*da*, Greek -*de*.  
Cf. § 219.

*dā* Mm, g, (g), (sh), t, Z, G ten. — Prs.  
V. *los*.

*dā-um*: *dāvd-um* Yzh to smear. —

< \**han-daw*-, Prs. *andūdan*, cf. Av.  
*frā-dav*-. — V. *sā*-.  
*dē'bāl* LSly, *dā°* m behind. — Prs.

(early lw.) *dumbāl*.

*dādrām*, v. *dram*.



*dīd* (?) Ysh after, on account of — *po yū hory dīd 'barā-i yak kār'*; *ēr mīx dīd 'cār rūz bād'*. — *δ* was not heard in any other word.

*dəf-*: *dəft* Yzh, sh, *dəf-*: *dəft* Mm to clasp, seize; *dəf-*: *dəft* Ysh, Mt, *dəf-* Z, *dīfta* B to fight; *dəft* Ysh, u, *dīf-*: *dīft* Z to catch fire; *dufta* B to begin. — *dəfəm*, *dəftəm* Yzh, *dəfəm*, *dəftəm* sh, *dəfəm*, *dəftəm* Mm, t; *xāpui 'dīftē* Yzh I started coughing (*cāspida kat-i mā*); *dəftəd dō hōry* Ysh they started working, *cāspidan*; *'lā mən ēe dəfa* sh don't fight with me, *'kat-i man jang na tawid*; *yūla dəft* Ysh it caught fire, *dar girift*; *ro* (!) *lašino dəft* Yu the wood-pile caught fire, *suxt*. — Possibly really two verbs: *\*han-taf(ya)* and *\*han-dab* (*\*handəfs*, cf. Z s.v.v.). *dəgōni* pl. Yr twins. — Prs. *dūgāna*. V. *luāneke*.

*degaza'yē* (pl.?) Yp forked rest for a matchlock. — Prs. *\*dūgāza*.

*da'hā-m*: *zī-m* Yzh, sh, r, *dəhā-m*: *zī-m* g, *'duh-um*: *zī*-Mm, *dō-am*: *zī-im* t, *dē*, *dā*: *zīy-d* Z, *dəh-*: *zī'va* G, *dēh-*: *tia* LSIy, m to beat, strike, place. — *vto da'ham* Yzh, *da'hām fto* sh, *zo vto dā'hām* g, *zəftə dōam*, *dōam* et Mt; *zo vāi da'ham* Yzh, *zo vēi dā'hām* sh, *za vāi dō'ham* Mm; *tu ēi va-mən de'hē?* Yzh, *tu va-mən ēi de'hē?* g; *da'haf* zh 2 pl.; *tu vōu de!* zh, *'dea* sh beat him; *zo/mən vto zīm* zh, *ftō zī'im* sh, *mən vto zīm* g, *mūn fto zīm* Mt; *tū v'mən zīt* Yr, *tō v'mən zīt* g, *tu vō-mən zīt* sh, *zīt* Mm; *zō vōf* Ysh; *mən vto zīyōm* Yg (v. § 248), *zə/mən vto zīyōm vto* r (v. § 250); *mən vto zīm-stōm* g, *zo*

*vto zīm-istōm* r (v. § 247). — *zō da av'yūš* Ysh, *dō 'v'yūš zō* u he put it in his lap; *lašino deh* Yu build a pile; *vo 'yasp' pa'lān zī'ō* u he saddled the horse; *mīra'yē zīt* sh they planted fruitbearing trees; *vōu 'albin zīm* r I winnowed it; *'fok da'ham* (pret. *da'ha-im!*) zh I fire a gun; *'soro da'ham (zīt'em)* sh I manure; *nī'mekikya da'ham* zh I dive; *gab 'diah* sh speak; *vritō zē bāš* sh if he cuts his beard; *mən dō yū zō to gap* g thy word struck my ear. — *zī* < Av. *jata-*, with *dak-* etc., cf. Shgh. *de*, etc. (cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 78). Cf. especially Sāngisāri *dē*: *zē* to beat.

*duh'qān* Mm, *deh'qān* LSIy, m agricultural labourer. — Prs.

*duk* Yg the wheel of a spindle. — Prs. *dūk* woman's spindle.

*dō ku'ō*, v. *ku'ō*.

*du'kān* Ysh shop. — Ar-Prs.

*dukan'dār* Ysh shopkeeper. — *āi d'*; *d' yurd yū alāno*: *zōlo dukan'daren*. — Ar-Prs.

*dala* Mt marmot, weasel. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *dela*.

*dāl-īm*: *lū-m* Yzh, *dāl-ōm*: *lū-m* sh, r, u, g; *dāl*: *lū'y* (*lūiy*) Mm, t, Z, *dāl*-M(g), *lūy*-G to give. — *no'man ces delum?* what shall I give him? *no'wōn a'mūno dālēm* Ysh I give him an apple; *namōn dāl'e*, *nā mōn dāl* give me; *'na-mōn 'ēi dāl'e* don't give me; *dāl* 3 sg., *dālet* 3 pl., *zo 'yārē nā'yen dālīm* zh I give him assistance; *mən nāwōn nā'yen lū'im*; *yān nā'maf nā'yen lūo*, *lū'et* 3 pl., *yū a'lāno 'lū vto* Ysh he had given a pome-granate. — Av. *daḥā*: *dāta-*

- cf. Shgh. *ḡāḡ*. Reg. the dissimilation in *dāl*, cf. § 52.
- dul* Yzh, sh, *dūl* p the hopper of a mill. — *na dūlen*. — Prs.
- dawla'dār* Mm rich. — Prs. V. *bāi, akābur*.
- dōlk* Yzh, sh, *r, dōlk* Mm, *delk* Z, *dōlk* B lean, bad. — Prs. *dalq*.
- dūlmīl* M(g) straw, ear of corn. — Prs. *dulmul* unripe grain, cf. Panjshiri *tut-i-dūlmīl* half-dried mulberries (Andreev, On the ethnology of Afgh., p. 23).
- da'len* Yzh below. — *yū maṣa zi d' āyāi*. — *da + len* < \**adana*. cf. Sak. *dina* below.
- daw'lat* Yzh possessions, riches. — *mīnd d'*; *nī'ust sko d'*. — Ar-Prs.
- dri-r* *zīgār* Yr n. of some entrail. — Cf. Sköld, Mater., 261 *dil-dzīgār*.
- dām* Mm bellows. — Prs. V. *pu'ine*.
- dom* Yzh, sh, B breath. — *yū dām* sh suddenly. — Prs.
- dāmālen* Yzh at noon. — *də + malen*.
- də'māmo* Yzh, *dāmāmo* B large drum. — Prs.
- dāmānē* pl. Ysh foot ("hem") of a mountain, *dāman-i kōh*. — Prs.
- dāna* Yzh, *dā'nā* G wise. — Prs. Cf. *lānawo* B.
- drāi* Yzh hither (?). — *ico maṣa drāi* *avāze* bring the man hither (?). — Cf. *dram*.
- dri-m* Yzh, *dri-m*: *dri-o* sh, *dri-en*: *dri-m* r, *driū-m*: *dri-um* Mm, *dri-am* (g) to pour into, throw (into). — *yauyo da zu'yum* (= *dri-m*) Yr I pour out the water; *maṣaken hūy da tārazū dri'o* sh the man threw the money into the scales; *drio, driet* sh 'andāxt(an)'; you *driem da cāro* y

I threw the grain into the corn-bin; *koryo o'yury drēi (driyo)* zh the hen lays (laid) an egg; *yarzo drim* sh I shave (?) my beard. — But cf. also: *tuy'm dra-im* Yzh I sow; *drōyam* M(g) I shoot, aim at; *xirām d'rōim* I throw into the threshing ground, I thresh; *drai* LSi, *derāe* LSi put ye on; *derye* LSi throw; *d'rōy*: *d'rōy* to throw. — The material does not enable us to decide whether all these forms belong to one verb (*drāt*: *dri-?*), or not. Note that Khw. *drēik* (< Ir.?) means 'to pour out, to throw, to sow' and also 'to shave'. — Z compares Av. *drācaya* 'to make to run'; better < \**han-d'*. Cf. *d'ro*.

*daro* Mm, *ḡa g, ḡa* Z valley. — Prs. V. *ko'sa*.

*d'ro-um*: *d'ru-i-m* Yzh, *dro-um*: *dru-i-m* sh, *d'rō-um*: *dri-m* g, *d'rō-um*: *d'i-vi-m* r, *d'rō-um*: *d'riy-am* Mt, *d'rō-um*: *d'riy-am*, *derāe*: *durōy* Z, *d'rō-um* G, *duriya* B to fear. — *d'rō-vi-um* rō Yr I had feared. — < \**han drāe-?* Cf. *dri*.

*dārū* Yzh, *ḡāi* sh, u medicine. — *d'-i bihu'si* u; *ico d' la mən astet* sh I possess the remedy; *cos dārū rō*. — Prs. Cf.:

*dārūi* Yzh gunpowder. — Prs.

*dī'arē* Yp looking around, vision. — Prs. *dīdār*.

*dār* Yzh, sh, *dār* B, *yū'dār*, *yū* Mm, *i'dār* Z other, another. — *dār maṣa* another man; *yū'dār sāl* Mm last year. — < \**antāra* (with *-ā* from *alāra*, *katāra*), cf. Sak. *hamdāra*, Psht. *nōr*, Wkh. (Hayward) *dīrikh* (?). Cf. § 168.



*dur* Yzh, g, Mm, *dūr* Ysh, r, B, G, *dor* Mt, *dər*, *dūr* Z to-day. — *'dur* 'luro *'pādo šom* Ysh I have gone a long way to-day. — Cf. Sgl. *nēr*, etc.?  
*da'riy* Ysh, u alas, *afšōs*. — *hai d°*! — Prs.  
*dərak* Ysh cognizance, perception. — *mayaken d° ēšūi* the man did not perceive it, *mālum na šud*. — Ar.-Prs. dark comprehending, finding out; cf. Wkh., Sar. *darak*, Shgh. *dərak*.  
*dril* Yzh, sh inflated skin for crossing a stream. — Khov.  
*dram* Yzh, u inside. — *da-drām tim*, *da-dram šom* Yzh I enter; *də bāy da-dram ē-oi* u *'dar bāy darūn na rau!* *dramen* LSIy inside. — < *\*antarahmi?*  
*drūn* Yr, g, B, *drun* sh, *drūp* zh bow. — Khov. *drōn*.  
*da'rūn* Mg, ti, Z belly. — Prs.  
*da'rūn* Mm, (g) into. — *šūi d° də kvoim*; *nə da'rūna* (g) inside. — Prs.  
*drost* Ysh all, complete. — *d° malk*. — Prs.  
*drušc* Yzh, sh, *d°r°* g, *drzšto* r, *d°rišk* Mm rough. — Early lw. from Prs. *durūšt*.  
*druc-am*: *drud-am* Yzh, *'drūc*: *drūd-* sh, r, *druvda* B, *drubda* LSIy to dance. — *druva* zh imper. 2 sg., *druvda* r inf. — Cf. Sogd. *dr'wβ-*, *zib-* (v. MSL, 23, p. 126). — *dr-* points to borrowing.  
*dra'wā-um* Yzh, *dəra-cāu-ān-* G to terrify. — V. *d'ro*.  
*dār'xufto* Yzh covering of the smoke-hole. — Cf. Prs. *xufta* curved?  
*'drexum* Ysh, r, g, Mm silver. — Khov. — Note that the word was also used by Mm.

*draxt* Yzh, g, Mm, B, *°to* Yr, *°tē* pl. sh, *d'raxt* Mti, *d'r°* Z, G tree. — *draxtē mūžet* Yzh the trees are moved (by the wind). — Prs.  
*dar'yā* Ysh, *°yā* Mm, G, *°yō* Mti river. — Prs. V. *yauyo*.  
*dōr:* Yg weaving. — *d° kənm* I weave. — Prs. *darz* seam.  
*dorzku'yuz* Yzh, sh, *°ryūz* sh, r weaver, spider. Cf. § 193. V. *ustada*.  
*dōsto* Yzh handle, hilt; *°ta* Mm, Z (plough) handle. — Prs.  
*dust* Yzh, *düst* Z, G friend. — Prs.  
*diš-im*: *diš-ēim* Yzh to think. — *\*handaiya*, cf. Wkh. *diš*: to know, Phl. *handēš*.  
*dašk'* Z steppe. — Prs.; early lw.  
*duš'mon* Ysh, *°man* Mm, *d°* Z enemy. — Prs.  
*'dūva* Mm the second watering of the fields. — Prs. *\*dō-āba*, cf. Shgh. *dāhār*. — V. *liedē*, *'xokova*.  
*dūc'cūo* Mm, *dūc'cū* (g) torch. — Prs. *dūc'cūb* deodar.  
*'dūcōzda* Mg, (g) twelve. — Prs.  
*diz-əm*: *dizd-əm* Yzh, *'diz-am*: *'dizd-am* sh, *dizda* B to bury; *'diz-am*, *dizd-am* Mm, *:dizdo* LSIy to gather, collect. — *dezdat* Ysh they buried. — *\*handair-*, Skr. *saṃ-dih-* a heap, mound.  
*dizo* Yp, in *pālōf d°* squatting, *'yak jāi bukuni*; Khov. *blacawē* 'collect'. — Prob. from *diz*.  
*durd* M(g), Z, *dōrd* G thief. — Prs. V. *yāl*.

## D

*dīqan'wo* Yzh cotton thread. — Khov.  
*dīqōnu* (Lor.) cotton fibre.

## f

*fīa* Y, <sup>ā</sup> Mt, *fīyo* ti, (g), <sup>a</sup> m, *fīyo* g wooden spade, shoulder-blade, *fīya* G, *fāya* m, Z spade. — < \**fayaka*, cf. Prs. *fīh* oar, spade (not with Schwyzer. KZ, 63, 56 < *paθ*-). Wkh. *pēi*, Shgh. *fe*, Or. *fai*, Sgl. *fī*, Par. *phī*, Sängisāri *fīfe*, Mazand. *fīē*, Talish *hiya*.

*f(ə)ēim*: *f(ə)ēir-ēm* Yzh to cleave, tear asunder, *fēi-im* M(g) to cleave (a log), *fēi'erd-um* tore asunder. — Cf. *pēgiy*: *pēgiy*-Mm to cleave? — V. *pētīā*, and cf. § 238.

*fēi'nā-um*: *fēi'nērd* Yzh, *fē'āna-um* zh to put away, hide, *zāga mēkunim*, — *yārd*, *fēi'nērd* she took (the cat) and hid it.

*fa'gyikē* Yzh, *faigyiko* g, *pa'kiki* (?) r, *fagika* B, *fagikēf* (obl. pl.) LSIy song. — *f. zām* Yzh I sing; *f. zā* g 'bait *bōkan*'. — < \**aṣhang* < \**abi-hang*-, cf. Georg. *hangī* melody (lw.); Goth. *siggwean*, etc. (regarding IA forms of the root cf. Bloch, BSL, 31, p. 62)?

*fīyiko* Yzh, r, <sup>o</sup> go sh small, wooden spade. — V. *fīa*.

*fkyi'iko* Yzh, <sup>o</sup> go g, r, *ifkigo* B alone. — (i)fk- < \**ēek*- < \**aiwaka*-, cf. Sar. *iuj*.

*fro'ī* Yzh chip of wood.

*fro-ū*: *fri-ō* Yzh to melt. — *warfo* (ar'ziz) *fro-ū* the snow (the lead) melts. — \**fra ri*-, cf. Skr. *li*.

*fār-əm*: *fat-əm* Yzh, sh, r, *far-*: *fat*-g, *fōr-um*: *fēt-əm* Mt, *fātā* B to catch, Khov. *dosiman*. — *fāto* *wo* *par'of* Yzh he seized the mice; *fēt* zh he seizes. — Cf. Bad. Prs. *fāridan* to want?

*fāru* Yzh, sh mill-broom. — \**frā-ruc*, cf. *rufo*?

*far'bā* Mm fat. — Prs. V. *laṇ'dik*.

*frīyo* Yzh, r, *f'riyo* sh, *f'riya* Mg, <sup>o</sup> ā (g), <sup>o</sup> iyo m, <sup>o</sup> iya f. Z flea. — \**frūsi-kā*-, cf. Psht. *icrōzā*, Yazgh. *f'rēz*, etc., (cf. Z s.v.).

*frāyo* Yzh, *f'rāyo* sh yoke-rope. — \**fra-yugā*-, cf. Sgl. *foryay* yoke. V. *yūdo*.

*frāy'bīl* Yzh, sh, r, *froy'bīz* Mg, *frayol'bīl* m sieve for grain (acc. to Mm used for *mužuk*). — Cross between Prs. *faraxbīz* and *yalbīl*. Cf. Wkh. *frazbīz*.

*fer'gāmā* (= *ēf*) Yzh, *fēr* g, *f'rā* sh, r, *fēr'amo* B, *fra'ama* LSIy he-goat; *frayomiy* Mm, g, *frāyōmioyo* (g), *f'rāyōmzy* Z he-goat, one year old. — < \**fra-gāmaka*-, cf. Psht. *icayūmai* male kid: Par. *rha'ām* spring. Similarly Psht. *manganai* young of sheep or goats born early in the season; *manai* autumn (< summer). — \**pra-gāma*- also in Kafirī; cf. Prasun *pāma*, Kati *pr'ome*, Waig. *prāmā* kid, one year old; possibly also Pashai *θlān* he-goat, Gawar-Bati *plān* goats (coll.) < \**pra-gāmaka*- (not < \**prānaka*-). Cf. the following words:

*fēr'ōmēk* Yr female calf, one year old. — Cf. Wkh. *fēr'ōmē* (lw.?) id., and *rōgām*. Note the place-name *Fergamunj* in Badakhshan.

*frayingo* Mm, *fra'yenga* g, *frāyengā* (g) she-goat, one year old. — \**fragāmikā*-, cf. Sgl. *fēr'yom*. V. *prēn'jio*.

*fēr'mē* Ysh it may be, *bākad*, vii. — *icos* *ica* *šūi* *nō* *tat* *kyēin-a*, *da* *kyi* *ī* *fēr'mē-ā?* has he now gone to his father's house, or will he be in (my)



- house? *da xāna-i mā bāša; dukan'dār fər'mā, kua'tin f* . . . whether he be a shopkeeper or a rich man, . . . ; *'uoko cās 'kimat fər'mā (= rī)* will there be some money? Cf. LSI *ze ferme ki ā-im* I may be. — Prob. Prs. imper. *farmāy*. V. § 254.
- fər'mo'-um* Yzh, : *fər'mišč-om* Yzh, sh, g, : *fər'mišč-om* Mm, *fər'miy-*: *fər'mišč'* Z to forget. — *d'rōum ke fər'mo'-um* Yzh I fear that I may forget, *fər'mišč-om* r perf. — Cf. Wkh. *ramuš-*, Prs. *farāmūš* etc. Acc. to Henning (ZII, 9, p. 185) the root is \**muš-*, not *mjš-*, and this explanation would suit the Y—M forms, but note Orm. *š'amōt*, Par. *nhāmuy*, which point to a root in *y*. Cf. § 132.
- farang'fak* Yzh European rifle. — \*Prs. *fərs-* Ysh to spit, *friš-*: *frišoy* Z to blow one's nose.
- fər'spiy* Mg rafters. — Cf. Prs. *farasp*, *firāsb*, *farāsb* the main roof-beam, Kohrudi *rasp* 'tir' < \**fərš-spā*.
- fur'sōro* Mm, *forsāra* MFB, cf. LSI *psaro* down. — Cf. the formation of Lat. *praeceps*?
- f'rūš* Yzh muzzle, snout. — Khov. *froš*, in its turn fr. Ir.
- fər'sō'mē* Yzh, ° g. ° *šam* sh, *frišim* r silk. — \*Prs., cf. with *f-* *afrišam*, and *فرش* (Garšāsp-Nāma, 603). — V. *trīšum*.
- firšōn-*: *firšoy* Z to shake trees. — \**fra-šan-*, cf. Bailey, BSOS, VII, p. 777, and Brahui *šana*, *šaniki* scattering of comfits. V. *ušan*.
- fər-x-om*: *fərxi'am* Yzh, : *fərxi'yo* g, *furx*: *firxoy* Z to stool. — \**fra-rīxya*, cf. Wkh. *rāx*, Ishk. *yarx* 'excrements'?
- fšāy-im*: *fšāy-om* Yzh, r, : *fšāy-g-om* sh, 14 — Kulturforskning.
- sā-im* g to stand up. — *fšāi* zh imper. 2 sg.; *špāc na tō fšāi* sh he rises after you; *fšāyo hu'ro* he rose here. — *fšāy-* is the perf. stem.
- fšēdro* Yzh, sh, g, r, *psī* B spring (season). — \**upa-sārādā-*? (v. §§ 127, 165); cf. EVP s.v. *psarlai* (also with \**sārād-*) and Zaza *casāri*, Maz. *avasor*, Sak. *pasāla-* (with \**sard-*).
- fusf'stiya* Mm, *fšf'stiyo* g a small insect, locust (which makes a noise, *sadā mēkuna*). — Onomatopoeic word.
- fškō* Yzh, p, g, *fško* sh, *fš'kō* r, *fška* Mt, g, ° *ā* (g), *fška* m, *fš'°* ti, *fš'°* f. Z, *fš'ka* G nose. — Cf. Sgl. *fusek*. < \**fuz-k*, connected with Prs. *pōz*, etc. (v. Horn, s.v.)?
- fškaf'surv* Yzh, *fška'surv* r nostril.
- fšii* Yzh very soft, ripe fruit, *fšī* B rotten. — < \**fšāy* < \**upa-xšīta-*, cf. Bal. *šāy* to rub away, Oss. *ixsiin*, *fexmyun* to be rubbed off (Shgh. *štum* hare < \**xšīta-dumba-*?), Skr. *an-upa-kšīta-* uninjured.
- fšarm* Yzh, g, *šfarm* sh, *šfor'm* Mg, m, *šfdr'm* G, *šerm* B shame. — Av. *fšar'ma-*, Sak. *kšārma-* (Bailey); cf. Benveniste, MSL, 23, 402 sqq. — V. *šarm*.
- fšūv-um*: *fšūv-um* Yzh to suck (used about a child). — \**upa-šūp-*, cf. *šūvā*.
- fšā'i* Yzh, *fšāyi* sh short-breathed.
- fšto*, v. tu.
- fšāna-*, v. *fšānā-*.
- fšx-um* Yzh, *fšxaw-*: *fšxēd* Mt, *fšx-um*: *fšxēd-im* ti to shear sheep. — \**apa-xab-*? Cf. Sar. *pšau-* (and Slav. *xabiti* to destroy?). V. *pšxau-*.
- fšxot*: *fšx'ti* Ysh, *xat-* LSI to seize,

- believe; *fxat*: *fxatəy* Z, LSI<sup>m</sup> to agree, consent. — *ə<sup>u</sup> fxatiyo* Ysh she did not believe it, *na girift*.  
*fāxtaga* Mm, *foxtago* g ring-dove, *fāxta*. — Prs.  
*fyēl(i)* Mm, *fēl* g lie, untrue; cf. *fēl* LSI<sup>m</sup> intention? Scarcely < \**apa-hadya*.  
*fīz* Yzh, sh, g, u, r, Mg, (g), t, *fīz* ti, t, *fūz* Mm, *fuz* B breast, forepart of an animal. — Cf. Wkh. *p'ūz*, Sgl. *puz* (?).  
*fīz-yasti* Mt collar-bone. — V. *sūiko*, *pa'rū-yasti*.

## G

- gab'dā um* Yzh to open (a door).  
*gadā-i* Ysh begging. — *g<sup>o</sup> tala'um* I beg; *g<sup>o</sup> lə'ān* give up begging. — Ar-Prs.  
*gof-um* Yzh, *gaf*: *gaft* Z, : *goft* LSI<sup>y</sup> to kiss. — Cf. *boh*.  
*gūgurt* Yzh sulphur. — Prs.  
*gāl* Yzh, r, *gāl* sh clay (for pottery). — Prs. V. *mil'yuz*, *xa'laryo*.  
*gul* Y, Z, G, B, *gāl* Yu, *gūl* Mti flower. — *zo a'mun vo gāl 'āver* Yu pick the flower from the apple-tree; *gu'le kšē'i'et* sh they planted flowers. — Prs.  
*gūl* Yzh, sh boil, small-pox. — Cf. *gul*, and Khov. *isprū* flower, boil.  
*gūl* Mm, g, Z, G dumb. — Prs. *gōl* stupid. V. *kūr*.  
*gul'gūn* Yr red. — Prs. V. *sorx*.  
*gulra'men* Yzh a kind of poplar. — V. *ra'meno*.  
*gū'lās* Yzh, sh, *ōs* Mm, *ōs* Z cherry. — Prs.  
*gulsambarē* Yzh n. of a flower. — Cf. Khov. *gulsam'bār* red convolvulus,  
*gul-i sambār*, *gul-i jafari*; Palola *gulsambar*; cf. Prs. *sumbul* hyacinth.  
*gala'wān* Yzh, *ōwān* u shepherd. — *yū g<sup>o</sup> vī'ō*; *gāla'wānen vo naql yurq* u. — Prs. *galabān*.  
*gu'nā* Ysh sin. — *mun ces g<sup>o</sup>?* — Prs. *ga'naski* (pl.) Yzh straw of wheat or maize. — Khov. *ganask*.  
*gungəstə* Yr dumb. — Prs. *gung*. V. *gūl*, *kūr*, cf. *kuy'astē*.  
*gap* Yzh, g word. — *'gab dī'ah sh, g<sup>o</sup> dāh* g speak; *vo mon gap yurā sh* hear my word; *mon do yū zo to gap* speak your word into my ear. — Prs. *g<sup>o</sup>ro* Mm, *ō<sup>e</sup> g, ē<sup>e</sup> Z* knot. — Prs. V. *yū'rič*.  
*ga'rai* Yzh Kafir silver necklace. — Khov. *gorāi*.  
*gīr* Yzh, g saw. — Khov. V. *arra*.  
*gard* Yzh, dry, rotten, Khov. *ronj*. — Lor. suggests that Khov. *rōnc* 'a disease of corn in which the leaves wither' is the word intended. Prs. *gard* dust, etc., is not known to be used in this sense.  
*girdo* Yzh, *gird* Z round. — Prs.  
*gord-um*: *gošt-um* Yzh, u, *gerd*: *gašk'* Z to turn round, become, *gaštan*. — *gordē zh* pres. 3 sg., *gošcim* u I became; *koviyo gošē* u she turned into a dove. — Early lw. from Prs., cf. Sgl. *yart* (with *y*, also, if correct, in *yoštēa* B to return), Khov. *yard*, but Psht. *garzēdāl* to walk about with *g* (< Prs. \**garō*).  
*g<sup>o</sup>rah* Yzh, sh eclipse. — Khov. *grah*.  
*garm* Yr, *garm* Mg, Z warm. — Prs. V. *pač* and *farmai*.  
*gram'bešu* Yzh, sh, *ōbe'sane* g neighbour. — Khov. V. *am'sāyo*.  
*g<sup>o</sup>rīnj* Ysh, r, *gr<sup>o</sup>* g husked rice. —



Khow. *grinj* fr. a Prs. dialect. V. *b<sup>u</sup>runj*.  
*gir'eān* Yzh, *°bān* sh, *giri'bān* r, *°ān* Mm, *gəri'eān* Z shirthead, collar. — Prs. V. *hasa'ine*.  
*guš'wōr* Mm, *gū°* m, Z, *guš'wōrā* M(g) earring. — Prs. V. *γūūprikē*, *kadrənə*.  
*gaš* Yzh, sh, p rafter, acc. to p the beams surrounding the smokehole of the Chitrali lantern roof. — Khow.  
*guv*: *guv* Ysh, g, r, u, : *guv* Mm, *gūv*: *gūv* Z, *gueda* B, LSIy to burn, *sōxtan*, Khow. *palēik*. — *yūfa* *guv* sh 3 sg. — Apparently from \**han-kaub/p*.  
*(guvā)*: *guv* Yg to put fire to.  
*gox* Yzh hollow; sh, g, r, Mm stem of a tree. — Khow. *gox* hollow, hole, hollow tree.  
*gūy* Mm to knead. — \**han-gauš*, or, better, \**han-grš*. (v. § 132), cf. Prs. *γāšta* kneaded, mixed, and v. *āguny*.  
*gūya* Ysh just as, as if, thus. — *'guya* da *Dra'wuso* 'vto he was as if it were in Drosh (: as far away as D.); *uōs gūya kēy* now do like this, *ālī amī kāre bukən*. — Prs. *gūyā*.  
*gūib*, *gūip* Yzh, Mt, *gip* LSIy lost. — *g°* šūi Yzh, *g°* šūi Mg he was lost. — Early lw. from Prs. \**gumb*, *gum*.  
*gūibo* Yzh to sink (tr.), : *gībvd* g, *gībōv* Z, *gībvd* B, LSIy to lose. — da *yauyo gūiboim* Yzh. — V. *gūib*.  
*gūib'lenikē* Yzh, °g mosquito. — V. *maxšē*.  
*gūēr-em*: *gūēš-em* Ysh to walk, to turn round, *g'iyāšk* Mm to turn, pass; *giyar*: *giyāšk* Z to pass over. — *yu* *čad miči gvaškvat* Mm a few days passed, *gašt*; *au'qāt-iš gvašk* he passed the time, *guzarān-iš šud*. — \*Prs. Cf.:

*gūēr*: *gūēš* Yzh to forgive, r to pass, *guzāstan*, *gūēr* *gūēšk* Mm to pass (tr.). — Early lw. from Prs. \**gidār*, or from some dialect form with -y-, cf. Madaglashti *gyāšt*, pret. of *guzār* to leave behind. — Cf. also *giyōr*: *giyēt* Z to carry across, etc.  
*gaz* Yzh ell. — Prs.  
*gu'zar* M, m, g, Z ford. — Prs. V. *pīlf*.  
*guza'rān* Mm livelihood, means of existence. — *g°* *či šūi*. — Prs.  
*gaš'dumba* Mg, t, °o m, °ā (g), °s (sh) scorpion. — Prs. V. *kur'mo*.  
*gr'žē* Yzh, sh, *g°žē* r pick axe.

## I'

*γau*, v. *γawo*.

*γi-um* Yzh, *γic-um*: *γiūd-um* M(g), *γic*: *γiūd* Z to spin, Khow. *ga-iman* (= *γēiman*). — Cf. Sgl. *γiwo*, Wkh. *žūp*, Sar. *žēib*, Shgh. *žib*, Yazgh. *žob* (v. Z s.v.) < \**gaip*. — V. *zrē*.  
*γō(h)* Yzh, *γūš* sh, *γō* r, *γū* g, Mm, g, *γūe* Z excrements. — From Av. *gūša* we should expect \**γūš*.  
*γū* Yzh, g, p, B, *γūl* Ysh, r, Mt, g, (g), ti, Z, Junker, LSIy, *γūi!* (?) Mm, *γūš* (?) G ear. — *γūi lār* Ysh listen, *gūš dār*; da *γūi ži'o* sh it struck his ear. — Av. *gaoša*.  
*γū* B deaf (Tom., p. 206 translates "tief"! ). Prob. due to some misunderstanding. Scarcely < \**gausa*.  
*γū'bār* Mm, °ōr Z dustcloud. — Ar. Prs. *γūdām* Y, *γōndām* Mm, g, ti, °m t, (g), *γā'dum* G, *γō°* Z, *γāndam* MFB (autumn) wheat. — Av. *gantuma*, Wkh. *γi'dim* (< \**ūma*), Sgl. *γōndām*. Cf. Charpentier, MO, 26, p. 131. V. *af'srēnē*, *pa'izānē*.

- yadēm-lōro'vo* Yzh wheat-harvest.  
*yad'min nayan* Yzh, sh, *yad'min* n° Mm wheaten bread. Cf. *tandumin* n. of a place (Ēranshahr, p. 228). V. *arō'min*.  
*yafs* Z fat. — Cf. Tajiki *gauz*, *gasb* fat, thick, Badakhshi *γaus* thick (stick), Shgh. *yafē*.  
*yāyio* Yzh, g, *yē* sh, *yā* p, *yāyō* r cow-house. — Cf. Shgh. *yēcid*, Psht. *yūjəl* < \**gau-kati*. V. *pō'vivur*.  
*yāky* Yzh, sh, *yik* r, *yēk* g penis. — < \**grānuka*? Cf. EVP. *yēy* (and Prs. *marz-gūn*), v. § 117.  
*yēik-skōdēm* Yzh circumcision (prob. pres. 1 sg.). — Cf. *skōd* and v. *nai'levd*.  
*yūi-kiš'γō* Ysh ear-wax.  
*yāl* Yzh thief. — Av. *gađa-*, Psht. *yal*, Wkh. *yūd*. — V. *dud*.  
*yūelo* Mm yoke-rope. — < \**yū'elo*? V. *frāi'yo*.  
*yūlak* Mm, g, °ak G, *yū'lak* Z pellet-bow. — *yū'lak skuta* 'pusteka' Mm (?). — Taj. *yūlak* (cf. Z s.v.), but Prs. *yū'lēl*, Bal. *galōl*, Lhd. lw. *yūlēli*. The IA words mentioned Nep. Dict. s.v. *guleli* are horr. from Prs.  
*yū'lek* Yzh dewlap. — Cf. Prs. *γōlak* 'money-till, save-all' (< 'sack, bag')?  
*yāl'tan*: *yaltand* Yzh to roll (tr.). — Prs.  
*yālū* Yzh, *yālū* sh, *yālū* r, *yālū* g, *γōlū* Mg, *γōlf* (g, t, (sh), *γōlv* m, *γōlv* Z, G, *yālf* LSIy, *yā* m dog. — *yālū rōv* Yr. — Av. *gadva*.  
*yāmu* Yzh a kind of pulse not grown in Lutkoh (*pāyān ast*); sh pulse from which roasted flour (*talkān*) is made (*yāmi*); *yōmu* Mg 'dōna misl-i muḡa, sōxal'. — Cf. Vavilov, *Agricult. Afgh.* pp. 114 *gomu(ng)* 'Errum Ervilia'

- (but acc. to Desmaisons, *Dict. Prs.*, *saxal*, *sāxāl*: Hind. *arhar* *Cytinus cajan*).  
*yūmino* Yzh, g, *yā'm* sh, *oy'mino* r podex, anus; *γ*° *rēy* g anus. — Cf. Wkh. *guh-rāda* guts, v. *γō(h)*?  
*yūnia* Yzh, *yūni'o* r, *yūni'i* sh, *yū'ni* g (pl.), *yūni'* Mm, g, (g), ti, *yūniy* m, Z hair. — *yū* γ° zh. — < Av. *gaona*.  
*γō'nigo* Mm, *xni'ga* G sneezing. — *mon γō'nigo* I have sneezed. — < \**x/ynaiš*, cf. Prs. *išnōša*, Psht. *nāi*, Yazgh. *šiniš*, Oss. *āxsnirsūn* (onomat.).  
*yūiniko* Yzh, *yūenike* (pl.?) p door-hinge. — Cf. *yū*?  
*γōnil*: *γōnelāi* Yzh, *yā'nēl*: *γāni'lāi* sh, *γānil* g to bleat, to bellow. — *vōzo γō'nile*, *γōnelāi* zh, *yā'nēli-a* sh does it bleat? *vōzo*, *yāico* *yā'nilo* g. V. *anuv*, *prāy*.  
*γār* Yzh, sh, r, *γār* g, r stone, hill Mm, G, *γār* Mti, g mountain, hill (Mg hill-top); Yzh, r, Mm also 'pass'. — Av. *gairi*, Psht. *γār* mountain, Par. *gir* stone, etc.  
*γār* Mg adulterer, *kat-i zan i diga mēkina*. — Prs.  
*γōro* Yzh cluster of grapes, Khow. *γruc*.  
*yū'rāi* m, Yzh, sh, r, *γō* g, *γā'rāi* Mg, (g), ti, °ai m, Z, °ai G earth, dust. — Cf. Yaghn. *γārik*, Sogd. *γāyk* (not with *ar* as assumed by Henning, BSOS, VIII, 585, but Yazgh. *xārik*); possibly also Sak. *griham* clay.  
*yuroi-pīx* Ysh clod of earth. Cf. *pīx* ('ball' < 'bullet').  
*yā'rīb* Ysh poor. — Ar.-Prs. V. *lur'wo*.  
*γār'bīl* Yzh, sh, °in r, *γāl'bīl* p, Mg, Z, *γāl'bīl* (corrected from °in) Mm sieve for flour (for wheat Mm). — *you* γ° *kānēm* Yp, γ° *yūrdam* p, *wōu* *γāl'bīn* *zīm* r. — Ar.-Prs. — V. *fraybīl*.



*yar'basē* Yzh sod, clod of earth. — Cf. *yuroi*.

*yar'y* Yzh, sh, g, r, *yorg* Mm, *yarx* B heavy; *yōryā* f. M(g) pregnant, foetus (da *davūn-i zan ast*). — Av. *gouru*. *yer'nānu* Yzh whirlpool, eddy. — Khov. *yer'nānu*, *yer'd*, in its turn fr. Ir. — Cf. BSOS, VIII, 664.

*yurū'rang* Yr grey, dustcoloured. — Cf. *yuroi*.

*yur'v-um*: *yurd-um* Ysh, r, *yur'um*: *yurd-um*, *yur'ried* zh, *yur'um*: *yurd-um* g, *yur-um* sh, *yurd* u, *yurv-am*: *y'rued-um*, *yurued* Mm, *y'orv-am*: *y'ried-am* t, *y'orv-am* G, *y'orv*: *y'ried* Z. — *yurē* 2 sg., *yuret* 3 pl. Yzh; *max* 100 *yuram* sh we shall buy it; *zo* *xabar* *yurum* sh, *yur'a(h)* sh, u, *yurva* g imper. 2 sg.; *vo mən gap* *yurā* sh hear my word; *yurd* *yū alāno* sh, *v* to *xai vrai* *yurdum* u, *yal'bil* *yurdam* Yr, *yurdogum* perf. u, *vo luydaf* *yur'ruv* Mm. — Av. *grab*, etc. V. §§ 129, 151.

*yur'vo* Yzh, sh, g, r, *yū°* Mm, *°d* g, *y'orva* (g), t, *y'°* ti, *y'or'wa* G, *y'°* Z throat (exterior). — < Av. *grīvā*, or < \**grivā* (cf. Greek *dépn*, etc.)?

*yar'vaden* Yzh yeast.

*yurvo-ku'luxa* Yzh Adam's apple.

*yur'vax* Yzh, *°oā* sh, *y'vāx* r, *y'°* g knot. — *y'°* *kē'nēm* zh. — \**grābya*, Prs. *giriā* (cf. Gr.Ir.Ph., I, 2, p. 25), Yazgh. *y'rawā*, Sak. *ggratha* (?). Cf. Prs. (dial.) *yil(a)ē* < \**grāci*. Bal. *garanē* < \**grandāci*.

*yori-bombur* Ysh large, yellow wasp. — Khov. *yōfi-b'ūmbur*.

*yuri'cā-um*: *yuricāved-um* Yzh to swallow. *yūārikē* (pl.) Yzh earrings. — \**gauša-bytaka*. V. *gušwōr*, *kadrēnā*.

*yurp* Yzh steep, precipice, sh deep (water). — Cannot be connected with Phl. *gavr*, etc.

*yur'pakē* pl. Ysh the temples. — Cf. *yurp*. V. *poxa'yak*, *šāxek-i-sar*.

*yis* Yzh thread made of goat's hair. — Av. *gaēsa*, etc.

*yisē* Yzh plaited bottom of a bed. — Cf. *yis*.

*yuskēn* Yzh, g, r, *°un* sh, *yūs'kun* Mm, *yuskēn* g, *°en* Z cowdung. — \**gau-sakana*, cf. Par. *sayōn*, Wkh. *səgin*, Orm. (\**skan*, etc.

*yasē* Yzh, u, *°i* sh, g, r, Mm, *°oy* Z, *yā'si* G good, well. — *wən* *īsto ke* 'yasē' Yu he said 'well'; *yāsi ādam* r he is a good man; *niv yāsi kit* zh the rain does good; *yāsi kak* g boil it well; *mai* *yāsi* these are good. — Cf. Prs. *gaš* delicate, handsome, TPhl.nw. *gš* to be happy?

*yūš* Y, *yūš* Mm, g, Z, G flesh, meat. — Ace. to G, fr. Taj. *yūš(t)*, which I have not been able to trace, and which must, if it exists, be of E.Ir. origin, just as is the case with Par. *yūš*. — *yūš* and Psht. *ywaša* < \**gauštrā* a form remodelled from \**gaušta*, (Prs. *gōšt*, cf. Av. *aōšta* and *aōstra* lip), cf. Sak. *ggūs'ta* (\**gau-st*, v. Bailey, BSOS, VII, p. 413).

*yūška* f. Z fur-coat. — Cf. Ishk. *yūšt*.

*yur'vē* Yp, *yuvya* Z wooden trough. — \**gaub/paka*, cf. Norw. dial. *kaup* wooden bowl, etc. (v. W. P., I, p. 561). Cf. also s. Sgl. *yōv*.

*yavō* Yzh, p, LSIy, *°wō* Yr, g, *yowō* sh, *°wa* Mt, *yōwō* m, *°ā* g, (g), *°e* (sh), *°a* Z, *yā'wa* G cow. — *yaw* *anwē* Ysh, *y'°* *yanilā* g, *y'°* *bayaz kileste* r the cow bellows; *yaw-a'vazēm* sh I

bring the cow; *mo yavo* sh this cow; *yau vastem* (lō kərm) r I bound (released) the cow (poss. *yau* m. in some of these examples?). — Av. *gav*. *yavarso* Yzh, *yaw*° sh, g, r millet, *gāl* (Panicum italicum). — Cf. Prs. *gāwars(a)*, Shgh. *jāwans*, Bajui *jāwān* (Sköld), Kurd. *gāris*, *gōris*, Saka *gānsā*, Par. *gāš*, poss., with different suffix, Psht. *yōšt* (cf. Psht. *wēšta* 'hair': Av. *varša*-?). V. *yūrzun*. *yāza* Yzh a room.

*yāz-em*: *yazd-em* Y, LSIy, m to run. — Ir. *\*gāz*, cf. Yazgh. *yaz*, Shgh. *zōz* to run, Oss. *yazun*, *qazūn* to play, make display of one's horsemanship. — Reg. Ir. *\*gāz* to dip, drink, v. *unyz*; cf. also *\*gaz* to bite, sting (EVP, s.v. *āyzi*); *\*gāza*-shrub, etc. (v. Sgl. *yūz*); *\*gāza*-fat (EVP, s.v. *zōza*, cf. Khov. *zāy*, Yazgh. *zēy* fat?). *yūz yāp* Yzh, sh, g very dirty.

*yāzardum* Yzh, °vnd sh, °evd u to make to run. — *icos yaspē yāzardot* sh 'aspara dāwāndan'; *yasp yāzarda* baš u; *paga yāzardum* zh (v. s. v. *paga*). — V. *yāz*.

*yōzī-m*: *yōzī-m* Yzh to stumble. — Cf. Wkh. *gač* to totter? Connection with Old Engl. *cucacian* 'to quake', etc., is possible.

## H

*hāc* Yzh, *uē* Mm, *zē* G, *hēc* B no, any. — *hāc kučī cēš* it is nothing; *uē ku čī rio* it was nothing. *'hēc čizi na büt'*; *hēc kuč* B nothing. — Prs. (*hoč* Yzh, *hoč* sh melted fat (*au karda*). — Khov. (Lor.) *hōč* cooked fat, dripping. — V. *sōbrim*, *wāzd*.

*'hadē* m. and f. Yzh, *hadē* LSIy, *hadda* B slave. — *\*han-taka*, cf. Wkh. *andag*, Sar. *indj*. Cf. *'ida*, *idiko*. *ha'dam*° Ysh, a° r, *aw'dām* Mm limb; *a'dam* Yr body. — *drust adam* Yr. — < Av. *handāman*-. Khov. *ha'dām* has the appearance of being a lw. from Y!

*haud* Mm, *həud* t, *aud* g lake. — Ar. Prs. *hanz*, Taj. *havd*. V. *zoi*.

*hūy* Yzh, sh, LSIy price, money, *pūl*. — *ma xō'nam*, *'na tō hūy dalem* we shall buy it and give you the money; *čan ke tū kenē*, *'hūy da'lem* Ysh whatever you do, we shall pay the price. — < *\*wahāka*-, Prs. *bahā*. Khov. *wāy* > Wkh. *wāy*, *bōrr* from an earlier form of the Y word? Cf. Brahui (< *\*Bal*.) *gicāčī* commodities < *\*wahāčī* (?), Oss. *wāčī* 'sale'.

*hukm* Ysh command, order. — *ba hokm-e Xadāyēn*. — Ar. Prs.

*hāl*, v. *māl*.

*'hālo* Yzh polo-stick. — *halo xodam* *'bāzi kardam* (?). — Cf. Khov. *hal* goal in polo fr. Prs. *hāl*.

*haude* Ysh (garden) wall. — Khov. *haw(Δ)li* court yard (Lor.), Panj. *haweli* enclosure for cattle, etc., < Ar. Prs. *'hilak* Mm flour-sieve. — Turki *elek*, *alak*. V. *yārbil*.

*ha'lāl*, °ār Ysh lawful. — *h° mūdura ken*. — Ar. Prs.

*hal'wā* Yzh, sh sweets. — Ar. Prs.

*hino* Yzh scabbard. — Khov. *hamn*.

*'hōnadiy* Mm out of breath. — *\*an-antika*, cf. Av. *ānti* (: *ā-anti*.) inhalation. Cf. Barthol. IF. 7, p. 59.

*'henju* Yzh tamarisk. — Khov.

*har* Yzh, Z all, every. — Prs.

*hu'rō* Yzh, sh, u, *'wuro*, *'ūra* Mm, *'wūra* Z,



- icura* LSim, *hūrē* B there. — *ušūr*  
*kə yūi kvei huro astet* Ysh he saw  
 that there was a house there; *fsāyo h°*  
 he rose there (*da amin jāis*); *rə'siet h°*  
 Ysh they arrived there; *h° da bāya r*,  
*niāst icuro* Mm he sat down there.  
 — Av. *ataθra*, Psht. *icar*, Kurd. *ōra*.  
*hargeno* Ysh on all sides (?). — *h°*  
*'haulen pəzgi'et* they built a wall all  
 around it. — Cf. *har?*  
*horē* Yzh, sh, *orē* r, *hōr(g)* g, *ōrg* Mm,  
*ary t*, *arg* Z, LSim work. — *zo icum*  
*h° kənəm* Ysh I do this work; *po*  
*yū h° diš* sh 'barā-i yak kār'; *hōr*  
*kənəm* g, *'ary ike'nam* Mt, *hōrkun* B  
 work (: *\*hōry kən*) *arkirīm* G work  
 (for *\*arg kirīm*). — Cf. Wkh. *yark*,  
 Sgl. *ari*, Phl. *ark*, etc. V. Barth.  
 Miran. Mund. I, p. 10; Bailey, JRAS.  
 1930, p. 18.  
*'harkē* Yzh, *'hā°* sh upper part of the  
 back, between the shoulders. — Turk.  
*arqa*, cf. Sgl. *ar'ka*, Khov. *ar'qa*.  
*harko'yastē* Yzh spine.  
*hojk* Yzh scar. — Khov. *holk*, *hōdk* (Lor.).  
*hasa'inē* Yg collar; *os°* zh handker-  
 chief. — Khov. (*h*)*osēni* (Lor.) hand-  
 kerchief.  
*hosta'ganu* Ysh, *osta'ganē* zh plough-  
 handle. — Khov. *hosta'gāni*.  
*hai'wān* Yzh animal; sh mad; *ai'wān* G  
 animal. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ha'zār* Ysh, *a'zōr* r 1000. — Prs.  
*'hāzer* Yzh a sigh. — *h° xišcim* I sighed.  
*hazorēan'golo* Mm centipede. — \*Prs.

# K (Q)

- ke*, *kə* Y, M that, when, where, if, so  
 that, who, whatever. — Cf. §§ 210,  
 261. — Prs.

- kī°* Ysh hard work, labour, duty,  
 ploughing, *kulba*. — *na 'xāyi k° kit*  
 he gives himself trouble; *agar nā*  
*'max 'šet k° za'rūr 'šūi* if it has  
 become a duty that they should  
 speak to us (*agar ba mā gap zadan*  
*zarūr šuda ast*). — < *\*k(a)šā-*? V.  
 § 132, cf. *kugo*.  
*kōi* Ysh, u, *kəy* Z, *koyi* B who, any-  
 body. — *kōi-ste?* Yu who are you?  
*na kōi āyōit?* sh whom (what) did  
 you come for? *kōi yurdo fərma?* sh  
*'kt girifta bāšad?* *moi kōi-kān fərma?*  
 sh to whom may it belong? V.  
 § 210. — Av. *kahyā*, cf. Wkh. *kui*,  
 Sgl. *kōi*. Cf. *nakoi*, *kō'di*.  
*kū* Y, Mm, Z, G where? — *ku šu;f vīo*  
 Ysh, *'kujā rafta būdīd?* *ku lišcut* u  
*'kuzā didi?* *xōyo kū šūi?* zh where  
 did he go himself? *to yār uos kū-ō?*  
 sh where is your friend now? *ku*  
*oi?* u *'kšā mēri?* *kū ki tu šūyit*, *zo*  
*asəm p* wherever you go, I shall  
 come; *kū vō'det?* Mm *'kujā burdi?*  
 — Av., Prs. *kū*. V. *kuzā*.  
*kū* Yzh mountain; *kūh bar kūh* u (in  
 Prs. formula). — Prs. V. *yar*.  
*'qābəl* Yzh strong. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ka'būt* Yzh, dove-coloured, Mm, g, ti, Z  
 blue. — Prs.  
*kač* Yzh a kind of silk or cotton, *'paxta-*  
*icāri'*, sh *pilaŋ* (= *pila?*), g spider's  
 web. — Prs. *kaj* silk of little value.  
 V. *kač-kurma*, *kač-šōy*.  
*'qačio* Yzh, *ka'čio* sh scissors. — *pa k°*  
*vrūtēf dea* sh cut your beard. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ku'čio* Ysh street. — *nī'ā dā kuč'io* go  
 out into the street; *do-kučio* zh out-  
 side, B without; *de-kēo* LSIy outside;  
*d° šom* zh. — Prs. *kūča*.  
*kač-kurma* Yzh silk-worm. — V. *kač*.

*ka'čir*, v. *xa'čir*.

*kač-žog* Yzh cloak made of *kač* (q.v.).

*ka'di* Yzh, Z, *kedi* LSIy, °ē m who? which? — *ka'di a'poi*? Cf. *kidi-či* B nobody. — Cf. §§ 119, 210. V. *k'em*.

*ka'dui* Yzh, *ko*° r, *ko'dū* g cucumber. — Prs.

*ka'dam* Yzh step, pace. — Ar-Prs.

*ka'dranə* Ysh earring. — Khov. *kari'dreni*. V. *gušwər*, *yūārikē*.

*kaf'ei* Yzh, sh hollow below the sternum. — Cf. Burushaski (Lor.) *askāpon* id. (as heart + *khapon* spoon). Cf.:

*kaf'cio* Yzh, g, Mm, °cio Ysh, *kaf'cia* f. Z, °i'ya G *kaf'ci* B spoon. — Prs. V. *nar-kaf'ci*.

*kuf'čily* Mm stockings. V. *širabē*.

*kāfila* Yzh, *kāfilē* sh caravan. — Prs. *kafas'tūr* Yzh cage. — Ar-Prs. *qafas* + *tūr* (q.v.).

*kāfsē* Yzh, g, °so sh, *kāfskə* r, *kāfso* Mm, °a f. Z, *kāfs* G shoe. — Prs.

*kugo* Mm plough. — < \**kṛśakā*, cf. *kiō*, *q'āy*? V. § 132.

*q'āy* Yzh, p, °āx sh, *ki'āy* r, °ā'y g, *q'ō* Mt, *q'ō* g, (g), (sh), *qued'y* m, *kuvā* Z, *keṛay* LSIy, *kūa* m, *kyāx* B bull. — Reg. the uvular fricative v. § 33. — Cf. Sgl. *kužūk*, Yaghn. (Ujfalvy) *kšak* bull, Saraghiani (Z) *kišo* 'cow'. — Derivation from \**kṛśāka* improbable. Cf. *ki'ō*.

*kāyako* Mg throat (interior of). — V. *ālq*, *stūya*.

*kāyaz* Ysh letter. — *k° kəpo* he has written a letter. — Prs.

*ka'hal* Yzh lazy. — Ar-Prs.

*kuh'no* Yzh, *koh'nō* sh, *kūna* Mm, *kūnaga* Z old, ancient. — Prs.

*kāk* Ysh, r thirsty. — Prs., Taj. *qāq* dry. V. *trušna*.

*kāka* Yzh, sh, r top of the head, *kaka* g back of the head, Khov. *khak*. — Cf. Badakshi *kāk-i-pā*, Shgh. *kāk-e-ling* leg above ankle, and v. *ušk-māžiko*, *šāxek-i-sar*, *uškioštia*.

*kōko* Yzh, *kako* Mm, *kākā* (g) aunt, *koko* B father's sister. — But cf. Prs. *kākā* father's brother.

*kūiko* Mm, *kuika* g, *ko*° ti, *kūi'ka* G, *kūyka* Z stone. — Genuine (cf. Wanji *kup* stone), or derived from Prs. *koh*? *ka'kūk* Y cuckoo. — Khov. *kākū*, Sar. *kakkūk*, Turki *kakkuk*.

*kāky-im*: *kakvi-i-m* Yzh, *ka'kv*: *ka'kvē* sh, *kēky-am*: *kēky-ām* r, *kāky-im*: *ke'kv-i-m* (ke'tvi-i-m) g, *kēiy-am*: *kutviy-ō* Mm, *koty*: *kōty* Z to boil, cook (Z only intr.). — *yaši kakv* Yg cook it well. — < \**kaṭ*? IA? Cf.: *kōtyōv*: *kōtyēd* Mt, *kōtv*: *kōtēd* Z to boil (tr.).

*kṛkvi'i* Yzh, *ke*° sh, *kiki'kē* (?) r, *kokvə'ya* Mg, *kaj'go* m cooked, ripe. — Cf. *kākv*.

*kūkva* Yzh, °ia r, °tyo sh, Mm, *kō'tva* G, *kūkyo* B short. — IA., cf. Shina *khūfo*, etc., Wkh. *kōf*, Sgl. *kōf*.

*kō'kvaro* Yzh, °āro g Kafir dagger. — IA, cf. Gawar Bati *ka'žāro*, etc.

*kō'la* Yzh, sh, G when (interrog. and rel.) — *kōla ā'yoyit*? *tro kyēi kōlo* Gyōt when you come to a house. — Av. *kaḍa*,

*qala* Mm, g fort. — Ar-Prs. V. *l'xzo*.

*ku'laē* Yzh, *qō'lōē* Z fathom. — Prs.

*kōlf* Yzh, p, *kolf* Mm, ti, *qulf* Z lock. — Ar-Prs.

*kulyo* Yzh a kind of wild-growing vegetable, *kūlyā* M(g) vegetable, eaten with porridge (*birūn-i āš mendāza*). — \**kaudakā*, cf. Prs. *kūya* (کوبه), but



also written كويہ, BQ!) sweet esculent herb, licorice? Or cf. Kalasha *kōla* 'chive'?

*kala'kəri* Yzh wrinkles. — Khov. *ka'fa-ka'fi* (Lor.) wrinkled.

*kala-may'zigo* Mm, *ōiga* Z brain. — Prs. \**kalla-mayzi*. V. (*pusur-mayz*).

*qālin* Yzh, *kā'lin* sh, g, u, *kālin* Mm rug (?). — Prs.

*ka'lāndo* Mm, *kā'lāndā* ti pickaxe, mattock. — Prs. *kaland*. V. *gr'zē*.

*ka'lāpo* Yzh down. — *k° xovdam* I descended. — Badakhshi *kalapā* sloping down, Shgh. *kala'pāi* down, Ishk. *kalapo* low. Cf. Khorasan Prs. *kallapā* downwards, v. Lenz, Pamir-Dial., I, 171 a.

*kal'piē* Mm, *ōē* Z turban. — Prs. \**kala-piē*. V. *ča'dūr*.

*kalzy* Z soot. — Cf. Wkh. *kat-ōit* < \**kata-dūta*.

*kaliyo*, v. *kve'leu*.

*kām* Yzh, g, r, *kām* sh, *kām* Mm palate. — Prs.; cf. Khov. *khām*.

*ku'mā* Yzh harlot. — Khov.

*kūmio* Yzh big basket, carried on the back.

*kām-lad* Yzh, *ka°* g back-tooth. — V. *kām*, *lad*.

*ka'mānek* Yzh bow for teasing cotton. — *k° daham* 'gāla *mēkinam*', Khov. *biçešiman*. — Prs. *kamānca* id.

*ka'mān-i Rus'tam* Mm rainbow. — Prs. V. *mira-ar'lasto*.

*ka'mār* Yp pouch for gun-powder. — Cf. Prs. *kamar* belt? V. *kut'ā*.

*kamar'band* Yg belt. — Prs. — V. *su-y-molān*.

*kimat* Ysh price. — Ar-Prs. — V. *kūy*.

*kāln* Ysh, Z affix of the predic. gen. V. § 214. — *mān-kān*, *ta-kān amaf-kān*

(§ 203), *amān-kān*, *amaf-kān*, etc. (§ 206), *kōi-kān* (§ 210).

*'ken-am*: *'ked-am* Mm, *kan-*: *kēd-* Z to dig. — *kīdo* vā zā'min dug in the earth. — Av. *kan-*.

*ke'n-ēm*: *kā'r-ēm* Yzh, sh, u, *kān-*: *kār-* g, *kā'n*: *ke'r-* r, *ike'n-am* Mt, *yiken-*: *yikar-* m, (*ikān-*: (*ikār-* Z, *kā'n-*: *kār* G to do. — *kens* sh 2 sg., *ē-kir kōne* Yu you cannot (*na mētāni*); *kīt*, *kēit* 3 sg.; *ke'nam* 1 pl. sh, u, *ke'net* 3 pl. sh; *kēn* imper. 2 sg. sh, *kene* 2 pl. sh, u; *xō'āne kō'ne* sh make merry; *mān ory ke'rēm* r I worked; *to mān xā'lās kārēt* sh you released me; *kārēm* sh I have done; *kīd vto* he was doing. — Av. *kar-* (*kōrēnav-*). The element (*yā-*), which appears in some of the M forms, can scarcely be an ancient prefix (*wi-?*).

*kā'nī-* Ysh, in *'icos na xā'yin lō'zo kō'nūm* now I shall have a castle made for myself. Or: let me now make . . . — Causative or subjunctive?

*'kun om*: *kū'nā i-m* Yzh, *kun-om*: *kunā'i-m* g, *'kūn-om*: *kū'nā i-m* r, *kū'nāy-am* Mm, *kūn-*: *kūnōy*. Z to copulate. — Z compares Prs. *kūn*, but cf. Orm. *kīn-*: *kuul-*, Caucas. Jewish *kūn-kerd*, which point to a contamination between *kūn* and the verb 'to do' used euphemistically (cf. Horn, Np. Et., 259). Cf. Sgl. *ken-*.

*'kinēdkā* M(g), *'kin'tika*, *'kin'k°* Z small girl; *kinke* LSIm girl. — Somehow related to Prs. *kaniz(ak)*, Auromani *kānācā*, etc. \**kanyačī* > *kinč-*?

*'kando* Yzh, sh, *kēnd* Mm plough-share. — < \**kanando*? Cf. Prs. *kanand* hoe, spade or instrument for turning up ground which cannot be ploughed.

With dissimilation Prs. *kaland* pick-axe, and further *kuland*, *kulang* (through contamination with the word for 'crane'). But cf. also Psht. *kunda* plough-share.

*kund* Mm blunt. — Prs. V. *mīkū*.

*'kandraq* Yzh trench, ditch. — Khov.; cf. Prs. *kandag*, *xandaq*.

*kun'dūt* Mm dust-storm.

*ka'na'yiko* Yzh wart.

*kunf* Yzh, Mm corner of a house. — Prs. V. *burī*, *šungā*.

*kēy* Yzh cave. — Khov. *kēn*.

*kun'dūk* Yzh, *'kun'duk* sh, g wooden bowl (larger than a *padriško*). — Khov.

*kun'častē* Yzh, g, *kun'* sh, *kun'častē* r, *kūn'čv* Mm, t, g, *kun'g'* Z, *kūg* G deaf. — Av. *karēna*, Psht. *kūy*, etc. Cf. the similar suffix in *gungčstē*.

*'kan'kafo* Ysh iron kettle for porridge (not recognized by zh). — IA?

*kap* Y, *kōp* Mm, g, (sh), *kāp* G, *kōp* B fish. — Cf. EVP. s.v. *kab*. The *p* renders the word suspect of being borrowed (from Wkh. *kūp'*).

*kop* Yzh, g, r, *koḥ* sh, *kōb* Mm little, too little. — *kop šūi* Yzh it became too little; *hūy kōb no'čor* sh the price became too small, *kam šud*. — < \**kam(b)na*, Av. *kanna*-, etc.

*kū'por*, v. *pukor*.

*'kār*: *'kišē* Yzh, *kāšē*, *kāš'i* sh, : *kūšk* Mm to sow, plant, *kōr*: *kišk* Z to plough. — *gu'le kšē'el* Ysh they planted flowers, *pāšidan*: *ket* zh he plants. — Baš. and Taj. have *kār*: *kāšt*, not \**kišt*, yet borrowing from Prs. is probable. Cf. Sgl. *kīr*.

*hīr* Yu, in *č-kir kōne* you cannot. Cf. *'ikər* *kənəm* Z I can. V. *kēn*.

*'kər* Yzh, *'kər* r to cut down. — Cf. *kər dah*.

*kūr* Yzh, *kur* sh, g dumb. — Cf. Ishk. *kar*.

*qa'rib* Mm, g near, close. — *mə kyāi q°* g this house is near. — Ar. Prs. V. *naž'dik*.

*krabəre* Yzh wool of lambs. — Khov. *kābraifi*, etc.

*'karbasa* Y, *kar'bosakē* pl. sh, *kar'vaša* Mt, (sh), *kawugəviy* Mm lizard. — Prs. *karbasa*, *°pāsa*, *°pāsa*, etc., cf. Sgl. *kərvišik*, etc. — V. *zəgərməy*.

*'kurbəs* Mm blind. — Cf. Prs. *kūr*. V. *'yāde*.

*kār'ga* maker of wooden troughs and plates, *tabak-trāš*. — Scarcely fr. Prs. *kārgah* workshop! But cf. Psht. *kāra* large wooden vessel?

*koro'čunu* Yzh, sh cattle-infesting tick. — Khov. *kor'čuno*, *kōr'čunu* (Lor.) tick.

*kur'čudə* Yzh, *°ūt* sh bramble, *siāh-xār*. — With *°čudə* cf. Prs. *kunda* log?

*'kar'čəz* f. Yzh, g, *°čəz* r, *'kargas* Mg black and white eagle, Khov. *bizbar*. — The M form is a modern lw. from Prs. *kargas*, cf. Sgl. *kor'yos*. With *z* also Sängisāri *k'ar'g'az*, Brahui *kargaz*. V. *ukāb*, *šiz*.

*kar'časp* Yzh small, uneatable fish.

*'kərm* Yzh bug which eats the grain. — Prs.

*kur'mo* Y, *čū'čus* k° g scorpion, *'kurmo* Yg, *kurm* Mm insect (?), *kərm* Z worm. — *vo k° piš'to* Yu he asked the scorpion (*gaždum*). — Genuine, cf. Prs. *kirm*, etc.

*kur'miko* Yzh bee. — V. *ag'min-kur'miki*.

*'kārən* Yzh, *°əun* sh army. — Anc. lw. fr. Prs. The meaning of the Y word



- supports Fr. Müller's derivation of *kāreān* < *kāra* (Horn, Np. Et. p. 185), which has been rejected by Hübschmann (Prs. Stud., p. 85) and others.
- kurpə* Yzh, *ᵛpə* r, Mm, *ᵛpa* G, Z bed-clothes. — Bad. Prs. *kurpa* quilt, cf. Sgl. *kurpə*.
- kurpa'sa* Yr mosquito. — Prs. \**kār-paša*. Cf. Ishk. id.
- kīrār* Yzh Kafir cheese. — IA (e.g. Pashai *kīrār*), but not Khow. (cf. Ashkun Voc. s.v. *ce'la*).
- kur'si* Yzh, g chair. — Ar.-Prs.
- ka'rđst* Yzh, g, r, *ke°* sh, *kərost* Mg, t, *ka°* m, *kə°* Z, G hide, skin. — Cf. Sgl. *korost* hide, Psht. *krāsta* felt. (Impossible etymology proposed by Markwart, *Caucasica*, 6, 32).
- kurušo* Yzh Angelica.
- kər'sav:* *kər'savd* Ysh to stir (soup, etc.).
- ku'rūt* Yzh ("not made in Lutkoh"), g, Mm, *ᵛtə* Ysh dried curds. — Prs.
- kər'tus* Mm cartridge. — Ind. fr. French.
- kareān'kuš* the morning star. — \*Prs., cf. Wkh. *karēān-kuš*.
- kar'vasē* Yzh, *kar'bos* Mm, *ᵛos* Z cotton. — M fr. Prs.; Y fr. Khow. *kar'vas* (in its turn from Prs. *karbās*, which is of Ind. origin!).
- kīrriō* Yzh, *kēr'iō* sh, *ker°* g, *kir'yo* r, *kīrya* Mg, t, *ᵛo* m, *khiryā* (g), *k'ᵛrāya* Z, *kəri'ya* G hen. — \**kṛkiyā*, cf. Prs. *kary*, Psht. *čirg*, Wotyak (lw.) *kureg*, etc. But cf. Shgh. *čūč*, *čāč*.
- kər* in *kər da'ham*, *ziēm* Yzh, *kər dam* r to fell a tree; *pa kəra skəstēm* zh I felled. — < \**kṛta*. Cf. Sgl. *kuč ken*.
- kə'rē* Yzh, *yūk'riy* Mm closed. — *ken* Yzh also means 'to close'.
- kərē* Yzh, *kəṛə* g shield. — Khow. *khēli, kəri*.
- kəṛo* f. Yzh, *ka°* sh, *kə°* g, *ko°* r, *kē°* p, *kəro* Mm, *kərika* g, *kəra* Z, *ᵛra* G knife. — *nurə'rum* *vo kə°* Yp I took out the knife. — \**kartiya*, cf. Psht. *čāya*, etc.
- kurə* Yzh numb, stiff with cold, Khow. *kauṛ*. — *kə°* *sui*.
- kāriak* Yzh, *ᵛāk* sh yoke-peg. — *kāriḍkē* pl. — Khow. *kāri*, fr. which also Wkh. *ke'fi*.
- kṛinsar* Yzh, sh combined walking-stick and pickaxe. — Khow. *krinzāl* pickaxe, *klinsār* (Lor.) alpenstock.
- krox* Yzh incrustation, scab of a wound. — Khow. *klišk* hard, stiff (of a hide, etc.).
- krox(i)-yastē* Ysh knuckle, ankle-bone. — V. *byok*, *axrigula*, *boda*, *trōboda*.
- kōw:* *kist* Yzh, r, *k'os* sh to search for. — *čəs kōse-stē?* Yr *čiš mēšūri?* *k'ᵛo'sem* *vio* sh 'mēšuridim'. — Fr. Av. *kas* to see, get sight of?
- kus* Yg, Z, *kus* Mm, g, *kos* vulva. — Prs. V. *šino*.
- kuso* Yp straw of maize.
- kōsk* m. Mm, Z, G, *kōsk* Mg, (g), ti, t barley. — Cf. Yazgh. *kāsk*, Arm. *kask* (Hübschm., 515), but Prs. *kāsk*, Shgh. *čūšē*, Sar. *čūšj*. V. *yēršio*.
- kōskən* (*nayan*) Mm barley (bread). — Prs. *kaškina*, Arm. *kāškēn* (Hübschm., 257). V. *aršō'min*.
- qasam* Mm oath. — Ar.-Prs. V. *uor*.
- qissa* Yu tale. — Ar.-Prs.
- kōža* Yzh, g, *kōš* sh, r valley. — \**kaš(š)a* 'armpit', cf. Kabuli Prs. *ba'al-i kōh* nook at the foot of a hill?
- kaš* Z piebald, multicoloured. — Cf. Shgh. *čūč*, Yazgh. *k'āse*, Ishk. *čōf*, Psht. *gač*. *š* points to borrowing.

*kišca* Yr plough(ing), *kišcu-yuz* LSIy cultivation. — V. *kār*.

*'kušco* Yzh, p wooden frame for carrying hay on the back (v. illustrations in Vavilov, *Agricult. Afgh.*, figg. 40, 70).

*kuš'm-um*: *kuš'māi-m* Yzh, *'kiš'mōy-am* Mg to vomit. Cf. *'kašpa* Z saliva?

*kū'sūn* Yzh, sh smoke. — Khov. V. *lūi*.

*kū'ser* Yzh, r, *kšyār* sh a kind of pea, *Lathyrus sativus*, *patek*. — Cf. Wkh. *k'roš*. Acc. to *Agricult. Afgh.* pp. 112, 114 it grows in Sanglech, but not in Munjan. V. *pateko*, *xurmūyo*.

*ki'sār* Yp spike of wheat, etc.

*ka'tā* Ysh plough. — V. *kugo*.

*ka'ti* M(g) mixed. — *k°* *kerem*. — Ar. Prs. *qā'fī*.

*ke'tiu* Yzh, *kə'tyū* g, *kə'tōb* Mm. — zo *'nā-to kiti'ū da'irm* Yzh, *mən yū k° astot* g. — M fr. Ar.-Prs.; with Y cf. Khov. *kiteb*, Wershiqwar *kitēp*, with *imāla*.

*'kautia* Yzh, sh, g, *°tio* r, *'kaftica* Mm, *°o* g, *kotia* B butterfly. — V. *par'wāno*.

*hut'ā* Yp small pouch for gunpowder, carried inside the *ka'mār*. — Cf. Prs. *qūfi* a box in which precious stones etc. are carried?

*ki'taya* Yzh, *°ya(n)* sh wild almond, *bādām*. — From Kafiri, cf. *Kati kte* < *kāntā*.

*kua'tin* Ysh, *ko'tin* g rich. — no *yū kua'tinen muz'durā ken* Ysh take service with a rich man. — Khov. *koa'tin* fr. Ar.-Prs. *\*quewatin*. V. *bāi*, *dauladār*.

*kū'tān* Yzh large water-fowl, *'kulān'* (?).

*ku'tox* Yzh, sh, *°ax* Mm a kind of sour milk made from *dūy* (*māst mēzana*,

*dūy mendāza*); *ktax* Yg *kandū* (?). — Cf. Sgl. *k'utax* fr. Tu.-Prs. *katax*, *qatiy*.

*kuta'xin* Yzh bread made with *kutox*. V. *arsəmin*.

*ktyōc*, v. *kāky*.

*kūf* Ysh coat. — Engl.

*ko'tinē* Yzh, *°i* g, *°ine* sh middle-sized hammer. — Khov.

*ki'to'ri* Yzh dried mulberries. — Khov. V. *tal'kān*.

*'kovio* m, Yzh, *'kōvio* sh, *°iya* r, *°iyo* (*°ūyo*?) u, *koū* g, *'kōnya* Mm, *°o* g, *'kōwūya* Z, *kā'wū'ya* G, *kōwū* B pigeon. — *kōviyo* *gošē* Yu. — Cf. Prs. *kabūtār*, Wkh. *kibit*, Sgl. *kō'viđ*, Khov. lw. *kōvōr*, etc.

*kovz'dūz* Yzh, *kaf'dūz* sh cobbler. — Prs. *kafādōz*.

*'kowito* Yzh fig. — Khov. *ko'wīt*.

*kvei* m. Y, Mt, *°ai* g, *°oi* m, *°oi* ti, *kyai* Z, *kvēy* G house. — *lo'oi* dā *kvei*; no *xoi kvēin*; *tro kvēi*, *tro kyēf lo'oi*; *asəm nā kyē'yen*; no *xoi kyēyen* Yu; *sūi da'rūn dā kvoi*; *yū kyoi*, *š'roi kyayi* Mm; *mā kyāi qa'rīb*, *myend kvā'yi qa'rīb* Mg. — < \**kataka*, Prs. *kada*, etc.

*'kyof-um*: *'kyoft-um* Yzh to groan. — Cf. Prs. *kafīdan* to burst, crack, foam?

*'kxfo* Yzh, *'kvū°* sh, r, *'kvīfe* Mg, *'kifa* Z, *kū'fān* Mm hump (of cows). — *moi 'kvūfo* Ysh. — Cf. *kū'fōn* Z camel's hump. — Cf. Prs. *koha*, Kurd. *kēf*, Sgl. *kif* < \**kaufa*; but Psh't. *kwab*, Or. *kūp*, with *p*. — Reg. Wkh. *kīp*, *kāp*, Sar. *kīep* v. Wkh. s.v.

*kyo'gō* Yzh, p, *čō'gōo* sh, *kyo'go* B pear. — < \**ʔongo*, Khov. *ʔong*.

*'kvahrē* Yzh anger. — Ar.-Prs.



*kvēl* Yzh, *kvāl* Mm bald-headed. — Prs. *kal*.  
*kvēlēu* Yzh, sh, *'kaliyo* Mm, *čāliye* ti, *kal'ya* G key, bolt. — Anc. lw. fr. Prs. *kilid*.  
*kvāl-čerenō* Yzh, *čārenō* sh white-headed, bald-headed eagle. Cf. *kvēl* and Wkh. *kalmory*. *čerenō* < \**gṛdnu*, cf. Skr. *gṛdhnū* eager, greedy, *gṛ'dhra* vulture?  
*'kvēliko* Yzh, sh, *'kvāliko* r, *kvē* g, *'kaliko* Mm, *'kalvika* g, *'kvālvakā* (g) jaw. — IA, cf. Kalasha *kālyak*, etc., Par. *kalagī da'nān* fronttooth. V. *nīšok*.  
*kvāl-yaršio* Ysh beardless barley, *'kal-jau*. Cf. Agric. Afgh. p. 302.  
*kvēm* Yzh, *kvēm* sh, *ki'yam* Mm, *k'yam* Z which? — *mo kvēm ādam?* Yzh *'i kudām ādam ast?* *kyēm ādam?* sh. — Cf. § 210. V. *kōdī*.  
*kvānder* Yzh, *kvāmdār* sh, *kamder* Mm, *kemder* ISIy younger, *'kandir* Z smaller, *kand'ra* G little finger. — *k° vraya*, *vrai*, *vrai* younger brother. — Prs. *kamtar*.  
*'kvemalyo* Yzh skull. — Av. *kamərōda*, Sak. *kamala*.  
*kvunyo* Yzh, *kvun'yo* sh, *'kvū°* g, r, *'kuggvurgo* Mm, *'kendərga* Z magpie, *yalbək*. — \**kršna(pa)kā* (?), cf. Sgl. *kvēvāk* < \**kēvāk* < \**kršapaka*, Wkh. *kir'epē*, *kitipē*, Shgh. *kišēpe*, Sar. *kargopē*, etc. (v. Z. a.v.); Khov. lw. *kišipi*, Shina *kašap*, Wershiwar. *yašep*.  
*kvipo* Yzh polo-ball. — Not Khov.  
*kvir'f-um*: *kvir'fai-m* Yzh, : *kvir'fay-əm* sh, *kirfa'i-m* r, *čirf-əm*: *čirfa'i-m* g to sneeze. — Onomatopoeitic, cf. Wkh. *štrōf*.

*kvārāzo* Yzh, *č°* sh small wooden spade with long handle, used for opening and shutting irrigation rivulets. — Cf. Prs. *kirāz* harrow, Orm. *kurāzī*, Wanetsi *krōz* spade.  
*kvēsa*, v. *čštr-kvēsa*.  
*kvēsina* Yzh forest. — Lor. suggests connection with Khov. *tes-pok* (t) a kind of shrub. — V. *'zangal*.  
*'kūza* Yg, *°o* r, Mm jar. — Prs. V. *so'fo*.  
*qiza'gī* Yzh small bridle. — Ar.-Prs. *qaiza*. V. *avēlān*.  
*ku'zā* Ysh where? — *da-ku'zā? kšā?* — Prs. *kujā*, cf. Madaglashti *kušā* < \**kšā* < \**k'ujā*.  
*ku'zo* Yzh, sh, Mm crooked. — Cf. Sgl., Prs. *kūz*, etc.  
*'kužkē* Yzh, *°kē* sh, *°kē* p, *°gō* g, *'kūzikā* f. Z, *kujka* B hair (of the head). — *kuška nvašim* Yg. — \**kaučī*-lock, curl, cf. Prs. *kōš* curved, Skr. *kucati* bends, Sogd. *kuc'k* 'chignon' (Benveniste, JA, 223, p. 229).  
*krē'yo* Yzh, r dirty.  
*kož'vīoko* Yzh a kind of red and white duck. — Cf. *kaš*.

## L

*la*, *lo* Y with, together with. — *ze la to ory kō'nīm* Yr I work together with you; *la mən astet* sh I possess. Cf. §§ 166, 218, 220. — Av. *haša*, Psht. *la*.  
*la*, v. *lak*.  
*liu* Mm rotten, bad, *ganda*; *liu* Z, G bad. — *mai yaši, uai liuci* these are good, those are bad; *liu keram* I stooled. — Acc. to G < Av. *dašva*.  
*Ishk. lēw* night-mare, *lēw* mad belong to a dialect with *l* < *δ*. *Ishk. len*

stupid, blunt, cf. Prs. *luc* stupid, foolish, may have the same origin.  
*loû*: *lo'icai* Yzh, *lawû* LSly to graze (tr. and intr.). — *x<sup>2</sup>shu'wân* *lo'û* the shepherd grazes (the cattle); *wo'ri* l<sup>o</sup> the sheep graze; *no-laucayen* LSly to graze. — < \**dab*, cf. EVP., s.v. *blōs*?

*lûi* m. Y, *luy* Mm, g, ti, li (g), *lûy* Z, G smoke. — Cf. Prs. *dād*, Wkh. *dit*, Sgl. *dið*, etc. — V. *kušûn*.

*lûu* Yzh, *lû* g pine-marten, Khov. *rušk*.  
*lîb-ēm*: *lîbâi-m* Yzh, *lib-ēm* Mti to card wool, Khov. *dumiman*. — Cf. Sgl. *damb*, Khov. *lw. dum*. With Ir. \**dumb* cf. IA *tumb* in Panj. *tumbayâ* to tease cotton, etc. (v. Nep. Dict. s.v. *tunnu*). — Prs. *dafta* 'weaver's comb' for \**dufta*?

*laba'kow-um* M(g) to smear, plaster. — Ar.-Prs. *labk* mixing (flour with honey, etc.), mixture?

*lôbân-ēm* Yzh: *lôbad-ēm* sh, r, *lôvân*: *lôvêd* Mm, *lôvôn*: *lôvây* t, (g).  
*lôvôn*: *lôvây* Z to winnow, *bât kardan*. — *wôn* *lôbadēm* Yr. — Cf. Sgl. *dôvîn*, Wkh. *bûn*, Shgh. *de'vên*, Yazgh. *deven* to winnow, Av. *dean* (*deasa*) to fly, us *deanaya* to throw up (Sak. *uysvan*), *bala* 'winnowed' (= *lôvây*, Yazgh. *ðevûd*), not 'coarsely ground' (v. ZAIRWB., s.v.; Scheffelowitz, ZDMG. 59, pp. 690, 780). — Psht. *lean*: *leas* to winnow, Ardistanî *band*: *bas* to throw (Bailey, BSOS, 7, p. 771) < *dean*, influenced by \**ban(d)*. Cf. also Orm. *ban*, Bakht., etc., *van* to throw (away), cf. NTS, 5, p. 14.

*lad* Y, *lođ* Mm, *lōnd* g, (g), t, *lōnd* ti, *lod* Z, *lât* G, *lād* LSIm, *lōnd* MFB

tooth. — Pl. *lade* Ysh, *lođi* Mm. — Av. *dantan*, cf. Sgl. *dān*<sup>d</sup>, Wkh. *dendik*, *lānd*.

*lo'yoī*, v. ti.

*luydo* Yzh, u, *lo'yo* sh, g, p, l<sup>o</sup> r, *luyda* Mti, g, *luydo* m, *luyda* Z, *luyda* G daughter. — *tō cand luyde astet?* *yū luydo*, *x<sup>2</sup>roi luyde* Yr; obl. *luydon*, *luydaf* Yr; *luyde* pl., *ai luydeo* sh; *lo luydi v'at*; *vō luydaf yururd*, *mai luydi niastat* Mm, *luydi* pl. Mti. — Av. *duydar*, Sgl. *uudayd*, Wkh. *duyd*, etc.; cf. Oss. *xo-diyd* husband's sister (*diyd* \*'girl').

*luydi'ko* Yzh daughter (demin).

*lo'yafci*, v. *l'vaxcē*.

*lôyn-am*: *lôyod-am* Yzh, r, *lôyod-o* sh, *lôyot* u, *na'yo'n-ēm* (?) : *lôyod-ēm* g : *lôyend-um* Mm, *lôyada* B to lie down, to fall asleep. — *lôynē* zh 3 sg.; *lôyot* u, 'xau kat'; *lôyoda waxt* sh evening, *ske lôyo šuyam* r perf. (?); *stinyo šui lôyoda* g he lay down on his back. — Mm would point to Ir. \**ni-gan*, not \**kan*. Cf.

*lôyan-um*: *lôyad-um* Yzh, sh, r, *lôyân-um*: *nôyad-ēm* g, *lôyôn*: *lôyend* Mt, (g) to throw away, to pour out, 'partau kardan, partaflan'. — But note also *lôyend-ēm* Yzh 'partau kardim', *lôyend-ēm* Yr I send away, 'mêfiristim'; *lôyend-ēm* I poured out, 'tit kardam'; *lôyend-um* Mm, 'tit mēkunam': *lôgād-um* (?) 'tit kardum'. — *gadāt lôyân* Ysh give up begging (partau); *wo vira lôyado da kyî* 'da xāna bār partaft' sh; *xosto lôyadēm da xu'rum* r I threw the grain into the threshing-ground. — \**ni-gan*, or, if Mm *ligād* is correct, \**ni-kan*, cf. Prs. *afgandan*, etc., (v. AO, I, p. 249; Bailey JRAS,



1934, p. 515; Henning, ZII, 9, p. 172).

lo<sup>h</sup> Y, lo<sup>h</sup> Yg, lo Mm, (sh), (g), lū t, lō g, lū, lo Z, lo<sup>o</sup> G two. — lo naha'rī Ysh two loaves, lo<sup>h</sup> mič, lo<sup>h</sup> pūre sh; 'lo lo<sup>o</sup>di Mm. — < \*duca, Av. dva, etc.

lo<sup>h</sup>o'gušco Ysh span from thumb to index finger.

loh'rinj Yzh double. — Adapted from Khov. jurinj.

loh'saxo Yzh a period of two years, Khov. jusaxa (not known from other sources). — sax < \*saxuan- from sak- to pass the time? Cf. yū'saxo.

la'jōm Mm, g, Z, lo<sup>o</sup> ti bridle, bit. — Prs. lijām, cf. Sgl. la'zām, Shgh. la'jūm, etc. V. av'lān.

la-ken- Ysh, r, lak- M(g) to let loose, leave, la'kra B to leave, lāken LSIm keep, put. — yau lo-kōm Yr I let loose the cow; wo p's'ko la'kōr sh; wos pilyi'ā lakam M(g) now I break a wind. — Cf. Sgl. la-ken-, Wkh. la-cer-, Shgh., Or. lāk-, Khov. lw. lakoman I let go, leave.

lāmo Yzh, sh, g, LSly, 'la<sup>o</sup> Yr, B, 'lomo Mm, 'e g, lā'ma G village. — 'zōl 'lāmō v'et they were from one village; wo 'lomo zōcan Mm this village is his. — G compares Av. dāman- creature, creation, place of habitation (in an eschatological sense); cf. Sogd. dōm world. Similarly Lhd. lōk village < world.

lōm Yzh, g, lēm r, lōm sh, Mm, (sh), lōm G, lūm m, Z tail. — < Av. duma- (< \*dumbma-) (\*dumba- would have resulted in \*lūb etc.).

lāmdo f. Y, 'lo<sup>o</sup> Mm, 'lōmadā Z hem, 'dāman-. — < \*dāmantā (pl.? cf. Benv.

Gramm. Sogd. II, 79), cf. Psht. laman, V. av'lānd.

lōmago Mm snare. — Psht. lūma, Wkh. dūng, etc.

lō'moi;a Mt swollen, scaran karda. — A perf. ptc., cf. Prs. damidan to break out in pimples or swellings. loma'len Yzh, li<sup>o</sup> g, nō<sup>o</sup> sh half-full. — \*haḍa-madyana-. V. 'malen, nim'kālo, nīmopir.

lō'mōn-əm: lō'mi m Yzh, lōmo'n-əm: lō'mi-im sh to rub. — < \*ni man'ōna: ni-matita- (cf. Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, p. 212), cf. Av. mant- (pres. manā-), Shgh. dē'mān-, etc. V. magv-.

lōndekā, v. laṇḍik.

lōn'ju Yzh, 'lōn'ju(n) sh strip of willow's bark. — Khov. lēn'zu.

luānekē (pl.) Yzh, luano'kō sh, lū'eno Mg twin(s); 'lūni m both. — < \*dwin-, or \*duwāna-? Cf. Sogd. d'yōn pair (Gramm. Sogd. 2, p. 140), Shgh. dō'wān, etc. two. — V. dō'gōnī.

lānawo B wise. If correct, ancient lw. from Prs.

laṇ'dik Yzh, 'landok sh, 'ak B fat (adj.); 'lōndekā M(g) belly, škāmbe.

lōnga Mm, lōng t, 'ga m. Z calf of the leg. — Prs. lang. V. ilira, neliko.

laṇ'gau Yg bucket (not known to Yzh). — V. mašerba.

liṇ'gōn Yr, lu<sup>o</sup> Mm, lo<sup>o</sup> g (not known to Yzh) hand-mill. —

la'poir (!) Yzh glitters, Khov. lapoiran; lapessa B to sparkle. — Khov. V. § 231.

lār-: 'lāt- Yzh, sh, 'lōr- Mm, g, lōr-: lēt Z to have, lār- G to give (?). — lāt zh he has; la'tom sh; lāto he had; zo wota gap yū lārēm zh I hear your word; yūi lār sh listen; xabar lāram sh;

tu 'isti lōri Mm have you anything?  
— Cf. Prs. *dāram*, etc.

lō'ri-m: lō're-i-m Yzh, lā'ri-m g.; luriy-am  
Mt, lu'ri-am: lu'ri-em (?) ti, lū'riy-:  
lū'riy- Z to reap. — Cf. lō'raoū Mt  
reaper, 'gandum ki mēdrauca'. — Cf.  
Sgl. *deriyy*, Prs. *durūdan*.

lira Yp the drum of a spinning wheel  
(v. Ill.). — Cf. Av. *dāru*, Prs.  
*dār* wood, beam?

lūr-um: 'rust-um Yzh, sh, lūr-: rust- r,  
Mm, t, ti, Z, ru'um Yr to flee. —  
'stārei 'lūrēt Yg the stars fall. —  
< \*raud-: rusta-, cf. Av. *raod-* to  
stream, run.

lūrō-um Yu to put to flight. — zo eto l°;  
ās! tā l°. Cf. lūr-.

lūro Yzh, sh, g, °ro r, lō'ro Mm, lō're g,  
°a, lū° Z far, distant. — yo ādam  
lu'ro Yzh, °o ādam lō'ro Mm, wōnd  
ādame 'lūro astet Ysh, wō kyūi lō're  
Mg; dur luro pādo šom I have walked  
far to-day; zo lura'yan Ysh, ze  
lūreyen LSIy from afar, az dūr. —  
Av. *dūra-*, etc.

lō'rafšo Yzh, lō'raušo sh, r, lō'rafšo Mm,  
°a g, dō'revša Z awl. — Cf. Prs.  
*dirafš*, which has influenced Z's form.

lō'royo Yzh clear sky. — < \*idrakā-, cf.  
Oss. *ird*; Skr. *vidhra-*; Palola *bidri*,  
etc. < \*vidhriya-; Khw. *yudur* <  
\*edhra- (?). Possibly borr. into Finno-  
Ugrian, v. Paasonen, *Ostjak*. Wb.,  
Nr. 157 (*ētr*) and cf. Kola Lapp  
*vierhta*, which acc. to information  
kindly supplied by professor Collinder  
may go back to \*ētra.

lō'ruys Yzh, sh, lō'rū° r, lō'ri° Mg, t,  
ti, lō'rēgus m, lō'r°yūš, lō'rūš lō'rūš',  
lō'rūš G sickle. — \*drāta- < \*dāōdra-  
+ kusa- (?), v. Göteborgs Högskolas

Ärsskrift, 36, pp. 68 sqq. Cf. Yaghn.  
*d'rāt*, *d'rās* < \*drāp-, Sogd. *dr'š*  
(JA, 223, p. 219) and v. EVP. s.v. *lōr*.

lirs Y, lirs Mg, lurs m. Z goat's hair. —  
Cf. Wkh. *širs*, Shgh. *šōšc*, and v.  
NTS, V, p. 43, s.v. *drassam*. Cf.  
also Prs. *širs* a threadbare garment,  
a camel's tail, and Khw. *jošk*  
(O'Brien) fine hair of yak fr. Ir. (cf.  
*još* ten < \*dōš)?

lō'ro Yzh, r, °ro sh, lō'ro Mm reaping.  
lō'raoū ti reaper. — l° kenem, yikenom  
I reap. — Cf. Prs. *dirau*. V. lōri.  
lur'vē Yzh, °ou sh, °ro r, °ā g, lō'rū B,  
'luravi Mm, lō'rēvi ti sick, ill, (poor  
Yzh). — zo lō'r'vē Yzh I am ill;  
pādšā lur'vū šūi sh; mēn (mox) u'zir  
'lureo 'vēm r I was (we were) ill  
yesterday. — Cf.:

lō'rovē Yzh, lō'rovē B, lō'raoū G illness.  
— mēn lō'rovē zh I am ill, I feel  
pain. — lur'vē < \*a-dravaka-, cf.  
Av. *drva-*, Sogd. *dr'ich* sound, fresh;  
lō'rovē < \*a-dravayā- (?); scarcely,  
with G, from \*dravayē-, cf. Av. *driyu-*  
poor, weak. — Cf. also Bal. *durāh*,  
Brahui *dū'rāx* well in health <  
\*drāwaxa-.

lō'rivē Mti, lō'riven t shrub, bush used  
as fuel, pūš.

lō'arza Yzh, g, °o r trembling. — mēn l°  
kūt I tremble. — Prs.

lō'arzē Yzh, °zi (pl.?) sh, lō'arzi p, lō'arziy  
Mm, lō'arzi t sheaf of corn; lō'arzē Ysh  
sheaf-band. — Cf. Talish *darz* sheaf,  
Av. *darz-* to tie together, etc.

lō'arū Yzh melon, turbuza. — Khw.

los Y ten. — Av. *dasa*. V. dā.

lō'so Ysh, r, lā° g, lā° zh, Mm, lā'sa G,  
lā° Z, lāsef obl. pl. LSI m rope  
(made of goat's wool). — Cf. Prs.



*dasa* thread which remains in the loom, Bal. *dasag* thread (?), Shumashti (Dardic) *das* thread (fr. Prs.), Skr. *daśā* fringe.

*liso* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>lo° r, <sup>2</sup>l° g, <sup>3</sup>l° Mm wild oats. — Cf. Sgl. *dō'sin*.

*last* m. Y, *lost* Mm, Z, *lōst* Mg, (g), ti, *ldst* G arm, *lāst* Ysh arm below elbow, hand. — *šuwānen wa alāno da lāst kəp* Ysh the young man took the pome-granate in his hand; *'na ta trə 'lās kə'rum* sh I put it in your hand; *last āzdom* g I wash my hands. — Not lw., but with dissimilation fr. Av. *zasta*, as in other Ir. dialects.

*lastē* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>i p, <sup>2</sup>sh handle of a spade.

*last(b)ot* Yr, g, *lasten-b°* sh wrist. — *trə bən ta lasbo'da* Yg (?).

*los-wist* Yr 200, *hazār* (1).

*loš'yū* Yzh, g, <sup>1</sup>iyū sh, r eleven. — Cf. Khw. *još-i*.

*lišē*, *lišky*, v. *icin*.

*laštokun* Ysh saddle-cover (?). V. *jaləp*.

*latrək* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>lātrik sh wild chive garlic, used as a vegetable. — Khw. *lafruk*.

*livē* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>sh second irrigation, *dūāva*. — V. *dūāva*, *avzino*.

*liven* Yzh, sh, <sup>1</sup>l° r, g, Mm, g, *livedani* (pl.?) Yp, *liv'den* Z fire-place, Mm also n. of a constellation, (cf. Kalasha *idhon* tripod: *Idhonek* constellation). — \**daiga-dāna* (Prs. *dēgdān*) with dissim. of *ḍ-ḍ* (v. § 52). But *v* < *γ*?

*lvor* Y, Mm, <sup>1</sup>or g, *lvār* m. Z, *lvār* G door. — *yū l° no'vor* Mm he appeared in the doorway. — Av. *dear*, cf. Sgl. *vōr*, Wkh. *bār*.

*lvoro* Y, *lvoriko* Mm, *lvōra* Z roof-board, rafter. — Originally *door-plank*? — Psht. *barga* rafter is prob. borr. from IA.

*lvaxcē* Yzh, *la'afci* sh large conifer, torch. — V. *pelicyo*.

*lvā'za* Yzh, sh, r baked dough.

*liv'zin* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>l° sh, r, g, *lv'zo* felt, *lvz-nāmyo* G coarse cloth, *palos*, *lōvs* B thick. — Cf. Prs. *dabz* thick, coarse (as cloth); *in* is an adj. ending.

*lv-terzəya rūso* Yzh bat (: winged fox). — Cf. *la* and *vörzəyo*, V. *šabparekilay*, *šivderaus*.

*lu'wist* Yzh, g, <sup>1</sup>lū° r 40; <sup>2</sup>isto'los r 50. — V. § 202.

*lax'čio* Ysh, r, p, *laxčio* zh, Mm, g, <sup>1</sup>a f. Z small goatskin bag for keeping flour *snāč*. — *lv'ado da l°* sh threw into a bag; *da laxčief yurdam* r. — *laxč* < \**lakč* < \**lačk*, cf. Sgl. *dēcak*, Wkh. *šock*??

*lax'sirē* Yzh, *laxsəra* sh, g, <sup>1</sup>ere r *yaxsəriy* Mm, g, *yaxserē* Z ice. — Cf. Prs. *xasār*, *hasar*, *hasir* (*yax* + *sār*)? Regarding *l* cf. § 78. V. List of Place-Names: *Yakhserighar*.

*lyoxē* Yzh, sh, *loxē* r itching (or: it itches?).

*lv'zo* Yzh, sh, <sup>1</sup>l° sh, r, g, *lv'zo* B fort, *qala*. Cf. *Lizo* Mm n. of a village. — *lv'zo kə'yet*, *lv'zo kə'nium* sh. — Cf. Prs. *diz*, Chr. Sogd. *dyz*, etc.

*lanz* Yzh, *labz* G word. — Ar.-Prs. V. *rōi*.

*lūz-om*: *lūyd-om* Yzh, r, Mm, t, Z, *lūz*:- *lūyd*- Ysh, *lūz*:- *lv'yd*- r to milk. — < \**dauč*- (a secondary present base made up from \**duxta*-), cf. Wkh. *dic*, Shgh. *duč*, Par. *duč*. Sgl. *dēš*, Psht. *lucāš-ol* < \**daučš*. What is W. Oss. *docun* (cf. *ficun* to cook)?

*la'fino* Yu pile of firewood. — *və lafino* *žafa'u* put fire to the pile. — \**ni-čayanā*, cf. Turf. Phil. *nī-čī* (Henning,

ZIL 9, p. 182, Skr. *nī-ci-* to pile up.  
V. *parīn*.  
*lāz'vər* Yzh lapis lazuli. — Prs.

## M

- ma, mo* Y, *mā* M this. — V. § 206.  
*mō* Mm, g month. — Prs. V. *mox*.  
<sup>1</sup> *mā-um*: 'mavd-um Yzh to masticate, chew.  
<sup>2</sup> *mā-um*: 'mavd-um Yzh, sh, 'māv-um:  
'māvd-um Mm, mōda B to measure, weigh. — 'mām dō tāra'zū sh let us weigh; 'mav'do, 'mav'det sh he (they) weighed it; 'ri'zān 'māum Yzh 'xūb sanjīdim'. — Av. *mā(y)*-, or IA. lw.  
*mūo* Yzh, g, *mūō* sh, r, 'mūyo Mm, °a (sh), 'mūyd g, °ā (g), 'mūya Z sheep (Ysh, Mm also female oorial). — \**maīśā*, Av. *maīśā*. V. 'mūya.  
*ma'cio* Yzh, sh, r, °io g, 'ma'cio Mm, g, °ā (g), 'mā'cia Z, ma° LSIm she-dog. — Cf. Sgl. *mācīk*, Taj. *mōca*, Early lw.  
*maci'xor* Yzh kingfisher. — Khov. *maci'xor* (Lor.) a 'kind of duck', *māci'xor* (O'Brien) 'kingfisher', an adaptation of Prs. *māhixwār* heron. Note the — incidental? — similarity to Nep. *māfikore* kingfisher.  
*mōcū* Yzh, °ə sh artisan, blacksmith. — Hi., etc. *moci* cobbler.  
*mū-cīno* tweezers, *mūcī'na* G scissors (?). — Prs. V. *cepīo*.  
*mēdi* Ysh? — In *nəvur* m° 'az bayal badar (usū) kat' (: took it out from his bosom).  
*ma'diri* Yzh, g seam. Khov.  
*mōdra'yē* Yzh, mōnd° sh, *malrāgi* Mm silver neckring (from Peshawar, acc. to Yzh). — Pl. of \**mōdra*, cf. Ishk.

- murdik* small ring (v. Sgl. *cām-murdikig*), Phl. *mudr* ring. V. § 88.  
*maf* Yzh, sh, *mōf* r, Mm, Z you. V. § 203 sq.  
*'magam* Ysh verily. — m° *max yū pādśā astet* but you have a king. — Cf. Par. *magam* possibly, unless, Shgh. probably. Fr. Prs. *magar*?  
*'māgy-im*: *ma'gvi-m* Yzh, g, r, 'ma'gy-em: *ma'gyi-m* sh, *mā'gy-em*: *mā'gyi-m* r, 'mōgy-um: *mugi'y-um* Mm, 'mō'gy-am: *mēgi'ā* m t, *mōg'*: *mēg'* Z to rub (with the hands), to wash clothes, Yg to crush, 'mēmālim'. — Cf. Sgl. *māyq* to rub, smear, Wkh. *mānd*, *māyq* to rub, shampoo, prob. fr. IA., cf. e.g. Palola *māyq*, Ksh. *māyq* to knead, wash (v. Nep. Dict. s.v. *mafer*, *mārnu*). — Cf. also Yazgh. *marn-* to twist, rub with the hands, but *rn* would not account for Y—M *gy* (v. §§ 121, 133).  
*mī'gva* Y ringdove, *fāxta*, Khov. *kalkūr*. — V. *fāxtaga*.  
*mīy* Yzh, sh, r, Mm, g, B *mēy* Yg, Z, G cloud; *Mēy* Yp n. of a mythical horse (cf. IIFL, I. p. 165: Par. *Aīr*, Taj. *Abr*. V. also *Wū*). — Av. *maēya*, etc.  
*'mūyo* Yzh, sh, r, *mūyo* g, °a Mt, (g), *stur-mugo* m bean, *Vicia faba*, *bōkula* (cf. Agricult. Afgh., p. 112 — not mentioned from Munjan). — Borr. from Pkt. *mugga-* *phaseolus mungo*? (Saka lw. *māmgā*). V. *xur-mūyo*.  
*mōyiki* (pl.?) Ysh, *mūryik* B hail. — Connected with the preceding word, cf. Wkh. *mūzik* hail: Sgl. *mūzik* pea; Shgh. *ma'sak* hail: *maš* pea? *ma'y'min* (*nayan*) Ysh bread made of *mūyo*. — Reg. the suffix, v. § 193.



mo'yuso Y, 'mayəsa Mt, 'məyəsa (g), 'moguso m, 'maxsa g, 'magusa f. Z, 'ā'sa G fly. — \*makasā, cf. Prs. *magas*, Wkh. *maks*, etc.  
 mayz Y, Mm, t. Z, māyz Mg, maxs ti marrow, brain. — *pusur-mayz* Yr = 'mayz-i sar Z brain. — The a points to borrowing from Prs.  
 maha'lam Yzh mending (clothes). — m° *kenem*.  
 mih'mān Yzh, sh, mī'mān Mm, mī'mōn Z guest. — Prs.  
 mahmī'zā-um: mahmī'zard-um Yzh, sh to make to fly, flee, *mēparim* (intr.), Khov. *uštūrīm*. — Cf. Prs. *mahmiz kardan* to spur a horse.  
 mīkš Yzh, sh, mekš g, mī'gšo r, mī'yo B blunt. — Possibly early loan fr. Khov. *muṭu* (f > k), but cf. also Wkh. *muq*, Sar. *mēaq* (Shaw) blunt.  
 māl Ysh, u goods, property. — *wo māləf arəst* Ysh they brought the money; *ro māl-hāl līm nōn* u I gave him all kinds of goods (*māl-hāl*) 'māl-i hāl ba ū dādam'. — Ar-Prs.  
 molo Y, 'mōlo Mm, 'mala t, mō'la G here. — *tu nišā molo* Ysh 'tu injā bišā'; *maf 'male 'nišit* Mm sit down here; *zō zi 'malen* (obl. form?) Ysh I am from here, *mā az hamijā*. — < \**imaḍā*, cf. Sogd. *mō*, Sgl. *mōḍ(ak)*.  
 mūl Yzh, mūl Mm stirring stick, used in cooking flour (*ārd puxta mēkunān*). — Cf. Wkh. *mul*, Psht. *mōlai* fr. IA, cf. Lhd. *molhā*, etc. — V. *theaniv*.  
 mī'yo Yzh, sh, mī'ya Mti, 'mōgo m, 'mīlyga g (white) clay, used for plastering the outside walls of a house. — < \**myḍakā*, cf. Skr. *myḍ*, Prasun *mīrē*. — V. *gil*, *šifōn*, *xa'lar'yo*. Cf. also:

*mī'γuz* Yzh red clay.  
 mōlk Ysh kingdom, realm. — *drust m°*. — Ar-Prs.  
 mī'koṇḍi Yzh n. of a flower. — Khov. *mīlkōn*, *mulkhōn* a small violet, bell-shaped flower, violet.  
 mullākəriya G goose. — Cf. Gawar-Bati *mullā-čirgo* fr. Psht.?  
 mālōm Yzh apparent, known. — *nā-mān mālōm-i* it appears to me, Khov. *sarēiran*. — Ar-Prs.  
 mō'lāim Yzh, blāim g soft; mō'lāima zh slowly. — Ar-Prs.  
 mal-mīn Ysh, mālmin B thus, in this manner, 'amtarix' (: *ham* or *in-tariq*). — m° *šilaxe šūi* he became so destitute; *wo mun m° čē ke'nē-este* sh why do you act thus with me? — V. *molo* and *min*.  
 'malen Mm half-full, Z middle. — V. *loma'len*; *dōmā'lan* G at noon, *du'malen* Z between.  
 mō'lān Y, m° Mm, mō'lān g, 'ōn (g), ti, Z, mō'la G waist, Yzh, sh, Mm (*mulon*!) also belt; mō'lān G, 'mōlōn-argina Z belt. — *mōlān trāžim* Yr. — Cf. Av. *maidyāna*, etc. V. *suymōlān*.  
 malanē *oguščigo* Ysh, m° 'ōšco g, *mala'noguščō r*, *mala'nigo 'āguškō* Mm, *male'nig 'āgušk'a* Z, *malenē'ga* G middle finger. — \**madanaka*, Wkh. *mōlugg* middle; cf. Av. *madəmahe arəzō* (gen.). — V. also *Mīlyeg*.  
 mōlrūgi, v. *mōdrayē*.  
 mā'lis Yu festival, assembly, music. — Khov. *mailis* fr. Ar-Prs. *majlis*, cf. Taj. *maylis*.  
 mā'lax Yzh, r, Mm, g, t large, yellow locust. — Genuine, or lw. from Prs. *malax* (note the vocalism).

<sup>1</sup>māmo Yzh, sh, g, mām r, māmā Mm, G, <sup>1</sup>mōmā M(g). °a Z grandmother; <sup>1</sup>māmā Yp old woman, *kampir*. — Wkh., Shgh. mūm, Yazgh., Sar. mām. Cf. Z s.v.

*maina* Yzh starling, *mynah*. — IA.

*mən*, etc. me, my. V. § 203 sq.

*-mīn* Y. In *ēs-mīn*? of what kind?

(*yo ēs-mīn tādār*? Ysh; *ya ēs-mīn rīra*? sh 'i ēi bar ast?' *tō nām ēs-mīn*? sh what is your name?); *ēs-mīn*? how (much)? (v. s.v.); *ēs-mīn*? what? (*ēs-mīn* LSIy what? *tō nām ēs-mīn*? B); *mal-mīn* (v. s.v.). — *mīn* appears to give the pronoun an indefinite meaning. Cf. also *mo man trāi mīn* B this is my brother. *mind* Ysh, LSIy so much. — *mind dāulat* 'hamīqada d°'; *ro mind ābādīf* so many fields (obl. pl.); *mān mīn(d) xīsmat kərum* I have done so much service. — Cf. ind.

*məndrayē*, v. *mədrayē*.

<sup>1</sup>munyo Yzh, sh inflated sheepskin, *sənāc*.

— Anc. lw. from IA, cf. Waigeli *mōka*, Khov. *manu*, etc. skin-bag for ghee? V. *laxcio*.

<sup>1</sup>mānjo Mti bed. — IA., cf. Panj. *mañjā* (but not in Khov.). Wkh. *manja*, Badakhshi *mānja*.

*mə'r-em*: *mu'r-am* Yzh, r, *mu'r-am*: *mu'r-o* Mm, *mə'r-em*: *mə'r-a* G, *mur*: *mur* Z to die. — *mə'rē* pres. 3 sg., *mə'ret* 3 pl., *mə'rīstō* Yzh 'mēmurađ'; *mu'yo* he died. — Av. *mar*.

<sup>1</sup>mīra Y, Mm, Z, °ra G, <sup>1</sup>mīro Mg, (g), t, ti; *mīra'cām* Ysh, u sun. — *mīra rāsī* Ysh 'aflāb rāsīd'. — Av. *mīdra*. *mīr-čōya* Ysh to this side, *mīr-čūya* turns back (?), Khov. *ači yari*. < \**ham-īdra*? — Cf. *trāčōya*.

*mə'reč* Yzh, °āc sh, g mulberry. — Khov. *mə'rāč*.

*mardum'pūr* Yzh boy.

*mar'gas* Ysh iris. — Prs. *nargis*.

<sup>1</sup>mīryo Ysh, <sup>1</sup>mu° Mm, <sup>1</sup>mīrya g, <sup>1</sup>mīryiko Yzh meadow. — \**mārgā*? But cf. Sgl. *mēry* < \**margya*. Av. *marzā*. *mur'yō* Yzh, sh, m° r, m° g, <sup>1</sup>mōryi (pl.), <sup>1</sup>mōryika Mg, °ākū (g), *murgiko* m ant. — < \**marwīkā*, cf. Av. *maurvi*, etc.

*muryū'lum* Yzh, r down of birds. —

Khov. *muryulūm* down; Wkh. *mar-gilam* (Shaw) goat's down. — Ir.?

*my'kič* Yzh carded wool, Khov. *pī'ženu*.

*mīra-av'lasto* Yzh, sh, *mīra-lamdo* r rainbow: ('the sun's sleeve or hem'). — V. *ka'mān-i Rustam*.

*mīrmu'sān pary* Yzh rat. — Cf. Khov.

*mīrmu'sān kalau* rat (Lor. *mūr mo'sān xalāo* field rat, Shina *mīrimo'sa ferret*, weasel). From Prs. \**mīr-mū'sān* 'master-mouse', cf. Wkh. *mīr-prič*.

*ma'ya* Ysh, r, LSIy, *mēra* LSI, G man.

— Pl. *ma'ē* Ysh, r; *yū ma'ya tī da'len ā'yi* Ysh, *yu ma'ya hor kit g a man works*; *āi 'ma'ya sh o man! lto no ma'yaken* sh he gave it to the man; *no 'ma'yaken da apir* sh in front of the man; *yo 'ma'ya ž° kū?* from where is this man? *'ma'yaken yūrd* sh the man seized it. — Cf.:

*me'p* Y, *mēr* Mm, g, (g), ti, *mār* (t), *mēr* Z, G man, vir. — *me xī'roi me'pe hōr kenet* Yg these four men are working. — \**mar'ya* (hardly M. Ir. \**mērt* < *mart* + *mērak*, v. Barth., *Miran Mund.*, VI, p. 55).

*mō'yo* Yzh, g, *'mu'yo* sh, r, *mur'da* Mm, Z, *mu'rīy* Z dead, dead body. — V. *mər*.



*mrs* Yzh, g, r, G brass. — Prs.  
*'masko* Yzh, r, <sup>o</sup>ko sh, g, *'maska* Mm,  
<sup>o</sup>g butter. — Prs.  
*'māst* Yg curdled milk. — Prs. V. *poya*.  
*'mīšē* Yzh, sh, *mū*<sup>o</sup> r, *mušk*<sup>o</sup> Mti, *mī*<sup>o</sup> t,  
*mu*<sup>o</sup> Z, *'muškio* Mm, *'mīškē* g,  
*mōškva* G, *mušt* Yg flst. — Av.  
*mušti* (Yg lw. fr. Prs.), cf. Wkh.  
*mōst*, Sgl. *mōt*.  
*'mīšēa* Yp sheaf of corn. — Cf. Prs.  
*mušti* handful.  
*'mīšēo'yo* Ysh, <sup>o</sup>yo g, *'mīšēyiko* zh she-  
calf, one year old. — V. *muškoya*.  
*maška* Ysh, *mašk* Mm, *māšk* g inflated  
skin, used for crossing rivers. — Prs.  
V. *dril*.  
*'muškō'ya* (pl. *muškō'i*) Yzh, sh, g,  
*muškō'i* (pl.?) r, *muš'kay* Mm, *miš'kāyi*  
g, t, (sh), *mō*<sup>o</sup> (g) newborn, male calf,  
*māš'kdāy* Z male calf, up to the age  
of two years; *māškdi* G ram, sheep (?).  
— \**ham-huškaka*, cf. Par. *tōr-pī* calf,  
one to two years old ("dē-licus");  
Phl. Psalter *'xšyrky* weaned.  
*mašer'ba* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>o sh bucket. — Khov.,  
fr. Ar-Prs.  
*'mīš'tor* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>or r prince, mehtar. — *yo*  
*kyei mīš'torān-ē* Yr this house belongs  
to the mehtar. — \**masyak-tara*, Prs.  
*nihtar*.  
*'mušt* Yzh, sh silver necklace (from  
Chitral). — Khov. *mošti*.  
*'mūca* Yzh, *mēuca* B fruit. — Pl. *mūca'yē*  
Ysh fruit-trees. — *m*<sup>o</sup> *ziet* they  
planted fruit trees. — Prs.  
*max* Y, *mōx* M we. — V. § 203 sq.  
*max* Yzh, *mōx* m. Mm, Z, *māx* G peg.  
*mēx*. — Genuine < \**maxa*, cf. Psht.  
*mō'ai*, *ma'wai* < \**maxšu* + *aka*?  
But Prs. *mēx* < \**maixa*.  
*mīx* Yzh, sh, r, <sup>o</sup>x g nail. — Prs.

*mōx* Y month. — *do yū mōx* sh in the  
course of one month. — \**māhaxa*,  
cf. Sogd. *m'γ*? V. mo.  
*mu'xālīš* Yu? — *'zə da šeri'et m'om* (?).  
*max'mudiyo* Yzh, *mamū*<sup>o</sup> B dagger. —  
Cf. Khov. *mehmūdi*, *mahmūdi* Pathan  
dagger, Prs., Psht., Sar. *bīhūdi*, Wkh.  
*bīhūdi*, *bēbūdi*, Kalasha *meha'būdi*-  
*ka'tār*.  
*mu'xan* Yzh, sh veranda. — Khov. *mūxān*.  
*'maxšē* (pl. *maxšē'i*) Yzh, *maxšē'i* (pl.)  
sh, *max'šī* p, *mōx'šī* M(g), *'mayaxšiy*  
m mosquito. — Av. *maxšē*.  
*mīx* m. Yzh, Mm, g, t, *mīx* Ysh, r,  
M(g), ti, Z day. — *do yū mīx* sh in  
one day; *no yū mīxēn* Ysh for one  
day; *xšō'vō tā mīx* sh night and  
day; *ēr, uxšō mīx* sh; *yu ēad mīxi*  
*gyaškvat* Mm a few days passed;  
*xi'rāi mīx* t. — Cf. Sogd. *myθ*,  
Yaghn. *mēt*, *mēθ*, etc., Shgh. *mēθ*,  
Sgl. *mīi* (cf. also Markwart, Ungar.  
Jahrb. 7, p. 100). Junker (SHAW,  
1914, p. 13) compares Lith. *mētas*  
year, time, Alb. *mōt* year. This is  
perhaps possible if we assume an  
Ir. form \**māθya* < \**mētyo*. Sar.  
*mōθ* shows that the word does not  
contain an ancient diphthong (Or.  
*mīθ* may be of Shgh. or.).  
*'mōžē* Yzh, sh, <sup>o</sup>o r, g, *'mažiy* Mm,  
<sup>o</sup>i t, <sup>o</sup>oy m. Z stick. — \**māθaka*,  
cf. Shgh. *māθ*, *mōθ*.  
*'mīxēn* Yzh, g, *'mīxēn* r, Mm, (g) noon.  
— Ancient adj. to *mīx*, cf. Bartangi  
*mīθin* day.  
*'mīya* M male oorial. — V. *mūo*.  
*mayo'yo* Y, <sup>o</sup>aga Mm, *mōya'ya* g, <sup>o</sup>aga Z,  
*māya'ga* G, *māyaga* LSIm, *maye'yo* y  
mare. — \**mātakā*. Cf. Prs. *māda*,  
*mādiyān*.

mō'yān Mm, māyan LSIm true. — Fr.

Prs. māya substance? V. 'urzu.

maza Mm taste. — Prs. V. xāl.

miz Yzh, mēz g table. — šitāhōn ēc  
mēzān Yzh under the table. — Prs.

'miz-em: mīz-d-ēm Yzh, 'mēz: mīz-d sh,  
Mm to urinate. — mīzē 3 pl. —  
Av. māz-. Cf. mīzō.

'mōz-ēm: 'mašc-īm Yzh, sh, r, 'maz-ēm:  
'mōšk-ēm Mm, 'mōz: 'mōšk- t, maz:  
mōšk' Z, G to kill. — vātō mōzēm;  
mox wōu mašcēm Yr we killed him;  
zo flō mōzēm sh; mōzē-em tū sh  
'mēkšī em 'tu'; mōn wōu mašcēm sh;  
ro šīr mašcēt Yu they killed the  
lion; ro barzangō mašc u he killed  
the ogre; agar Xadāi ēu mašcē vī,  
oyīm sh if God has not killed me,  
I shall come. — Shgh. mōz- means  
to cut, form (v. Xuynōni Alifbā, p.  
32); but cf. Orm. maz- to break, Psht.  
māt broken (< \*mašta, not < \*maxta;  
prob. not Par. mač- to cut, hurt).

maza dār Yzh savoury, tasty. — Prs.

'mōzdīra Mt the day after to-morrow.  
— Containing \*azn-? V. sū'yāmo.

muz'durā Ysh service, pay. — no yū  
kua'tinen m° kēn take service with  
a rich man; m° kēz; wō mōn m° na  
mōn del give me my wages; muzdu'ri  
kēd rīo he used to serve. — Prs.

'mīz-ō Yzh, mē° sh, 'mīz-ō Mg, mīz-da  
(v. mīz-) Yr urine. — \*maizakā-, cf.  
Wkh. mīz. V. mīz-.

mūz: mūd Yzh, sh, mūz: mūd Mm,  
mūz: mūd Z to move (intr.), to be  
swung. — draxē mūzēt zh the trees  
are moved (by the wind).

mu'za-um Yzh, mu'zav: mu'zard- sh,  
mūzēda B to shake, move (tr.),  
mūjert B earthquake.

'mažōyo Yzh, g, māžōyo sh female  
markhor. — Khov. ma'žēy.

mī'žāyiko, °ki pl. Yzh mist, fog. —  
\*mīžakā-(kū-), cf. Zaza mīz, Prs.  
mīzga a dark sky.

mažnum-bīt Mm hanging-willow. — Prs.  
\*majnūn-bēd. V. čilikyo.

mīžis'tē Yzh thigh-bone, sh hip-bone, g  
arm above elbow (?). — Khov.  
mužusti, mō'žosti thigh, upper arm  
(fr. Ir., not fr. Pkt. mīžā). Cf. Sak.  
mījsā marrow < \*mayzyakā. — Cf.  
also Sgl. asta-mayzik, Wkh. mayzi  
upper arm.

ma'žlt Yu mosque. — da yū m° žūi,  
da m° lo'yoī. — Ar-Prs.

## N

nā, no Y, M for, to. — 'na mōn del  
give me; nā pādān nā sa'lāmat iot  
Yu they went to salute the king;  
nā šīren iškūr kenam let us go hunting  
for the lion; ēpāc žūi na du'kānen  
sh he returned to the shop; na koī  
āyōit? 'ba ēi āmadī? 'xšiyem-esto  
no'xoi za'rūrien sh we are weeping  
out of necessity. V. § 216. — Av.  
ana over, along with, on.

no, nā Ysh, etc. LSIm, na Z, G, LSIm  
not. — nā pāc išto, no yox išto, no  
p'xustēm išto, no ušiyādēm išto he  
said that it was neither hot nor cold,  
and that he was neither tired nor  
hungry; no no-ōf no xurān ēc astel,  
no n-āyestān ēc astel there is neither  
anything for them to eat nor to  
wear. — Av. na, etc. V. ēc.

'na-um: nard-um Yzh to pour out, to empty,  
Khov. ulēiman. Cf. Skr. snāyaya-  
nai M(g) reed. — Prs.



*nā-m*: *nə'yor-əm* Yzh, sh, : *nə'yor* u, : *noyor-əm* r, *nā-am*: *nəyar-am* M(g), *nəyar-am*(?) : *nəyar-am* m, *niy*: *nəyar* Z, *neyer* LSI, *noyor* y to come out, emerge, appear, Khov. *nisiman*. — *nā dā kuč'o* Ysh go out into the street; *nə'yor do kuč'o*; *mira nə'yor* zh the sun rose; *yū barzənge nə'yor* u; *pārye noyo'fet* sh the mice appeared; *yā tō hūy kōb nə'yor* this your price appeared to be too small; *yū ašder nəp*(?) Yu a dragon appeared; *pilf noyo'ra* ēfi sh (the river) cannot be forded; *yū ləvor nə'yor* Mm a door appeared. — < \**nāš-i*: *nāz-gata* > \**nirgata* > \**nigarta*, v. § 113?; cf. Par. *nā*: *nəyō*, Orm. *nīs* (\**nī-isa*): *nəyōk*; Sogd. *nāz*.

*nōu* Y, *nāu* Mm, *nə'u* g, (g), (sh), t, *nāu* Z, G nine. — Av. *nava*.

*nōb* Mg, *nəp* ti dew. — Cf. Bal. *namb*, Prs. *nam* dew, moisture; Sgl, Shgh. *namb* moist. — V. *pražār*, *šaklām*.

*nācāy* Yzh, sh, r, g the shady side of a valley. — Khov. *nācāy*. V. *nācāy*.

*nā'dram* Ysh inside. — n° *nā yur'vo* inside the throat. — V. *dram*.

*nāf* Yzh, g, *nāf* sh, Mg, (g), t, ti, *nāf* Yr, *nāfa* Mm, Z, °*fā*, *nāf* G navel. — < \**nāfa(ka)*; Yr fr. Khov. *naf*, in its turn fr. Ir.

*nāfs* Yzh soul, individual, own family. — tu *čamin* *ico xdi nāfs kenē?* how do you deal with your own family? — Ar-Prs.

*nig'*: *nig'ay* Z, : *nig'i-o* Ysh to pull out. — da *laxōo* n° he took it out of the bag, 'ba dar kart'. — \**nī-kpš-77* Cf. § 132.

*nāyo*, v. s.v. *xužbāi*.

*noyo'-um*: *nə'yavd-um* Yzh, sh, *no'yā*:

*no'yavd- r*, *no'yā-um*: *nə'yavd-um* g, *nə'yā-um*: *nə'yavd-um* Mm, *nə'yā*: *nə'yēvd-ə* (g), *nigōv*: *nigēvd* Z to bite, *gazidan*, Khov. *čokik*. — Phonetically < \**nī-kap/b*, cf. Greek *χάπρω* to swallow, snatch with the teeth, etc. (v. WP, s.v. *qap*)? Cf. also Shgh., etc. *anjāv* to seize < \**han-kab*? Z compares *gūv* (q.v.), but this is scarcely possible.

*nā'yen* Yzh, sh, g, *nā'yen* r, Mm, g, Z, *nāyn* G bread, food. — n° *nā-wen* lio; *nāyan xorum* Yg I eat bread; *no xu'rān* n° *čēš* sh there is no food to eat. — \**nayna*, cf. Gauthiot, MSL, 19, p. 129, cf. also Yazgh. *šō'yūn* (Sköld). — Brahui *nīkān* 'rations, meat' fr. a lost Bal. word of the \**nī-kāna*-type.

*noyor*, v. *nā*.

*noyo'sār* Yzh, *negusār* LSI below, *pāyān*. — Anc. lw., cf. Prs. *nigū(n)sār* turned upside down, etc. Also Ser. has *nu'yūsār* down.

*nə'yuy*: *nə'yūšc* Yzh, *nə'yūy*: *nə'yūšk* Mm, *nə'yūy*: *nə'yūšk* Z, *nu'yūš*(?) : *nu'yūšk* G, *do'yūja* (!) B to hear. — < \**nī-gauš*, cf. Yazgh. *nīyūw*: *nīyōžt*, Psht. *nīyūw*: *nīyū*; Yaghn. *dūyūš* (< \**ngūš*).

*nu'yōz*: *nīyēzd* Z to swallow. — Cf. Wanetsi Psht. *yōz* to drink.

*no'yūžē* Yzh snipe.

*nāhā'ri* Ysh breakfast, bread, *kilēa* — lo *nāhāri* two loaves. — Ar-Prs.

*nāql* Yu tale, story. — Ar-Prs.

*nīkā'nā-um* Yzh, sh, r : *nīkā'nāvd-um* r to dig. — The *k* points to recent compounding. V. *ken*.

*nu'krā* Mm, *nu'gra* g, LSI silver. — Ar-Prs. V. *droxum*.

*nəl* Mm, 'nəli (pl.) ti reed. — NWPhl. *nad*, Prs. *nai*, Khov. *nōl*, *nəl* rushes from \*Y? — V. *nai*, *nāliko*, *xəšlāniyo*. *nāilā-um* Yzh, *nēilō-um* sh, *nēilā-um*: *nēilāv-um* r, g, *nīlāv*-Mm, *niyalōv*: *niyalēvd* Z to make to sit down. — *zə fto nēilōum* Ysh. — \**niyāl* < \**ni-šād* (Or. *nōd* Z, but *nōd*-Lenz. *nēd*-Shgh., with *θ* from the intr.), or \**ni-hād*. Cf. Av. *ni-šādāya*. V. *niš*. *nāilō-um* Yzh to circumcise, (Psht. *sunnat kaicum*); *nailevd* zh, sh circumcision, 'čulburri, *da jā ki mānda* ('remains'). — \**ni-dab*? Cf. Wkh. *nādav*. *nāliko* Yzh, g calf of the leg. — Cf. *nəl*. V. *ilira*, *līga*. *nəlīc-um*: *nuvōst-əm* Mm, *nīlc* (ti) to lie down; : *nu'vōstiy* Yzh lying flat; *nīlc* Z: *nucdēt* Z, G to sleep. — *nīlcā* Mti imper. 2 sg. — < Av. *ni-paīdya*: \**ni-pasta*. Not, with Z, connected with *nāilā*. Cf. *nīlc*. *nām* Yzh, sh, *nām* G name. — *tō nām cīs-mīn*? Ysh; *ba nām-e* Xadā sh. — Prs. *nāmāi* Yzh appears, Khov. *nayūran*; *nīmēd* M(g) became known, *mālum šud*; *nāmōy* Z to appear. — *yū ādam nāmāi*. — Cf. Prs. *numāy*: *numūd*. *nīm'kālō* Yzh [half-full. — Khov. *nīm-kalau*. V. *loma'ten*, *nīmopir*. *nīm'ekvika* Yzh diving. — *n°* *da'ham* I dive. *nāmālō* Y, *namalgo* Mm, *°ōlā* (g), *°olga* f. Z, *°āl'ya* G salt. — \**nama-šakā* (v. Gauthiot, MSL, 20, 19), cf. Sgl. *nāmēyōd*, etc., Sar. *nimādōj*, Sak. *namve*, etc. *nāmōy* Yzh target. — Cf. Prs. *namūk* butt, target?

*nīmopir* half-full. — Cf. Prs. *nīm-pur*. V. *nīm'kālō*.

*nāmōy* Mg, ti felt. — < \**namatā*, cf. Sgl. *numōd*. Prs. *namad*, etc. (Pali *namataka*, etc. lww.). V. *livzin*, *yiston*.

*na'māz* Yzh prayer. — Prs.

*nāmāzdi'gar* Ysh, *ne'm°* zh afternoon. — Prs.

*nā'miž* Yg winking, *nēmig*: *nēmāšk'* Z to shut the eyes. — From \**ni-miž*, or \**ni-miē*, cf. Sogd. *nymz'y* (Benveniste, JA, 223, p. 241), Sak. *nāmājs*, Bal. *mičāč*, Prs. *miža* eye-lashes. But Ishk. *numuž*, Skr. *nimiṣ* with *ṣ*.

*nāno* Y, *nēno* Mm, *°a* g, *°ā* (g), *°a*, *°ā* Z, *nēn* G mother. — Cf. Prs. *nana*, Sgl., Wkh., Or., Khov. *nān*, etc.

*nāno'ō* Yzh, p a single grain. — < *dānakā* (v. § 135), cf. Prs. *dāna* corn, boil, Psht. dial. *ninē* roasted grain, Waziri *nāna* grain.

*nina'māšēc* Yzh, *°ašēc* g, *nina'mōrē* sh, *nīno°* r spleen. — V. *spōrēz*, *šišpāzēk*.

*nar* Ysh, g, Mm, g, Z, g, *naro* Yzh, *nor* r male. — Prs., or genuine?

*n'ro'ū* Y, *n'rouciy* Mm, g, *°uēi* ti, *n'rawēy* Z, *°ā'uēi* G black; *nōrd'ū* Yzh pupil of the eye; cf. *n'rouci* *ēoggō*. — < \**an-arušaka*? Phonetically possible; we should expect e.g. Mm \**n'rugi*, but a change of *-ugi* > *-uēi* is conceivable. — Acc. to Hess (Orient. Stud. in Honour of C. E. Pavry, p. 139) Av. *auruša* means 'red'; but cf. Oss. *ors*, etc. 'white'.

*nar'boz* Yg he-goat. — Prs. V. *fer'yāmō*. *nar'čān* Ysh, r, *yūsa'xō nār'čēn* zh he-goat, one year old. — V. *čā'na*. Cf. *fer'yāmō*.



*narkaf'čī* Yp wooden ladle without a handle, used for flour. — V. *kaf'čio*. — *nar* as a prefix indicates size or strength, v. *naraŋ'gušč*, *nari'rau*, *nar'zū*, and cf. Brahui *nar-xurūt* extra strong *khurūt*.

*nar'kirē* Yzh, sh, °ə r, °əwə g, °iri y Mm, g, 'narkiri (sh), °iri (g) cock. — V. *krrio*.

*naraŋ'gušč* Yzh, sh, *nər*° g, *naraŋ'gišt* r, °gušt M(g), °gušt B thumb. — Prs. (with *št* > *šč* in early lw), cf. *oguščo*, *usturoguščo*. V. s.v. *nar-kaf'čī*.

*nā'ranj* Mm orange. — Ar-Prs.

*nar'rau* Mm a kind of vegetable, *rau*. — V. *rie*.

*na'ruš* m. Z cat. — < \**nar-vuš* < °puš.

*nərowē čog'gō* Ysh a kind of pear. — V. *nəro'ū*.

*nar'worya* Yzh male lamb, one year old. — V. *prasi'lanē'warē*, 'waryiko.

*nar'zū* Yzh pus, matter. — Cf. Psht. *zauca*, Sak. *ysū* pus, and v. s.v. *nar-kaf'čī*.

*nə'riz*: *nərizd* Y, Mm, *nə'riz*: *nərizd* t, *nəriz*: *nərizd* Z to lick. — *nə'rizē* Yzh pres. 3 sg. — Av. *raēz*, Sak. *rrāys*. Sogd. *rys*.

*nāsēn* Ysh, in *drust malk* n° *nəv'u'ram* 'gāštīm sar ba sar' (?).

*nīs* Ysh to take out. — Only form noted is *nisa* imper. 2 sg. — Cf. Sogd. *n'y's*, Psht. *nīs* to take (\**ni-yās*); Yazgh. *yas* to take away. V. *nəvor*. *nosiy* Mm, *nisiy* g the shady side of a valley. — Cf. Prs. *nasā(r)*, *nasar*, etc., Fars dialect *nīsū*; cf. also Sgl. *nišorm*, Wkh. *niširm* and v. Par. Voc. s.v. *ni'sōr*. — V. *ničay*.

*ni'askē* Yzh, sh, *nyoskyc* g, *nies'kviy* Mm, *nieszyc* (g), *niāzyla* (t) yawn. — n°

*a'vazēm* Yzh, sh, n° *kenam* Mt I yawn, n° *astet* Yg (they) yawn. —

*nasi'āt* Ysh advise. — zo fto n° *kenam*. — Ar-Prs.

*ni'ast*, v. *nič*.

*niāstiko*, v. s.v. 'palō.

*nas'wār* Yzh snuff. — Hind. *nāsīcar* (Psht. lw. *nāsīwār*).

*ni'sōk* Mt jaw, *nə'sāk* G cheek.

*naškel* Ysh, LSIy, °er B bad.

*ni'sān* Yzh showing. — n° *dahem*. — Prs.

*našpotiy* Mm. — Prs. V. *kyo'gō*.

*ni'sāz-əm*: *ni'sāz-ēt-m* Yzh, sh, *ni'sāz* r, *ni'sāz-əm*: *ni'sāz-ēt-m* g, *ni'sāz-um*: *ni'sāz-um* Mm, *ni'sāz* (g), Z: *ni'sāz* Z to show. — \**ni'sāz* (v. § 75) < \**ni-čāz*, Sak. *nājsaš*, cf. Z s.v.

*niv* Yzh; *nōvo* sh, r, *nōv* g, *nōv* (pl.?) sh, *nōvo* B rain. — *niv* *yašē* kit the rain does good. — Cf.:

*nov-ē*: *nied-o* Yzh, sh, : *nied-a* r, *nav-i*: *nivdo* Mm, *nāv*: *nied* Z to rain. — *wos novē* Yzh; *nəvdo* šui perf. — Cf. Sgl. *nav*, Av. *nab* to moisten, possibly with semantic change due to association with *nabak* sky. Scarcely connected with Prs. *nāwidan* to lament, as proposed by Z, nor with *nəvōyō*, etc. (q.v.).

*nəvō* Y, °a Mg. 'nūvgo m, 'nūvga Z beak, bill. — < \*(h)nābakā, cf. Prs. *nauk*, nōl beak, Saka *nauhā* point (\**nabaxa*?) and, possibly, Germ. \**nabja* (Engl. *neb*, etc.), Lith. *snāpas*. *nəvōiko* Yp n. of a pink flower, *convolvulus*? Cf. *nəvō*.

*ni'vilo* Mti bedding; *na'wul-virga* Z bed. — \**nipādā* (?), cf. *nālv*. V. *kurpo*, *pālās*.

*novnoyo* Yp, *nov'neyiko* sh pasteboard, *baxter* (v. Ill.).

*nə'vor*: *nəvə'f* Yzh, sh, : *nu'vəf*-um p, *ne'ver*-um M(g), *nəvur* LSIy, *nevar* m to take out, draw out. — *nə'vīt* Yzh pres. 3 sg.; *xām cū nəvor* g don't take it (the bread?) out unbaked; *le san'duken ēc nəvə'rum* sh I take something out of the box; *nəvur*, *nəvū'ram* sh pret. 1 pl.; *nuvə'rum* vā *kēfo* Yu I took out the knife. — \**nī-bar*, Sgl. *nəwar*, Orm. *nəwar*, cf. Par. *nəf* (?); Av. *nīš-bar*.

*nu'vās*: *nu'višē* Yzh, sh, *nu'vōš*: *nu'vōš*-r, *nəvāš*-g, *nu'vōš*: *nuvāšt*-Mm to comb. — *kuška* n° Yg I comb my hair. — < \**nī'paš*(š)- (v. § 75) < \**nī'pekš*, cf. Waz. Psht. *lmēšəl*, *lmatai* (v. EVP. s.v.).

*nu'viš*: *nu'vūt* Yzh, sh, *nūš*: *nuxt*-g, *nu'vūt*: *nu'vuxt*, *nu'vūšky*-Mm, *nu'viš*: *nu'vuxt*-t, *nəvūš*: *nəvūxt*-Z, *nūša* B to write. — Not a recent lw. from Prs. *nūšam*: *nūštan*. With *nucuxt*, etc. cf. Sogd. *np'yšt*, *npxš*! (v. Benveniste BSL, 29, pp. 105 sqq.).

*navišt* to ken- Yr to write. — Prs. The compound verb is in common use in Afgh. Prs.

*nəwə'yo* Yzh, sh, *nāw*° r, *nəwə'yo* g, *nəwəgo* Mm mill-race, cf. *nəwē* G 'chute d'eau'. — Not connected with *nəw* rain, as suggested by G; but cf. Prs. *nāwa* gutter, tube, *Kandulāi nāwā* 'ausgehöhlte Baumstämme die als Wasserleitung für die Wassermühlen dienen', etc. Cf. Sgl. *nəwək*.

*nəwə'yo* Yzh, *nəw* sh, *nū'wēy* Mm, *nəw* B new. — Av. *nəw* + *ka*, Sgl. *nəwək*, Psht. *nəwāi*, etc.

*nu'wāpē* Yzh excuse. — n° *kenəm* I excuse myself, Khaw. *išpen koman*. — Cf.

Skr. *nivartaka*-removing, abolishing, etc., *nivartana*-repenting, etc.?

*nə'wisa* Yzh, °is sh, g, *nəwūs* Mm, *nəwiso* (g), *nəwēs* Z grandson (= *pūren pūr*), nephew. — Early lw. from Prs. *nəwāsa*? Cf. Sgl. *nə'vēs*, Wkh. *nə'pūs*.

*nə'woso* Yg, *nuwə'so* r, *nə'wasiko* zh, n° sh, *nəwəso* Mm, °a Z, *nəwēsā(kā)* M(g) granddaughter. — Cf. *nə'wisa*, *nə'waxl* Yzh (too) late. — n° *ē-as* don't come too late. — Ar-Prs.

*nax* Mm floor. — Khaw. *nax* id., Or. *nəx* terrace, sleeping platform, Shgh. *nēx* vestibule, etc. — Cf. *naxdaru*, *nəxē*: *nəxēai* Yzh, *nəxē*-r, g, *nē*-M(g) to drip, to drop from the eaves. — *nəx'ēē*, *nəx'ēē* Yzh, *nəx'ēē*-r, *nēi* M(g) 3 sg., *nəx'ēi-stā* Yr, g dur. pres. — Derivation (as a denominative) fr. \**nəx*(š)ē < \**nīš-txa* (cf. *ava-tka*, Wackernagel, KZ, 61, 190) is improbable.

*nəx'ēir* Ysh, Mm, g, (g), G, *nəktir* B male ibex. Prs. V. *šumānē*.

*nəx'ēir-pəzāxē* Yzh, g, °*šie* sh male oorial (?). V. *pəzēxi*. Cf. *miyo*.

*nəx'ēir-wəzo* Yr, g female ibex.

*nəx'daru* Yzh, sh, g roof-beam, *bālā-i tir*. — Khaw. *nəx'daru*. Cf. *nax*.

*nəxun* Mm, °ən g, t, *nəx* M(ti), °ən (g), Z nail. — Prs. V. *a'naxno*.

*nəxš* Mm, *nəxši* (g) song.

*nuxta* Mm hit of a horse (?).

*nī'x-im*: *nī'āst-ēm* Yzh, g, -em: -em sh, *nī'x-im*: *nī'ost-am* r, : *nīāst* u, *nī'x-om*: *nī'ost-am* Mm, t, *nī'x*: *nī'yōst* Z, : *nīāst* B to sit down. — *nī'x* Yzh, Mm, *nī'xt* Z pres. 3 sg.; *nī'xa* Yzh, sh, r, *nī'xā* sh, *nīā* LSIy, *nīā* m imper. 2 sg.; *nī'xē* Yzh, ('maf' male)



*nišit* Mm imper. 2 pl.; *nišat šo dukan'darə* Ysh he sat down (: stayed) with the shop-keeper; *bād nišat wuro* Mm then he sat down there; *də ʔoi kʷei nišat* Ysh they sat down in their own house; *mai 'luʔdi nišat* Mm these daughters sat down. But *šinkiko (yū akābur) ništo* Ysh a woman (an old man) was sitting; *loh šināmī ništi* sh to girls were sitting (v. § 196); *ništəʔom* Yzh, r, *ništəʔom* (g!) g I am sitting. — *niš* < \**niš* < \**ni-k(i)š*, cf. Shgh. *neš*. *ništ* < \**ni-hasta*. (Shgh. *nüšt*), or, more prob., < \**ni-hasta* (Sgl. *ni'lost*, Sar. *nālūst*). — Cf. Sgl. *niš*, Wkh. *neš*. V. *nā'ila*.

*nī'ya* Y, Mm, °o g sour milk, *dūy*. — \**nīlaka*, cf. Sgl. *nīšuk*, Sak. *nīye*. Connected with the Kafirī-Dardic words: *Kalasha nīu (nīl)*, *Kati nīrd*, etc., *Dameli nīt id.*; cf. Skr. (*nava*-) *nīla* fresh butter.

*nīyā-əm* G I plant. — Early lw. from W. Ir. \**nī-dā*?

*nā'zo* Yzh, r, *na°* sh, *na'ra* Mm spear. — Prs. *nūzda* Mg, (g), °*da* (sh) 19. — Prs.

*na'z'dik* Yzh, sh, r, *nā°* g near. — *mo ādam n°* Yzh; *mind ādamen n° astet* sh. — Prs.

*nez'zo* Yzh, *nz°* sh, *nez'zo* r, g, *nez'ya* Mg, *'niz'ā* (g), *'nīzo* m, *'nāzuk* G nasal mucus. — \**nez'āgā* < *nāstikā*? Cf. Par. *nēšt* nose < \**nāstī*.

*na'zan* Ysh irrecongnisable, strange. — *zo n° wīnəm* I see something strange. — Khov.

P

*po* Y at, on, for, *pə* Z with. — V. § 219. — Av. *paiti*.

*pio* Yzh, *pī'ay* Z rotten; *piy* Z to rot. — Cf. Sgl. *pū*, Wkh. *pīk*, Shgh. *pūdj* (v. Z s.v.), Av. *par*. Reg. *ū* > i v. § 150.

*pə'cəg-am*: *pə'cə'gī-m* Yzh, *pə'z'g-am*: *pə'z'gī-m* sh, *pēcigiy-em*(?) *pēcigiy-em* Mm, : *'psigī-am t, pēig'*: *pēig'ay-* Z to cut, cleave, *burridan*, Khov. *chinik*. — *mən lo'so pə'gyo* sh I cut the rope, *pə'gyō-m* sh it cut me(?); *pə'z'gī'et* sh they cut (*bridan*); *pēcigyo* zh *'burrida šud* (intr.?). — Cf. *pēišk*: *pēišk'* Z to be torn. — *pəcəg*, etc. < \**patsiṇḍ*, \**pati-sṛnda* (v. § 121), *pēišk'* < \**pati-sṛsta* (v. § 131), *pēišk*, if = \**pēišk*, might be a secondary present, as \**pati-sṛd'ya* would result in \**pēišk*. Cf. Prs. *gusilam* (Horn. Np. Et., 922).

*prē* Yzh, *pəč* sh, r, g, *pič* B hot. — Khov. *pəč*. V. *garm*, *suzōn*.

*pēio* Yzh frostbitten, Khov. *čōistai*. — Cf. *čiy*.

*pīč'i* Yp a plant with yellow flowers and thick edible leaves. — Khov. *pīč'ili šax* purslain, *xulfa*.

*pēurma* Mt four days ago. — V. *čurmō*.

*pādo* f. Yzh, sh, *pa°* g, r, B, *pōndo* Mm, °*g, pōda* Z, *pāda* G road, path (the Milky Way Yr. cf. *Gawar Bati Phont id.*). — *dur luro pādo šom* Ysh I have walked far to-day; *ra'he šūi, da p° aʔoi* he started and came on to the road. — Av. *pantā* etc. (*Ostyak pant* from Ir.?). cf. Z s.v. Note the fem. gender (also in Sak. *pande* and in Psht. *plā*), the existence of which in Ir. renders doubtful Bloch's explanation of the fem. in Kafirī (*Kati put*, etc.) and Dardic (*Studia indo-iranica*, p. 19). Reg. Av. *nt* cf. § 120.

- pa'dā* Ysh, r appearing, born. — *pūr*  
*p<sup>o</sup> šūi* sh a boy was born; *jīŋko*  
*zə'mōn pa'dā kit* r the woman bears  
 a child; *zə'mōn pa'dāi* (?). — Prs.  
*pa'dreško* Yzh, sh small wooden milk-  
 bowl. — \**pari-dāsyā-kā* (cf. § 127),  
 cf. Prs. *dās* pot, pan?? — V. *xšir-  
 kvesa*.  
*pādšā* Yzh, u, *šā* sh, *pōd'šō* Z king.  
 — *yū pādšā pūr*, *pādšāan pūr* a  
 prince; *max yū pādšā astet* you have  
 got a king; *na pādšāan l'et* they  
 gave it to the king. — Prs.  
*pu-f-um*: *pu'fāi-m* Yzh, : *p'u'fōi-m* M(g),  
*puf*: *pufōy* Z *phūa* B (but *pufa* to  
 burn!) to blow, breathe. — Onomato-  
 poetic, cf. Sgl., Or. *puf* etc. (v. Z s.v.).  
*pu'fānek* M(g) a kind of mushroom. —  
 Cf. Taj. *pufuk* mushroom. V. *puf*.  
*paifar* Yzh, sh, *pāifar* r, *pāifer* za'min  
 g steep hillside, *pēfer* B mountain.  
 — Tomaschek (BB, VII, p. 197)  
 writes *pēcer*, and compares Av.  
 "pauera-".  
*'paga* Yzh horse-race. — *p<sup>o</sup> γa'zardum*.  
 — Khw.  
*pāg'zo* Yzh, *pāki'zo* sh, *pag'zō*, *paγō* r,  
*paγ'go* g, *pāki'zā* Mm, *ō'za* G, *paγ'zo* (!)  
 B clean. — *you paγō šūi* r. — Prs.  
*pākiza*, and Khw. *paγ'gā*, *pag'za*  
 (fr. Prs.).  
*piγ* Yzh onion. — Possibly < \**pitāka*-, or  
 \**piγ*°; cf. Prs. *piyāz*, Phl. *pidāc* (with  
 dialectical development of -t?), or  
*piγ*°; cf. Yazgh. *piyēg* (Sköld).  
*'puγō* Yzh, *po'γō* sh, r, g, *poγō* Mg,  
*ōa* (g), *ō'γa* t, (ti), *pugo* m, *'paga* t. Z,  
*ō'γa* G, *pegāh* LSI m long hair,  
 woman's hair. — \**pūkā* ?  
*pā'γālyō*, v. *ēār-p<sup>o</sup>*.  
*pai'yumbar* Ysh prophet. — Prs.

- puka'ra* Yp leather strap placed between  
 the two strings of a pellet-bow. —  
 Cf. *p<sup>o</sup>korē*; Khw. *apaq*, Palola *dhōt*  
 also mean both 'mouth' and 'strap  
 of a pellet-bow'.  
*p<sup>o</sup>korē* Yzh, *pu'korē* sh, *pu'kor* r, *pkor* p,  
 LSIy, *ku'pōr* Yg, *pūxor* B mouth;  
*ku'por* Mm, *k<sup>o</sup>pār* g, t, ti, *k<sup>u</sup>par* m.  
 Z lip. — < Anc. Prs. *patikara*-  
 picture, cf. Prs. *paikar* picture, coun-  
 tenance, face. From 'face' to 'mouth',  
 'lip' the semantic development is  
 possible. V. *yirv*, *pōrāik*.  
*pa'koro* Yzh, sh, g, *pa'kol* r, *pa'kūlo* Mm,  
*pā'kūla* Z wooden cap. — Cf. Khw.  
*pha'kol*, Madaglashti *pākūl*, Shgh.,  
 Ishk. *pākōl*, etc. — Y *pa'koro* must  
 be an ancient lw.  
*po'kor* Yzh rung of a ladder.  
*pokv* Yp, *pokv* (obl. pl.) LSIy husks. —  
 Khw. *phōt*. Cf. *sabūstaf*, *pa'lo*.  
*pa'kvikv* Yzh, sh, *po'kvukv* Mm, *po'kik*  
 m. Z woman's cap, veil, *burqa*.  
*pa'lau* Yzh pillau. — Prs.  
*'palē* Yzh, sh straw of wheat, etc. —  
 \*IA, cf. Skr. *pala*- straw?  
*pa'lo* Yzh husks.  
*'palo* Yzh, *po'lo* sh, *pō<sup>o</sup>* r, g, *'pālo* Mm,  
*ō<sup>e</sup>* g, *ō<sup>a</sup>* (g), *ō<sup>e</sup>* ti, *ō<sup>a</sup>* t, Z, *ō<sup>la</sup>* G  
 foot. — *niāstiko pālef dīzo* Yp  
 squatting. — \**pādā*-, cf. Av. *pad(a)*-,  
 Sgl. *pūd*, Wkh. *pūd*, etc.  
*'pil-em*: *'pišc-im* Yzh, : *'pišk-em* M(g)  
 to break wind. — Av. *parəd* (*pārēda*).  
 V. *piγō*.  
*pol* Yzh footprint. — Av. *paḍa*-, Wkh.  
*poḍ*, Prs. *pai*, etc.  
*pōlō b'ōkō* Yr ankle-bone. — V. *b'ōk*.  
*plāc* Yzh Kafir cheese. — Kati *pr'oc*.  
 Is also Psht. *pōca* cream-cheese, curds  
 a lw. from Kafir?



- pe'licio* Yzh, g, °iā M(g) fir-tree, torch.  
— Cf. Khov. *pūic* (Lor.) fir-tree, torch? Ancient *d* > *Y*—*M* *l*, Khov. *y*. But *c*: *ē* and the vocalism?  
*pū'lād* Yzh, sh, g, °ōd r, *fū'lād* Mm, f° G steel. — Khov., Madaglashti, and Wakhi have forms in *p*, but Sgl., Badakhshi, Taj. have forms in *f*.  
*pilf* Yzh, sh, r, *polf* g ford. — *pilf* *noyora* Āi sh the stream cannot be forded. — Av. *parotu*, *parōtu*, *hu-parōtu(y)a* (v. §§ 102, 128). V. *gu'zar*.  
*pa'le* o'gušeo Yg toe. — Cf. *palo*.  
*pilyo* Yzh, *pilyā* Mg a flatus. — *icos* p° lakam M(g). — Cf. *pil*.  
*pilo'yo* Yzh, *pe'lōyo* r wooden cup; *pō'lōyiko* p small wooden tray, smaller than a *poško* (q.v.); *piō'lega* Z, *piyāle'ga* G cup. — Early lw. fr. Prs. *piyāla*, cf. Wkh. *pil*.  
*pūliko* Yzh foot-board of a loom. — Cf. *palo*.  
*pēlek* Yzh, *pō'lek* Mm, *pō'lek* t, *p'lek* (g), *pō'luk* Z, G eyelashes. — Prs. *palak*. V. *pa'naxko*.  
*polēm* Yzh, sh, *polm* sh, r, *pal'm* Mm soft, smooth, fine. — *polm* *kiēm* = *yīēm* Yg I ground; *γau polmo* šūi r; *γūen polma* g the lobe of the ear. — Cf. Khov. *pālēm* (*pāōēm*, *pālēm* Lor.) smooth, Wkh. *pal(a)m* soft, smooth, fine powder (and Prs. *palm* dust, earth?). But Sar. *pāōm* soft, smooth. Originally belonging to a dialect with *l* < *δ*? Note also Oss. *fālmān* soft (*fālm* fog).  
*pilam'ru* Yzh cloak, *čakman*; *pilamru* *wurš* sh woollen thread, *pilamui* (: *pilamrū*) *šōy* sh man's cloak. — Cf. Burushaski *pilam* woollen home-spun.  
*pa'lan* Yzh, sh, g, °ān u saddle; *pōlon* Mm, g, ti donkey-saddle. — *vo yaspō* *pa'lān* *šīō* Yu he saddled the horse. — Prs. *pālān* (from a dialect with *l* < *δ*, cf. Wkh. *pōān*?).  
*pa'lang* Yzh, sh, *pō'long* r, *plang* g, M(sh), *pō'lang* m, g leopard. — Prs. V. *āzāda-p°*, *xar-pōlang*.  
*plār*: *prist* Yzh, sh, r, *pōrist* g, *pōlār*: *prüst* Mm, *pōlōr-am*: *pōrist-am* t, *pōlōr*: *pōrūst* Z, *pōlār* G to sell. — *pōler* Yzh pres. 3 sg.; *mōn* *wo* *pōrēstēm* sh I sold it. — < \**parād*: \**parāsta*. *parād* has been abstracted from the weak form of athematic Av. *para-dā* and has been treated as a simple verbal stem. Cf. Psht. *prōlōl*, *plōrōl* (with the same metathesis as in *Y*—*M*, v. § 137); Sogd. *pr'ō*, Sak. *parā*, Orm. *prāy*, Gypsy of Qain *parū-īdan* (?). — Shgh. *parādā* < \**para-dada*, Sgl. *parōē* < \**para-daya*, Wkh. *pūrūt* < \**para-rātaka-pūrūt* < \**para-rand* (?).  
*pō'larz-em*: *pō'lišē-em* Yzh, *pō'lōrz-em* M(g) to wrap up (a bundle). — Cf. Sgl. *pēzl* id., Prs. *padarza*, a wrapper, *payarza* a bundle, Psht. *blēdōl* to swaddle; Orm. *palaft* 'to wring, fold' (< \**pari-dyāta*?).  
*pō'lās* Y, °as Mm blanket, mattress made of goat's hair. — Prs. *palās*.  
*pā'lāstiko* Yzh, p° sh, *pa'lasto* Mm armlet. — Cf. *lasto*.  
*pām* Y, *pām* Mm, *pōm* g, Z, G wool. — Cf. Sgl. *pām*, Prs. *pašm*, Bal. *phim*, Oss. *fāsm*, *fāns*, etc.  
*puma* Mm, g, °ā (g) avalanche. < \**piš-man*, cf. Skr. *piṣ* to crush?  
*pūmbaraš* Yzh beacon, bonfire. — Khov. *pūmbaraš*.

*pəno* Yzh, *pə*<sup>o</sup> g, *pa*<sup>o</sup> r, *pənə* sh, *pēno* Mm, *ā* (g), *penā* t, *pēnē* g, *e* ti, *pēna* G palm of the hand. — There is no trace of r in Ir.: Shgh. *bēn*, Wkh. *pun*, Kurd. *pani*, *panadest*, Phl. Psalter *pn*<sup>o</sup>. (Reg. Av. *pərənā*, which has been transl. 'palm' v. Meillet, MSI, 20, p. 290).

*pu'inē* Yzh, *i* sh bellows. — Khov. *phu'ini*.

*pānjəmo* Mm five days ago. — \**pančamā*. *pa'nūr* Y, Mm, Z, G cheese. — Prs.

*pānš* (*pān's*) Yzh, g, *anj* sh, r, u, LSIm, *ne* Yp, *pənš* Mm, *ne* g, t, (sh), *nš* (g), *pānē* Z, G five. — *pānj* ru'pāyo Ysh; *pānj* wulē u. — Av. *panča*.

*pē'nāzko* Yzh, *pā*<sup>o</sup> g, *pa'naxko* r eye-lashes. — < \**paš(m)axa* + *kā*-, cf. Av. *pašna*.

*pōnzda* Mg, (g) fifteen. — Prs.

*pāntwist* Yzh, *pānj*<sup>o</sup> r 100. — V. *sad*.

*pānjo* Yzh, g, *pani'o* sh, *pāngjo* Mm, *giyū* (g), *a* t, *pān'gve* ti, *pan'g'a* Z heel. — \**pāršniyā*-, cf. Shgh. *pērnak*, Av. *pāšna*-, etc.

*pūnā* Yzh, *o* g, *pīnā* sh, r, *pūngv* Mm, *pi*<sup>o</sup> g, *pīngv* (sh), *pūna* B feather. — Cf. Par. *pōn*, etc. < Av. *parāna*-.

*pə'nek* Yzh, sh, u, *pə'nək* r, p, *pū'nik* g leaf. — *ro čirief la pə'nekaf... yurd* Yu he took the apricots together with the leaves. — Cf. Sak. *pārra*-, Psht. *pāga*, etc.

*pāp* Y, *pāp* Mm, G, *pōp* M(g), Z grand-father (paternal and maternal). — Cf. Wkh. *pūp*, Arm. *pap*, but v. Sgl. *bōbō*, etc.

*pāpəs* Yzh, *pa*<sup>o</sup> g, *pā'pəs* sh, *pa'pəs* r, *papəs* Mm lung. — IA (cf. e.g.

*Ashkun pa'pus*); but the Khov. word is now *Asqār*. V. *dili žigar, šuš*.

*pāru* Y, *pōru* m. Z horse-dung. — Cf. Ishk. *pōru*, Badakhshi *pārūb*, Taj. *pōrū* (Z, Semenov, etc.). But Prs. *pārōb* ("pāda-raupa- 'what is swept off at one's feet?'), diall. *pōrū* wooden shovel, *pārūca* vessel to carry earth and clay? V. *xāskən*.

*pəro* Yzh podex, *pəro* Mm, *a* g, Z, *e* Mti, *perē* t, *pērū* (g) hip. — Cf. Phl. *pārak*, *parik* (Tavadia, Šāyast-nē-šāyast, p. 87). Connection with Skr. *pālī* margin, edge, bosom is not prob. — V. *pišcan, mišiste*.

*piro* B, *pīra* LSIm, *ica pīr* y before, earlier; *pīra-ica'sta* G forwards. — < Av. *paurya-*? Cf. Sak. *piro* before, in front, Shgh. *pīrō* before (ABC, pp. 32, 41).

*pīr* Yzh, sh, r, *pōr* zh, g, *pur* Mm, Z, G full. — *pōr kenēm* Yzh I fill; *pōr šet* sh many came, *pur šudan, bisyār āmadan*-. — Prs.

*pu'ra-um*: *prē'i-m* Yzh, *pu'rā-am*: *purei-am* sh, *prāe-am*: *pār'vi-am* r, *pu'rōv-um*: *pur'ei-um* Mm, *p'rōv*: *pār'vi* t, : *pār'vi*-(g), *p'rōv*: *pār'vay* Z, : *perci*-LSly, *priva* B to find, obtain. — *p'rēv* zh pres. 3 sg., *p'ravēt* 3 pl.; *ē-pur'viam* sh 'na yāftim'; *ē-pār'vayāf* perf. 'na yāfta būdid' (!). — < \**pari-ap*-, cf. Wkh. *parvēm* to attain (v. Z s.v.)?

*pūr* Y, M (Ysh, g also *pūl*) son, B boy, *pūser* (?) B son. — *IA mən yū pūl* (am'boh *pūrē*) *astet* Ysh I have one son (many sons); *tu mən pūl* sh you are my son; *mən nō pūrən amūno līm* sh I gave my son an apple; *āi 'pūri* sh o sons; *no xoi pūrēf* sh



- to his own sons; *wo 'mən 'pūrəf* ušāwa sh call my sons; *pūr, pūrən, pūrē, pūrəf r*; *yū 'pūr, š'roi 'pūri* Mm; *pūr kir (g)* she bore a son. — Av. *puōra*, Wkh. *pōr*, etc, but Sgl. *sōt*. *pūra* Yzh son. — Demin of *pūr*. Cf. s.v. *wən*.
- parčam* Yzh a girl's front-lock, *čām r* a lock of hair. — Prs.
- par'gušē* Yzh, sh, *pargušvīy* Mm, g. *gīškū ti, gūškū G, porgušču* LSIy finger-ring. — Cf. Khov. lw. *pulug-gušču*, Wkh. *pōngōšt* and Yazgh. *pōr'waxt*. The forms with *l* are prob. of Prs. origin, with *pul-, pal- < pari-*, just as in *palwanda* bale, bundle; *palāhang* bridle, halter (āhang tether); *palandīn* lintel, jambs of a door (cf. Av. *aiōya*). But I cannot find Prs. *pulangūst* mentioned by G.
- pāry* Y, *pōry* Mm, g, *porg* Z, *pōrk* G, *perx* B mouse. — *pārye no-ō'yt* Ysh; *'fūto wo 'par'əf* he seized the mice. — Cf. Sgl. *pōrk*, Wkh. *pūr*, and v. Notes on Shgh. s.v. *pūr*.
- poruy* Yzh, sh, *'peruy* m. Z bolt of a door. — *\*patī-ruga*, cf. Greek *λύγρος* flexible twig, etc., possibly connected with Engl. *lock*, etc.?
- poruylan* Yzh, sh hole fore the door-bolt. — V. *poruy*; cf. § 145.
- pīra'hān* Yzh, sh, *pīra'an r, pīran* Mm shirt, *pī'rān* m. Z woman's shirt. — *p° li'o* Ysh. — Prs.
- parkand* LSIy half. — *loh rupeo p° 2½* rupees. — Cf. Phl. *\*kand* fragment (?) (cf. Nyberg, Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift, 1934, 2, p. 67)?
- pur'm* Yzh, sh cotton, mattress filled with cotton-wool, *paxfa*. Khov. *purum* cotton fibre (Lor.).
- pa'rinda* Ysh, *parandagi* LSIy bird. — Prs.
- pa'ranyiko* Yzh steep part of a road on the face of a cliff, *parri*. — Cf. Skr. *parāṇa* crossing?
- prenji'o* Yzh, *pran°* sh, r, *'prenjio*, *°jiko* g she-goat, one year old. — *\*parana-ē-* belonging to last year, cf. Psht. *parūn* yesterday, etc.?
- parə'paṭi* Ysh boil, sore. — Khov. *pər'pat* (Lor.), *parpaṭ* small-pox, or a similar disease.
- pārse* Y, *par'siy* Mm, *pōr'siy* g rough roof-beam. — *\*pārsaka-*, but cf. Khov. *isprāsk*, ceiling, Wkh. *sipask*, Shgh. *sipāsc* rafter < *\*us-parša-ka-ē-*?
- pr'sim* Yzh, *pər'səm* sh, g, r: *'pist-im* Y, G, *'pərsəm: pist-əm* Mm, *pərs:* *pəst-*, *pist* Z to ask. — *zo vto pr'sim* Yzh, *zo fto pər'səm* sh; *zə pər'səm-istə* sh I am asking; *wōt pər'se* sh ask him (2 pl.); *pād'sāen pis'tō* sh, u the king asked; *zənief pis'tet* sh the daughters-in-law asked; *pistə'm r* I have asked. — Cf. Wkh. *pərs:* *porst*, Sgl. *f'rōs: f'rōt*, Av. *pərsəsa: paršta-*.
- pərsə'yē* Y, *'pursəgo* Mm, *°a-ya* g, *pūr-sāyā* (g), *'pərsə'yē* t, *pursi'ga* f. Z rib. — Av. *pərsəsu-*, cf. Wkh. *purs*, Oss. *pārsk*.
- pra'sāl* Y, *prə'sāl* Mt, *'presāl* Z last year. — *\*para-sarda-*, cf. Orm. *prasul*, Prs. *pārsāl*. V. *yu'dār sāl*.
- prasīlanē* *warē* Ysh male lamb, one year old. — *\*para-sydanaka-* (cf. *\*syda-* in Orm. *prasul*, Par. *parāsuy* last year). Cf. *af'sin'yo* (v. § 126). V. *prenji'o*, *war'yiko*, *nar-'corya*.
- prə'sū* Yzh skirting board of eaves. — Khov. *prīsu* (Lor.).
- pōr'sik* Yzh, g. p. *bo°* (?) sh, *pā°* B lip.

- Reichelt (ZII, 7, p. 149) compares Sogd. *prš* lip. Tomaschek (BB, 7, p. 200) assumes that the original meaning was 'rim' and compares. Av. *porəsu* (v. WP, II, p. 44 sq.). But *rš*? — V. s.v. *p<sup>o</sup>korē*.
- p<sup>o</sup>riur* Mm, *priver* g cow-house. — With *v* for *u* (cf. *yavo*) < Av. *pairi-vāra*, Prs. *paricār* stable. Cf. Waz. Psht. *erōrai* shelter for cattle in the hills < \**frawāraka*.
- parvardīgār* Ysh creator. — äi *p<sup>o</sup>*. — Prs.
- par'vārn* Yzh, *par'vož(r)na* g, *siken* *por'vežina* sh knee-cap; *par'vežin* zh, sh, *par'vārn* p the wheel of the spinning-wheel (v. III.); *pericakin* B round. — The original meaning appears to be 'round'; < \**pari-paḥana* 'wide'? — Cf. Portuguese, etc. *rodella* knee-cap < *roda*.
- par'veāno* Yr moth. — Prs. V. *kautia*.
- par'vaxšē* Yzh, g, r, *veāšē*(?) sh, *par'vaxšēy* Mm, g broom. — Connection with Av. *vaxš-* 'to sprinkle' is uncertain, but not impossible.
- par'vān*: *por'vōd* Z to sift. — \**pari-waik* (v. Z s.v.) cf. Wkh. *por'vōc*, Afr. Psht. *par'vōz*.
- pərx*, *pərx* f. Z hoarfrost, hail. — Besides Shgh. *perš*, etc. mentioned by Z, cf. also Psht. *parxa*, *pərxwā*, Orm. *purxo*, Prs. *barx*, *burx*, Sak. *pruħa* dew (Oss. lw. *pīrx*, *purx(ā)* spray, etc.). — It is doubtful whether Prs. *puž*, *paž* sleet is connected with *pərx*. (From Ir. Syryen *puž*, Wotyak *pužmer* hoarfrost?). — Cf. further Prs. *paš(f)ak*, *apšak* hoarfrost, *parš* brook, fountain (v. Horn, Np. Et. s.v.) Kurd. *purša* sleet, Cheremis lw. *pōrš* hoar-

- frost, Skr. *pruṣvā*, *pr'ṣva* rime. Cf. *praž'ār*. — A most complicated group of words!
- pa'rūyasti* Mg collar-bone. — V. *fizyasti*, *šūko*.
- pari'zāk(ə)* Yu fairy. — *p<sup>o</sup>* *nə'yor*; *vo p<sup>o</sup>* *suicār kər*. — Prs.
- praž'ār* Yzh, sh, *prežgā* B dew. — Khov. *praž'ār*, possibly from Ir. (Tomaschek, BB, 7, p. 197). Cf. *pərx*. V. *nəb*, *šak'lām*.
- par'zin* Yzh, *in zh*, p enclosure for sheep, Psht. *špōl*. — Cf. Turf. Phl. *prēyn* hedge, Kāndulāf, etc. *pārčēn* thorn-hedge, Bakhtiyari *parzin* bramble, etc.; poss. also Sak. *pār-gyīn* f. garden. — From *pari-čē*, cf. Prs. *parzidan* to repair a well. Cf. *latino*.
- par'zini* Yp thorn-hedge.
- prāy* Yzh to bleat. — *vəzo* *prāyē* = *yə'nīlē*. Cf. Khov. *blayēik*.
- pāi'sō* Yzh, *paia* M money, coin. — *yū* *surx p<sup>o</sup>* sh a copper. — IA.
- pas'mino* Yzh above, *bālā*. — Cf. *as'mino*.
- pas'minaka* Yzh steep. — V. *pas'mino*.
- pas'pōn* Z patch of cloth. — Z compares Shgh., Or. *pesān*, Yazgh., Wkh. *pōšin*, Prs. *pina*. Cf. also Sar. *psann*. — M. sp. Wkh. *š* would point to ancient \**kū* (Av. *apa-spā*, etc. has probably ancient *sp*). Shgh. < \**ps'pōn*??
- psaro* B below, before (locally), ISIy down. V. *sāro*.
- pusur* Y, *pūsər* Mm, g, ti, *or t*, *pūsər* (g), *pūsər* m. Z, *pūsə* G head. — \**pāti-sarah*? Cf. Par. *pīsār* forehead, Sogd. *pts'r'k* head.
- pūsura* Yp protruding piece of wood affixed to the foot-board of the spinning wheel and carrying the spindle (v. III.). V. *pusur*.



*psāt* Ysh immediately, *p<sup>s</sup>ā* Mt now. — *p<sup>s</sup>ā-yim* Mt *ālī raftam*; *psāt tižim* Ysh I am falling now. — Cf. Sgl. *psāt*, fr. Prs. \**ba-sā'at*.  
*'pastē* Yzh, °*tē* p round iron girdle.  
*ps'tā* Mm pistachio. — Prs.  
*pis'to* Yzh, g, *pōstiyiki* pl. r, *'pūs'to* Mm, °*ā* Z, °*a* G bark of a tree, *pisto* Yp walnut-shell. — Lw's, of varying age, fr. Prs. Or < \**pāstā*, Av. *pasta*, cf. Sar. *pāsk* cow hide < \**pastaka*?  
*pist'dū* Yzh, *pisto* B flat, maidān. Cf.: *post* Y, Mm, *pōst*, *'pasta* Z low; *post* Mg floor; *past* G below. — Prs.  
*pist'dū-yar* Yzh flag-stone. — Cf. *pist'dū*.  
*'pistān* Yzh, g, °*ān* sh, r, °*en* Mm udder. — Not direct from Av. *fštāna* (v. *iš'cān*), but influenced by \**payah-milk*, cf. Sgl. *pēstān*, Sar. *vistān* (Bellew), Prs. *pistān*. Oss. *fāzdon* has prob. been associated with -don receptacle. Khorasani *pistun* (Ivanow) 'store room' originally 'milk room'?  
*pā'i* Yzh, *pišai* B ripe. — \**pašaka(hya)* < \**pačya*, cf. Prs. *puxtan* to ripen.  
*paš-em*: *pašē-im* Yzh, sh to dig. — Khov. *pašiman*.  
*pašō* Mg mosquito. — Prs. V. *maxšē*.  
*pāš* Yzh, *'pāšō* r snare. — Khov. *pāš*, *pāš*.  
*piš'čō* Yzh, sh, r, *p<sup>s</sup>ō* g, *piš'kvo* Mm, *pūškva* g, t, *piškva* ti, *pāš'kva* G back. — \**prāti* + *ā*, cf. Av. *parāti*. V. *har'kō*.  
*pāšē* Y flour made from dried apples. — Cf. Prs. *pist*, Ishk. *put*, Wkh. *pōst*, Shgh. *pišt* parched grain; v. Par. Voc. s.v. *pišt*. — Cf. *talkān*, *tūi-pušky*.  
*'pišcān* Yzh, r, *pišcān* sh, g, *'piškven* Mm, g, t, ti, °*ēn* (g), *'peškan* Z thigh;  
 16 - Kulturforskning.

*pišcān* B leg. — *da p<sup>o</sup> blok* Yg bip. — < Av. *paitistāna*, v. EVP. s.v. *patūn*.  
*piš'ko* Y (sh also *p<sup>u</sup>ō*), *piškvo* Mm, °*d* g, °*a* t, G, *'puška* Z cat. — *wo p<sup>o</sup> la'kay* Ysh he let loose the cat; *yū p<sup>o</sup> no-won* H'o sh he gave him a cat. — Cf. Sgl. *pūš*, Wkh. *piš*, and v. Z s.v. *poškō* Ysh, p, *pāš'ko* zh, r, *'paxškvo* Mm, *'paxsk'a* (s!?) Z large wooden tray, *tabaka*; *'poško* Yzh washing basin. — *no poškē*, *tro poškaf* Ysh. Z compares Prs. *paxš* trodden, expanded (which is possible), and Bal. *pačag* to boil.  
*pūš'āk* Ysh dress. — Prs.  
*'pāskedrī* Yzh, g, *piškodri* sh, *pāšgirdio* r, *'pūško* Mm, g, *'puška* f. Z dung of goats and sheep. — Cf. Prs. *pušk*, etc. With the second element cf. Shgh. *šid*, Wkh. *šart*, Sgl. *wuđi*, etc.?  
*pāškus'ti* Yp stick fastened to the *kušcō* (q.v.). V. Ill.  
*prške'zē* Yzh, *piškvo-zūi* Mm kitten. — V. *ziy*.  
*pšānē* Yzh, °*a* r, *p<sup>s</sup>ānā* sh, °*i* g, *pi'sāni* Mm, g, t forehead. — Prs.  
*pāš'no* Yr heel. — Prs. V. *pāyio*.  
*pāš'in* Mm, (g) afternoon. — Prs. V. *iziānē*.  
*pišwō'zi* Mm vestibule. — \*Prs., cf. Prs. *pēšcāz* going out to meet somebody. — V. *as'tano*.  
*pišawiz* Yzh, °*wiz* sh buckle of a belt. — Prs. \**pēš-āwēz*, cf. *āwēz* a hook for hanging something on.  
*'pi'tou* Y, *'pitou* Mm, g the sunny side of a valley or hill. — Prs. *pałau*, Sgl. *pitāw*, etc.  
*pāta'čur* Yzh pheasant (not found in Lutkoh). — Khov. *badačul*, *batačul*.

- pateko* Mm pea, *Lathyrus sativus*. — Cf. Sgl. *paṭək*, v. *Agricult. Afghanistan*, p. 337 ('*patok*').
- pulk* Mg anvil. — Cf. Wkh. *pulk* anvil (Bellew), but Prs. *pulk*, Shgh. *pulk* (*māš niṣṣon ḍarrat pulk* 'our emblem is the sickle and the hammer' abe-book, p. 28), hammer. What is the nature of the connection between the forms in *t* and *l*?
- pa'tarē* Y roof-beam. — \**patitaraka* 'cross-beam', cf. Wkh. *paṭari* rafter, and Prs. *tir* < \**tya*.
- : *ptrəmd-o* Yu seized, imprisoned, *parkamān kal* (?). — Cf. Wkh. *pūtrūm* to arrest.
- poti'sā-um*: *poti'sard-um* Yzh, *poti'sō um* r to tear (a rope, string, etc.). — Denom. from *poti'sē*.
- po'tiṣē* Yzh, r broke, was torn, *kand*. — *mōn lo'sō po'tiṣē* zh my rope broke. — < \**pati-tysta*, cf. Prs. *iftālidan*, Par. *tār*, Sar. *zdeig*, Or. *zidarō* (\**us-tyd*?) to break, split.
- paita'wo* Yzh, sh puttees. — Khw. *paita'va*, fr. Prs. *pāy-tāba*.
- pa'teṣo* Mm, 'pāteṣā (g), *pa'teṣa* Z she-calf, one year old. — < \**pati-tāci*, connected with Prs. *tāza* fresh, young?? — V. *fəryōmēck*, *mīšēyiko*.
- poṭ* Yzh bent, crooked. — IA?
- prī'o* Yzh, sh fresh, or moistened *riška* (a kind of horse-fodder); IA?
- prī'o* Yzh necklace.
- pai'xō* Yp unthreshed grain, straw with the corn. — \**pati-xwahā*.
- pix* Yr span from thumb to index-finger. — Cf. Sgl. *pēx* < \**paixa*, connected with Av. *pixa* knot, joint (in a reed)? Cf. the semantic development of Skr. *pārvan*.

- pxuf*: *pxuft* Ysh, : *pxuft* zh, : *pxuft* Mm to get tired, *partau šudan*; *p'xuftəy* Z, *poxuṣta* B, *xof'ta* (?) G tired. — From Prs. (?) \**pxuṣta* < Av. \**paiti-x'apta*?
- pxata'i wirē* Mg cotton thread. — Prs. *pxata* cotton. — V. *šišo'yun*, *wu'sūles*.
- poxa'yak* Yzh temples; 'pxoyak g top of the head.
- piṣ* Yzh, sh, *piṣ* r, *piṣe* (pl.?) g, *puṣ* Mm, *piṣ* Z, G, *piṣ* B arrow, bullet (G, B only bullet); *drum-piṣ* Ysh, *las-piṣ* B arrow; *piṣ-yar* Yg bullet ('arrow-stone'). — Cf. Sogd. *p'ḍ*, Oss. *fat*, Shgh. *pāḍ*, Sar. *pūḍ*, etc., poss. Sgl. *pēcūn*. Arm. *patkan* fr. Ir. — Ir. \**pāḍa* from Skr. *pāta* flying + Av. (*para*)-*padhant* flying away (from bow-string)?
- piṣo'yo* Yzh, *piṣ'o* sh saliva. — \**pəu*, v. *lfo*, and cf. Orm. *putu*.
- peṣiko* Yzh snare. — Cf. Shgh. *pēḍ* < \**pāḍya*. V. NTS, I, 65.
- pa'ṣəy* Z, *pa'ha*, *pa'xa* G wide, broad. — < \**pāḍaka*, cf. Sogd. *p'ḍk*. Most Ir. forms are derived from Av. *paḍana*, but cf. Sgl., etc. *pām*.
- pəya* Yzh, sh, r, 'paya g, 'o Mg sour milk, *māst*. — Cf. Sgl. *pəi*, Wkh. *pāi*, etc. < Av. *payah*.
- pā'iz* Y autumn. — Prs. V. *ttramā*.
- pu'zē* Yzh, 'pūzē sh, r, g falcon, *bāša*, Khw. *yurē*. — Fr. Prs. *bāz*, with substitution of *p* for *b* at a time when no initial *b* existed in Y. — V. *bāšo*.
- pəzg*, v. *pəzəg*.
- palzanē* Yzh autumn wheat. V. *pā'iz*.
- po'zēx* Yzh, *po'zāxē* g, 'o r, 'iṣe sh, *pī'zāxīy* Mm, *pī'zāxī* g, (sh), *pī'zāxī* (g), *pī'zāxīy* Z, *pleṣye* (?) B male sheep,



1—2 years old. — \**pati-zaḥya(ka)* 'newly born', cf. Sak. *mū-ysamthia* 'belonging to his birth'; Khov. *auzetu* 'fem. calf, two years old' fr. Ir. \**aḥi-zaḥya*? Cf. *naxčir-pəzāxē*, *və-zāxo*, *zāxko*.

*piš'ār*, v. *piš*.

*pāzi* Yzh, sh, *pāje* LSIy, 'pōwi Z all. — p° *mardum*; *uos* p° *tayār šūi* now all of it is ready, *hama-iš*; *vo pāzof* *da'ham* zh I beat all of them. — Cf. Skt. *upa-citi* accumulation, heap?

*pi-žām*: *pi-žānd* Yzh, sh. *pō'čām*: *pō'čānd* r, *pō'žon* M(g) to entrust. — *na* to *čei* *pō'čāmum* Yr I entrust something to you. — Y fr. Khov. *pežimim*, in its turn fr. Ir.; originally \**pati-žāmaya*. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 663. *pə'žō* Yp, *pə'žō* u log, beam. — *tālum* *vo pə'žō* Yp; *amboh pə'žō xap* u fell much timber.

## R

*rōi* Mm, *rāi* LSIy word (*vai* B 'wish' < Khov.?). — Ar-Prs. *rāi* advice?

*rūi* Y, Mm, g, (g), t cheek, Yg, Z, G face. — Prs. V. *rōxə*.

*rū'i* Y, Mt, 'rūyei m, 'iy g, 'iy (g), 'oy Z guts, bowels. — Cf. Prs. *rūda*, etc. V. KZ., 61, 29 sqq.

*rōč* Mm difficult. — < \**rāj*, Prs. *ranj* trouble, distress.

*ru'fo* Y small, soft broom. — With *f* from the past \**rufta*-, cf. Prs. *ruftan*, *rōbam* to sweep. Cf. Sgl. *rēf*. V. *fāru*, *par'icaxšē*.

*rəfikō* Mm, *rəfikū* g mill-broom.

*ri'yo* Yzh, 'a sh, Mg, t, ti, 'rūgo m, 'rugd f. Z vein; *ri'yo* B sinew, *rirek* (: \**riyek*) vein. — < \**rākā*-, cf. Sar.

(Bellew) *ruwōj* pulse (but *rag* vein fr. Prs. *rag* < \**rakā*); Yazdi *rōy* vein; Psht. *rōg* strap, thong. Cf. also Prs. *raza* a stretched rope (if orig. ē not j, v. Hübschm. Prs. Stud., 66).

*roy* Yzh goat track. — 'yumin o 'rōy Yg anus. — < Khov. *rōy* incised line, crack, furrow, goat track in cliffs, poss. < \**raka*-, v. 'riyo.

*rōy(u)* Yzh, sh, *rōy* g deodar. — Khov. *rōy*.

*rūyon* Y, Mm, g, 'na m. Z, 'na G clarified butter; *rūyna* Mm resin. — *rūyun da burz deh* put the ghee into the corner. — < Av. *raoyna*-, cf. Wkh. *rūyn*, Sak. *rrūya*-, etc.

*royz* Yzh woman's cloak. — Cf. Prs. *rayza* a kind of woollen cloth worn in Badakhshan. — \**rezg* 'to plait' (WP, II, 374)?

*ra'hī*, 'ē Ysh, 'ā u leaving, starting. — r° *šūi*, r° *kōr* he left, started. — Prs.

*rok* Yzh, *rang* B, G colour. — *spī rok*. — *rang* fr. Prs., *rok* genuine or early lw. — (Cf. also Prs. *razš* lightning, rainbow, mixture of red and white, Kurd. *raš*, Arm. *eraxš* black).

*ri'kau* Yr, *ri'kiō* Mm, r° Z stirrup. — Prs. *rikāb*, *rikēb* (cf. s.v. *ketiu*). V. *čauli*.

*ru'kuš* Yzh to creep, Khov. *druškirān*. — *iž rukušē* the snake creeps. — Kho. *rukūšik* to creep.

*rīm*: *rīmd* Yzh, r, Mm to please (impers.). *rēm* Z to wish, want. — *mən rīmet* (3 pl.), *rīmdo* I wish, I wished 'mēšdram' Ysh; *tu mən rīmet* I want you, you please me, 'tu mana mēšāra'; *youyō rīmet* I want to drink water,

au *xurdañ mēfāra* Yr; *rimī* Mm he wants. — Cf. M. Prs. *rām-* to rejoice (Henning, ZII, 9, 190).

*romo* Yzh, *rāma* Z flock, herd. — Prs. *ra'meno* Yzh, *āno* sh, g, r, *rameno* Mm, *rāmenā* (g) poplar, *safedār*. — Cf. Khov. *ro'mān*, *ro'meno* aspen (from Y?) — V. *gulra'men*, *ta'rik*.

*ra'mūz* LSIIm deer. — Cf. Psht. *rāmūsai*, but Khov. (O'Brien) *rohunz* musk-deer.

*rin'*g'a Z smooth, slippery. — \**rixšnaka-*, or \**raxšni*<sup>o</sup>, cf. Prs. *lašn*, v. Par. Voc. s.v. *lhanō*.

*rūpāyo* Ysh, Mm silver, money, rupee. — *ha'zār rūpāyo*, *yi*, Ysh; *nomān yū rūpai* (lu *rūpāyagi*) *lūyom* Mm I gave him one rupee. — IA.

*ros*: *re'si*, *ro'si* Yzh, sh, : *re'gio* u, *res-* am M(g), *res*: *resiy* Z to arrive. — *ro'sē* arrives; *mira re'si* *āftāb rasid*; *da Ōtrāyi ro'si*; *crs ke nā mōn re'si* whatever I received; *hazār rūpāyi na to ro'si* you received 1000 rupees; *ro'siet* they arrived. — Prs.

: *ri'sed-et* Ysh (for \**re'sed-et*) they made to arrive, *rasāndan*. — *vo mālaf a'eyet*, *r*<sup>o</sup> they brought the goods and made them arrive. Cf. *ros*.

*rūso* Yzh, g, *ruso* sh, r, *raūso* Mm, *rūsā* g, *re-u*<sup>o</sup> (g), *rūsā* t, (sh), *rū*<sup>o</sup> f. Z, *rū'sa* G fox. — Cf. Shgh. *rupsak*, *rupcak*; Sogd. *riaps*; Prs. dial. *rōs* (and *rōs-angurda* fox-grapes); *Ropša* = *Lisicka* "Füchschchen", n. of a river in Orel, Russia (v. Vasmer, in *Reallex. d. Vorgesch.* 12, 248). But Prs. *rōbāh*, etc. Sgl. *rōrēs*, Sak. *rrāvāsa*- jackal with -ā. Reg. the gender cf. § 179.

*ris'pen* Yzh, g, *re*<sup>o</sup> sh, r, LSIy, *yus'pōn*

Mm, *yi*<sup>o</sup> g, t, *yis'pōn* (g), *yūs'pōn* m. Z, *un* G, *en* LSIIm iron. — Cf. Sgl. *ʔs'pōy*, Wkh. *yis*<sup>n</sup>, Sak. *hīsam*, Psht. *ōspana*, Shgh. *se'pen*, etc. (and Prs. *sinī* dross of iron). But Y *r* *r*<sup>o</sup> *rastē* Ysh rightly, correctly. — *tu r*<sup>o</sup> *xismat ken!* — Prs. *rāsti*.

*rās* Yr heap. — *vo you rās kerēm* I heaped up the barley. — Prs.

*riša* Mt root-fibre. — Prs.

*rešk* Y avalanche. — < \**rešk*? Cf. Khov. *rešt*, Shgh. *rīšt*. Cf. Prs. *rašt*, *rušt* crumbling, threatening to fall, etc.?

*riško* Yzh, sh nit. — Cf. Prs. *rišk*, Psht. *riča*.

*ra'sān* zh, sh, *ro*<sup>o</sup> g instep (zh also sole). — From *ra'sān*, in its turn prob. < Ir. (\**fra-fsāna*-, v. *šfina*?).

*ru'sān* Mm, *ān* g, *rū'sān* G light, brightness. — Prs. V. *d'runyo*.

*rūv* Yzh, sh, *rif* Mti a kind of odoriferous, bitter-tasting vegetable, resembling rhubarb. — < \**rāba*-, cf. Sgl. *rūv*, Prs. *rāwand*, etc., \**rāw* (Badakhshi *rau*), v. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 547, and Markwart, *Caucas.* 7, 16.

*rūv*: *rūd* Yzh, sh, r, *rev*: *riēd* M(g), *rav*: *riēd* Z to bark. — *rovē*, *riēdō* Yzh, *yalv rōv* r, *rōvōstō* sh, g, *holv* *revi*, *riēdō* M(g). — Cf. Phl. *rap-* to cry out, etc. (v. Johnston, *JRAS*, 1934, 535 ff.).

*rūvōn* Yzh, sh, *re*<sup>o</sup> Mm, g, (g) wife's brother. — Derivation < \**rēvōn* < \**lēvōr*, cf. Psht. *lēvōr* 'husband's brother' is phonetically and semantically improbable.

*rūx*(<sup>o</sup>) Yg cheek. — Prs. *rux*, Psht. *rāw*; cf. Psht. *rōx* side, part. — < \**raxica*-, Skr. *srākva*- corner of the mouth.



*raxs* M(g) dance. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ruṣ'sat* Ysh leave, permission. — *wo r°*  
*šūi* he left; *r° tūliyo*; *wa mən r°*  
*ken* give me leave. — Ar.-Prs.  
*rūyei*, v. *rū'i*.  
*riza* Y, Mm, *rəz'gay* Z, *rəzg'iya* G small.  
 — *mən pūr* (*luḡdo*) *riza*; *agar riza*  
*vlo* Ysh. — Prs.  
*rū'zo* Yzh fast. — Prs.  
*'riza o'guščiko* Yg, sh, *°go* sh, *riza-*  
*guščiko* zh, *rizəko-guščiko* r little  
 finger.  
*riza'yak* Yzh goats and sheep. — Cf.  
 Sar. *rezapai* (Shaw).  
*riziko* Yzh small. — *mən luḡdo r°*. Cf.  
*riza* and *rizəko guščiko*.  
*riz-l'vora* Yg window ("small door").  
*rīzān* Yzh in *r° māum* I give a full  
 measure, *xūb sanjdim*, *xūb pur šud*  
*paimān* (?). — Prs. *rizān* scattering?  
*ra'zin* Yzh, *°ən* sh, g, *'rəzən* r, *rāzen*  
 Mm, g, (g), t, Z, *ra'zin* G elbow. —  
 The similarity with *Kāndūlāi qā*  
*āriti'nī* (Kurd.-Prs. Forsch. III, II,  
 275) is no doubt incidental. Phone-  
 tically *ra'zin* might go back to \**rā-*  
*zanya*.  
*ra'za* Ysh sleeping platform near the  
 fireplace. — *nə'vur da r° 'burd sū-i*  
*digdān*. — Cf. Sgl. *rēz*, Wkh. *rāz*,  
 Or. *rē'zak* < \**raz(i)ya*, from \**rēg*?  
*rā'zan* G language. — If correct, cf. Skr.  
*racana*- composition, etc.?  
*rū'zen* Yzh, sh, r, *°ən* g, *°an* p, Mm,  
*°jen* g smoke-hole. — Cf. Wkh. *ričn*,  
 Par. *rūčōn*, Prs. *rōzan*, etc.

## S

*'sā-um*: *sovd-um* Y, *sō-um* g, *sōv*: *sēvd*  
 Z to smear, rub. — *sova* Yg imper.  
 2 sg. — \**sab*-, cf. Oros. *sēc*- Sgl.

*sāmb*, Wkh. *sām*- (Hj.)? Or cf. Prs.  
*sūdan*, *sāwidan*, etc.?  
*sī* Mg, *sīi* m thirty. — Prs.  
*sū'i* Yzh slate. — Cf. Wkh. *sāt*, Sar.  
*sād* slate, Shgh. *sād*, Sgl. *usid* baking  
 pan. Prs. *sād* smooth, even?  
*sa'bā* Y to-morrow. — *zo s. o'im*. — Prs.  
 V. *saār*, *yāmo*.  
*sub* Mm morning. — *s° liyo 'šubh dād*.  
 — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'buk* Yzh, *so°* sh, *sə°* r, g, *'sabok* Mm  
 light (not heavy). — Prs.  
*sā'buk* Ysh bride, *sābuka* bridegroom.  
 V. *'šābuk*.  
*sabar'go* Yzh, g, *°o* p, *sarbar'go* sh tre-  
 foil. — Prs. *sihbarga*.  
*sə'brim* Y, *su'brūm* Mm boiled fat.  
*sabə'ranj* Yzh, sh neckrope, fastening  
 the bullocks to the yoke (v. Ill.).  
 — Pl. *sabə'ranjē*. — \**sami-barana-čī*?  
 Cf. Wkh. *səmvər* yoke, Khov. *šamar-*  
*yūnu*, and v. s.v. *sām*.  
*sabūstaf* obl. pl. ISIm husks. — Bad.  
 Prs. *sabōsta*, Prs. *sabōs(a)*, cf. Sar.  
*sabast* bran.  
*sad* M 100. — Prs.  
*sād'bārg* M(g) centfoil, rose. — Prs.  
*sau'dāger* Ysh merchant, pedlar. — Prs.  
*so'fo* Yzh, *'sofo* p, *səfō* sh clay pot,  
 kettle.  
*'sāyo* Y, *'sōya* Mg, *°go* m, *°ga* Z shade.  
 — \**šayākā*, Sogd. *sy'k*, etc.  
*səy'io* Yzh, *se°* sh, *səy'io* g, *segio* (?) r,  
*sigvo* Mm, *siy'iya* g, ti, *°o* (g), *'səgya*  
 Z, *sūgya* G sand (acc. to Mti fine  
 sand). — \**sikitā*, v. EVP. s.v. *šoga*,  
 and Benveniste BSL. 30, 60 and  
 JRAS. 1933, 43. Cf. also Oss. *sijit*,  
*sigit*, etc., earth, soil, (v. also Justi  
 ZDMG, 38, 115).  
*siy* Y hare. — \**sāhaka*, cf. Sgl. *sūi*,

- Wkh. *sīl*, Or. *sū*, v. EVP., s.v. *sōc*, and Bailey, JRAS., 1931, 424.
- suṽ* Yzh, r leather strap, boot-lace, *tasma*; *sūy* sh strap of a pellet bow (v. Ill.); *seṽaf* obl. pl. LSIy 'stripes'(?).
- sūy* Yzh, r street. — *wōs do sūy ōyēm* Yr "āli da kuča mērim". — Ar.-Prs. *sūg*.
- 'sūyiko* Yzh, r, *sūyakā* M(g), *sūgo* m tale. — Cf. Par. *sūy* word, affair, Sar. *saug*, Or. *sūg* tale, proverb. But Av. *saoka* means usefulness, profit.
- suṽ-mō'lān* Yzh leather belt. — V. *suṽ*, *mōlān*, *kamarband*.
- sa'yīr* Yzh, sh, Mm, Z, °ir Yr orphan. — Ar.-Prs.
- sūy'yāmo* Yzh, sh three days hence; *suṽyā'mo* r the day after to-morrow(?). — V. *'yāmo*, *yūy'yāmo*.
- sāhoro*, *sahro* Ysh, *sāhoro* Mm desert. — *sāhara* šūi; *oyīm-sātē sāharen* (or from *sahar*?) — Ar.-Prs.
- sa'har* Ysh, Z morning; *sa'ār* Ysh, 'sāar zh to-morrow (morning). — 'sāar *molo ko mən as* Yzh come to me here to-morrow morning. — Ar.-Prs.
- sko* Ysh, n, B, *skō* Z on, with; cf. *sār-skū* G upwards. — *nī'āst sko dau'let* he settled down with his wealth; *sko 'yū ašzra'fen mind dau'lat šūi* through one piece of gold such wealth appeared; *sko yū yasp... suwār šūi* Yu he mounted a horse; *s'k škūra suwār šey* Z he mounted a camel. — < Av. *uskāt* (G); cf. e.g. Saka *uska* above; Psht. (*hask*); Yazgh. *wask* high (the resemblance to Kaikādī Tamil *rask* id. is a "mirage phonetic"). — Cf. Skarzer.
- skōd-*: *skōst* Yzh, 'skōd-: 'skīst- Mt, 'skīd-: *skīst* (g) to cut with an axe or a knife, 'māburam'. — *pa kəṽa*

- skōstēm* Yzh. — Cf. *skēškigā* Z torn < \**skāsta*; Wkh. *škōnd*, Shgh. *šōcend* to cut; Av. *skand* to break.
- siaka'mand t'fak* Yzh a kind of gun. — Prs. \**siyāh-kamān*.
- skut* Yzh, sh, g, Mm, g, G, *skūt* Yr, *skot* Mti, *skout* Z, *iskawcat* (\**اسكوت*) MFB wood, stick. — *mən va skud vylēm* Yg I broke the stick. — < \**skunta* ?? (Reichert, Soghd. Handschr., p. 58, comp. Sogd. *skiry* firewood).
- 'skāvrio* Yzh, 'skarviyo Mm, °a g, 'skārvīā (g), *skarvīya* G coal. — Poss. < \**skarbatā*, but not identical with Psht. *skarvāṭa*, etc. (v. G s.v.). Cf. Charpentier, AO., 7, 193.
- sāl* Yzh, sh, r, *sal* g, *sāl* Mm, *sāl* g, Z, *sālo* Ysh, B, *sāia* (?) G year. — *yū sāl*; *yū sālo nīāst* Ysh he stayed for one year; *šahānd sāl šūi* many years passed. — Prob. lw. from Prs.
- 'sāilō* Ysh spectacle, show. — s° *šūi*; *a'šp s° kəṽ'om* I have seen a wonderful sight. — Ar.-Prs. *sair*, Afgh. Prs. *sail*.
- sīl* Mm, g, (g) flood, inundation. — Ar.-Prs. *sail*, Wkh. *sīl*, Par. *sēl*, etc.
- sīl'yo* Yzh, *sāl'yo* g, r, °y'wo sh, 'selgo Mm, 'silgiyā (g), 'silga Z cream. — < \**sidakā* = Skr. \**chidakā*, cf. Skr. *śara*- (Ksh. *har*) 'sour cream' from *śar*- to break (Lidén, KZ., 61, 5). It is doubtful whether Yazgh. *sayd* can be related to *sīl'yo*.
- sa'lām* Ysh, n salutation. — s° *kəṽ*; *wālēkam wə-s°* Ysh; *as-s° a'lekum*, wa 'āliku s° u. — Ar.-Prs.
- sa'lāmat* Yu salutation. — n° *'pādšān nō s° šot* they went to salute the king. — Ar.-Prs.



*sel'xiko* Yzh sorrel, (Kati *čxrā*). — Scarcely connected with *szl'yo* 'cream' (not sour) in the same manner as Oss. *xūrxāg* 'sorrel' is derived from *xurx* buttermilk (v. Lidén, KZ., 61, 7).

*sām* Mm yoke-peg. — Cf. Prs. *saim* (artificial vocalization in order to distinguish it from *sīm*?), Sistani *simāk* yoke-key, Ar. (< Ir.) *samtq* the part of a yoke which encloses the ox's neck (: yoke-peg?); Wkh. *sām-rār* yoke; Av. *simā*, *yuyō-samī* (v. Reichelt, WuS, XII, 288); Skr. *śamyā* (Shina *šAmīze*, Bur. *šAmīy*, etc.). — V. *sabōranj*, *samlasiko*, *kāriak*.

*somb* Mm, g. *somb* Z hoof. — Prs. V. *čogult*.

*sam-lasiko* Mm neckrope fastening the bullock to the yoke. Cf. *sām*, *loso*. V. *sabōranj*.

*s'm'te* Mg blunt.

*'souno* Yzh, sh, *'sauno* Mm, °*ε* g co-wife. — Prob. from a lost Khov. form corresponding to Kshm. *son* < \**saun* < *sapatnī*. The present Kho. word is *ambox'ēān* (v. *ambōy*).

*'sandoq* Yg, *san'duq* Mm box, chest. — Ar.-Prs. — V. *to'rūnyo*.

*san'dān* Yzh, sh, *san'dōn* r, *sa°* Z anvil. — Prs. (< \**āsandān*, cf. *(ā)taš* 'fire', etc.). V. s.v. *rra'pēn*.

*sānj* Yzh, *san'jā* p floor-plank on which the roof-pillars rest. — Kho. *sanj*.

*su'niko* Yp wooden shovel. (V. III.).

*'siniya* Mm, °*d* g sole of the foot.

*sun'ya* Yzh beacon. — Cf. Kho. *son*, *sūn* cairn (Lor.)?

*suñd* Yzh, *so°* p two-storied house, *kōfa*. — Kho. *suñd*.

*sangla'ū* Y, °*lo'uef* Mm, g, °*lōuef* (g) otter. — Cf. Sar. *sanglāvi*, Sgl. *sag-lāvi*, Kalasha *sangawir* fr. Prs. *sag-lābi*, Afgh. Prs. (Phillot) *sag-i-lau*. But Wkh. *sagāuel* < *sag-ābi*.

*saŋki'yo* Mg poison. — Kho. *saŋkiya* poison, arsenic, fr. Hind. *saŋkhyā*. V. *zahar*, *žaro*.

*spī* Y, Mm, g, ti, G, *spī* Yr, Z white. — *spī rok* Yzh. — Av. *spaēta-*.

*spā'hi* Ysh soldier. — Prs.

*'spōro* Yzh, sh, °*ro* g, *'spara* Mm, °*ra* G, *s°pēra* f. Z plough (v. III.). — < \**spārā*, cf. Prs. *supār*, Psht. *spāra*, Sgl. *spār*, Wkh. *spūndr*.

*'spōrzā* Ysh spleen. — Genuine, cf. Av. *spōrzān-*, Sak. *spuljei*, Gabri *šucarz*, Bal. *isp'ulk*, etc., or bor. from Prs. *supurz*? — Khorasan Kurd. *sul* (Houtum-Schindler) < O. Prs. \**sydan-*? — V. *ninamāšēē*.

*spīšc* Yzh, g olive-coloured, yellow. — Scarcely < \**us-pīšta* (Av. *paēs*).

*'spūo* (for *š-š*) Yzh, *'spūo* (pl. *špūū*) sh, *šp°* r, *'spugo* Mm, °*yd* g, *'spūya* (g), t, *š°pōya* f. Z louse. — Av. *spīš-*, Prs. *supuš*, Psht. *spōža*, etc. With assimilation into *šp-* also Prs. *šupuš*, Sogd. *špsh*. Reg. the Y forms in *šp-* cf. §§ 74, 135. — Reg. Wkh. *šiš*, Abdu *šiš* etc. with Saka-Persic treatment of \**kue*, v. Et. Voc. Psht. s.v.) and subsequently Benveniste, *Studia Indo-Iranica*, 223 f.

*'sāro* Ysh down, below. — *es'det s°* 'burdan pāyān'; *a'nimaf su'wār šet vōl'qō*, *a'nimaf šet s°* half of them rode upwards and half of them downwards. Ancient abl. of *sor* hill (g.v.), cf. Engl. *down*. V. *fursoro*, *psāro*. *siri* Yzh upper. — *s°* *a'larsinē* upper

- part of the door-frame. — < \*sarya-?  
 Cf. Kho. *soro* upper < Ir. V. *ta'hē*.  
*sōr* Yzh, sh, p ear of corn (zh also top  
 of a hill), B point. — Khov. *sōr*  
 (< Ir.) head, ear of corn (cf. Lat.  
*capitulum*). — V. *xū'sō*, 'yūya.  
*sō'ro* Yzh, sh, 'sara f. Z excrements,  
 dung. — s<sup>o</sup> *da'ham* Ysh I manure. —  
 Av. *sairya-*, Psht. *sarā*, Sar. *sūrūn*  
 (but not Prs. *surūn* 'podex', as pro-  
 posed by Z).  
*sar-r-dil* Ysh, *sar-e-dēl* sh the place  
 under and between the ribs; *sar'dil*  
 Z breast. — \*Prs.  
*sarda'wo* Yzh a well. — Kho. *sardawai*  
 underground water tank < Prs. *sar-*  
*dāba*.  
*sarfrā'ze* Ysh ornaments. — Prs. *sar-*  
*farāzī* grandeur, exaltation.  
*sar'yār* peg in the plough-beam (v. III).  
 — Cf. Khov. *kārī*, *istor-yārī*.  
*sārpa'gā* Yr morning. — Prs. *pagāh*  
 dawn.  
*sur* Yzh, sh, <sup>o</sup>r<sup>u</sup>e r; 'surva g hole. —  
*f'skō* 'sur<sup>u</sup>e Yr nostril, *yūen surv(a)*  
 Yzh, g hole of the ear. — \*subra-,  
 cf. Wkh. *sēre*, v. EVP s.v. *sūrai*.  
*surx* Y, s<sup>o</sup> Mm, s<sup>i</sup> ti, s<sup>o</sup> g. G red. —  
*yū surx pāisō* Ysh a copper coin. —  
 Prob. genuine < Av. *suzra-*, cf. Wkh.  
*sōkē*.  
*surx-boburē* Yzh a red wasp.  
*surux-sāc* Yzh *Epilobium*, willow-herb.  
 — \*sāc is unknown. Cf. *sicik* (s.v. *šāx*)?  
*sosē* Yzh, *sors* p heap of sheaves.  
*sasto* Mm, *sāste* ti, sa<sup>o</sup> LSIm hillside.  
 — *wo ēfur-pālaf de sar de saste*  
*čara dil* LSIm he grazes the cattle  
 on the top of the hill. — \*sastā-  
 'ascensus': \*sand-, to ascend, Sogd.  
*san-* (v. Tedesco, ZII, 2, 39)?

- 'stau* Yzh, sh stubble-field. — Khov.  
*'stāu*.  
<sup>o</sup>stūy Yr long hair. — *vanə-stūy*. — Cf.  
 Oss. *stig*, *stug* lock of hair, stripe,  
 strip, Skr. *stukā-* knot or tuft of  
 hair (preserved in Prasn *'stvak* lock  
 of hair?).  
<sup>u</sup>s'tu<sup>o</sup> Yzh, 'stū<sup>o</sup> g throat (interior of).  
 — Cf. *stun*. V. *ālq*, 'kā<sup>o</sup>ko.  
<sup>u</sup>stuy'nūl Yzh, *stuy'nul* g dripping (inside  
 a house). — Cf. Skr. *stokā-* a drop?  
*so'tkē* Yzh, 'so'tkō g, *sodkō* sh gums. —  
 Khov. *so'tk* gums (between the teeth).  
 — V. *zōmbd*.  
*stun* Mm, <sup>o</sup>nek ti throat, larynx. — Cf.  
 Psht. *stūnai* (< \*stāmnaka-?). — V.  
<sup>u</sup>s'tu<sup>o</sup>.  
<sup>u</sup>stu'no Yzh, st<sup>o</sup> g, r, 'stuno Mm, <sup>o</sup>e g  
 post, pillar. — Cf. Wkh. *istīn*, Sgl.  
*astīn* < Av. *stāna-*.  
*stīn'yo* Yzh, g, r supine, lying flat on  
 the back. — s<sup>o</sup> *šū* = *š'yo'dō* g. —  
 Av. *ustāna-*, Prs. *istān*, *wasīn*,  
 Brahui lw. *istān*, Psht. *stūn*.  
*'stārē* (pl. <sup>o</sup>ri) Yzh, g, <sup>o</sup>r<sup>o</sup> r, 'stāro sh,  
<sup>o</sup>ri (pl.) u, 'stōriy Mm, g, <sup>o</sup>ri (pl.  
<sup>o</sup>riū) (g), <sup>o</sup>r<sup>o</sup>y Z, 'stōriy (pl. <sup>o</sup>r<sup>o</sup>gī)  
 Mt, *stārē* G star. — 'stārei *lūrēt*  
 Yzh stars are falling. — Cf. Prs.  
*sitāra*, Psht. *stōrai*, Sak. *stārai* <  
 \*stāraka-. Sar. *šturj*, Or. *štōrj*,  
 Yzgh. *štārag* prob. < \*stāryaka-,  
 on account of Shgh. *štōrj*. Cf. Oss.  
*st'alī* < \*stāriya- (?). — Sgl. *ustōrūk*  
 < \*stāraka, Orm. *starrak* <? Par.  
*stēc* < \*stāryač-, Wkh. *stār* (and  
 Khov. *istār*?) fr. Prs. *silār*. — With  
 Psht. *starga* 'eye' cf. Irish *súil* 'eye'  
 (orig. 'sun').  
*'stōr-*: *'stār* Yzh, 'stōr- sh, 'stōr-: *stār-*  
 g, r, 'stōr-: *stōr-* Mm, *stēr-*: *stōr-* Z



- to sweep. — *stīt* pres. 3 sg. — Cf. Sgl. *astar*, Shgh. *zedār* to sweep, Par. *astar* to rub, wipe away (and Oss. *stārīn* to plaster, lick?).
- stūr* Yzh, sh (*stūl* sh), *stur* g, r, Mm, *stōr*, *stūr* Z, *ustur* B big, great. — *zo īi to us'tur* Yzh I am bigger than you; *mōn 'tōrai īi 'tō 'vōrayen 'stūl* sh; *'stur šūi yauyo* zh the river rose. — Av. *stūra*, Psht. *star*, etc.
- stūr* Z horned cattle. — Av. *staora*, etc. (but Khw. lw. *'stōr* horse < Prs.).
- sturo-guščo* Yzh, *'sturo* sh, *stro-guščiko* g thumb. — Cf. *stūr*. V. *narangušč*.
- stūi'šom* Z glue. — Prs. *sirīšim*.
- 'stur-žo'yo* Yzh the evening star (: 'the large cloak?').
- 'sāvdē* Yzh, p, *'saudē* r, *'sōvdīy* Mm large basket (Ill.). — Early lw., cf. Prs. *sapad*, *saf*<sup>o</sup>, *sab*<sup>o</sup>, Or. *sēpt*, Arm. *sapat*, Kalasha *savēd*, *sohōl*. But also Ar. *safaṭ*<sup>un</sup>, Syr. *seftā*.
- 'suvdo* Yzh, M, *'dō* Ysh, g, r, u, *'sōvdā* Mg, *'sēvda* (g), *'sr*<sup>o</sup> t, *'si*<sup>o</sup> ti, *'sō*<sup>o</sup> Z shoulder. — *do urjug* (čep) *s*<sup>o</sup> Yu. — Av. *supti*, Sgl. *sēvō*, etc.
- sudiko* Mm the end tip of a bow.
- sō'wē* Yg vegetable, *sauza*. — Cf. Pashai *sawē* grass (fr. Ir.?), Psht. *sābō* a kind of grass, vegetables (q.v.).
- sa'wēr* Yzh n. of a tree (said to be a Khw. word).
- sa'wār* Y, *sa'wōr* Z horseman. — *vo parizāto sa'wār kəp* Yu he put the fairy on horseback; (*sko*) *yū yasp wazir luydo s*<sup>o</sup> *šūi* the vizier's daughter mounted one horse. — Prs.
- sa'wōrom* Yzh, *ōm* g, *sa'wōrom* sh, r gold. — Borr. from older form of Kho. *'sōrōm* (Capus 'sohoroum') which has got its -m from *droxum* (cf. Kurd. *zūw* 'silver' with z- from zar).
- saxauk* Yzh smooth, slippery. — V. *saxuy*.
- saxt* Y, Mm hard, *saxt* Yr closed. — Prs. *saxt* < Av. *θraxta* close, dense (not with Nyberg. Hilfsb. d. Phl., II, 200, from *sac* to suit).
- saxt(ōrēm)* Yzh loom(?).
- saxuy*: *saxuy*-m Yzh, *saxuy*: *saxuy* sh, *saxuy* r; *saxuy*-Mm, *saxuy*: *saxuy*-Z to slip, slide, *lišmīdan*. — *saxuyōm* Yr pf. — Related to or borr. fr. Prs. *šaxīdan* (Kho. *šēxē* stumbling).
- sāuzē* Yzh, *sauz* sh, *sōvz* g, *sauz*, *s* Mm, ti, G, *savz* Z, *sōvz* green; *sāuz* Yzh blue. — Prs.
- sav'zī* M(g) vegetable. — Prs. — V. *sō'wē*.
- sa'yūrē* Yzh, *šayūrē* sh, *ša'yūrē* r hawk. — Kho. *sa'yūrē/ī* (but Palola *šayūrē*) fr. Ir.?
- 'sēzda* Mg, *si*<sup>o</sup> (g) thirteen. — Prs.
- sō'zal'yo* Yzh, *si*<sup>o</sup> sh tarantula.
- su'zōn* Mm, *sū'zān* G hot. — Prs. — V. *garm*, *prē*.
- sō'zlyo* Yzh, sh, *sō*<sup>o</sup> r, *'sijīā* M(g) jujube tree. — Prs. *sinjīd*, Khw. *šinjūr* (fr. Ir.?), Psht. *'sauzilleh* (= \**san-zila*?), (Lumsden, Mission to Kandahar, p. 215).

Š, (Š)<sup>1</sup>

- šāi* Mm bridegroom. — Prs. *šāh* V. *šābuk*.
- šū* Yzh hedgehog (not found in Lutkoh). — Kho. *šū(h)* hedgehog, (porcupine, Lor.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 33.

šū, šu'ū Yzh, šū'ū sh, r, šū g, M(sh),  
šūci (pl.) m, šūi g, šūc Z horn. —  
< \*srū, \*srūw. Cf. Sgl. šou, Wkh. šou,  
Par. šī, Bal. srō, Kurd. strōh, etc.,  
Sak. šyu, Av. srū-. Cf. also Psht.  
škar, Wanetsi šukar.

šūi Y, Mm, t, (šoi Ysh), šoy Z, šey G  
he went, he became (v. oy). — Pret.  
1 sg. dur luro pādo šom Ysh to day  
I have walked far; šōm zh, r, g; šo  
xōvən anga šuyəm (!) r I woke; šiam  
Mm, t. — 2 sg. tu šūt-a? Yzh have  
you gone? wos ke šūt sh now when  
you have gone; tu šukū šū'i (?) sh  
from where did you go? kū ki tu  
šūyit, zo asəm p wherever you go,  
I shall come. — 3 sg. šūi Yzh, Mm;  
šūi Ysh didn't go; šūi na Ūrtrāyī  
sh he went to Ch.; pazyō šūi r it  
became clean; šūy u čī ayoi Mm he  
went and didn't come (back). — 1 pl.  
šom Yzh. — 2 pl. šof-a? zh did you  
come? — 3 pl. šot, šoi Y; šot nō  
šaha'rin u they went to town;  
gala'vānen čir 'uulē šot u the cow-  
herd got four wives; xolān šot sh  
they became happy. — Pf. 1 sg.  
šuyəm Yr, plupf. 1 sg. zo šuyəm vīo  
sh 'rafta būdim'; 3 sg. mon 'uulo  
šilo'xo šūi vīo sh 'zan i mā lič šuda  
būd'; 2 pl. ku šuyf vīo zh 'kužā  
rafta būdid'. — Av. °šuta-, etc.

šābuk Yzh, šabok B, sābuk(a), (q.v.) Ysh  
bride, bridegroom. — Khov. šā'bok;  
cf. Prs. šāh bridegroom.

šābpārekilay Yr, širpō'lay sh bat. — Fr.  
Prs. šāparak, šāpār, cf. Orm. ša-  
warkai, šaricarak, Shgh. šābgardak,  
Par. šaukurak, šauparak, Wkh. šau-  
pa'arak, Sgl. °ek, etc. With sh \*šir-  
palang cf. l'vērzyā rūso, živē'raus.

šābāš Ysh bravo. — Prs.

šānō, v. išān.

šadar Yzh, šadda B servant. — Khov.  
šadar, Shina šāddr.

šāfē Yzh, 'šifē sh, šāfē sh, g, °iy Mm,  
šfai g, t, šfi (g), ti, šfi'ay Z, šfūy G,  
šefi LSīm husband. — wos kō mən  
'šifē' ayo'i-ra sh if my husband  
come now; to 'šifien škār sh your  
husband sent it. — < \*šūyaka-, cf.  
Av. šūyant-, v. Par. Voc. s.v. xā(i).

šāfēko Yzh, °co sh, Mm, šif'ca g water-  
fall, šivēd (g) irrigation channel. —  
Cf. Prs. šiftan to trickle?

šeflōc Z hoof. — Cf. Wkh. šilē, Sgl.  
šölē hoof. Prs. šapēl, šafal, šipl  
camel's hoof. ∞ Ar. šafilat? The  
explanation suggested NTS., 5, 53 is  
hardly correct.

šfīn (ī) Yzh, sh, Mg, °in Yg, šfīn r,  
šfūn Mm, šfīn ti, °ūn m. Z, šqūn  
G comb. — Cf. Sgl. afšūn, Ishk.  
šofūn, Kashan kohr. yō'sēn, Prs. šāna,  
čāna (with tš < fš) < \*šāna-; Psht.  
šmanj, etc., Wanetsi w(u)šmānj, Pashai  
lw. weza'nek; Shgh. vēčūj. V. nuvāš.

šfina Yzh, 'šfino Mg, (g), t, ti, šfūna  
m. instep. — Cf. Hazara Prs. (Ja-  
ghuridi from Deh-i Zangi) šāne-i-pāi  
instep, Bal. šāna'y backbone, nape,  
Prs. šāna shoulder. Reg. ra'san, v.  
s.v.

šifōn Yzh, g, šf° sh, r clay used for  
plastering of walls. — V. šift.

šafšīyān Yzh, °īryān sh, šāfšīyān g,  
šou'īyān r armpit. — Originally an  
obl. case? Cf. Prs. šafš(a), branch,  
a hooked reed. šafšaf a crooked  
branch? — V. tā'kaš.

šift-əm (pret.?) Yzh to plaster a wall  
with clay. — Cf. šifōn, and poss.



- Bal. *šəfaγ* rod for applying collyrium to the eyes (v. NTS., 5, 51), etc. (with \**xš-γ*).
- šaftal* Yg, Mm, g lupine. — Prs.
- šaftälē* Yzh, sh, °i g, °olū r, °älū Mm peach. — Prs.
- šiyiko* Yp a plant resembling sorrel; *šitiko* f. Mm rhubarb, rau. — V. rir, selxiko.
- ša'γur* Mm, g, šu° (g) hedgehog (not known by the other informants). — Prob. a lw. (note Mm γ°, cf. Sgl. *ša'γor*, Par., Prs. dial. *šuyur*).
- šāhər* Yzh, °er, °ar sh, u, šār Z town. — šūi tro š° Ysh, nā šāharen u. — Prs. V. Šāhar.
- šu'iko* Yzh, šūiko sh, g collar-bone. — < \**srausa* 'protruding bone', cf. Bal. *srōš* elbow? (v. Walde-Pok., I, 500). — V. *fiyasti*, *pa'rayasti*.
- škōb-*: *škaboy* Z to lift up, raise. — Cf. Sak. *škam-* to raise, construct, Av. *skamb-*, v. EVP., s.v. *ācauul*.
- šak'lām* Mm dew. — Cf. Sgl., Khow. *šag'nām* from Prs. *šabnam* + Wkh., Ishk. šak. V. *nəb*, *praš'γār*.
- škr'ro* Yzh, š'k'ro g, °e'ro p, š'kü'ro r, ušcu'ro sh; *škyuro* Mm, °a (g), škvūra t, °ra G, škyūrā M(g), škūra, -d f. Z, šturo B, išcu'ro LSIy, škir m. — nar škyur Mg male camel. — < \**uštūrā*, cf. Av. *uštara*, etc. Camels are not used in Chitral, and the Y forms with šk are prob. borr. from or influenced by M. — šturo B is a doubtful form. Cf. G s.v.
- škrōm*: *škrōm* Y (škrō- y), škrō am: škar-un Mm; škrō: š'kü'or. Z, škār-G to send (a thing). — škrō imper. 2 sg., yo 'vira 'nā-mən kōi škrō? Ysh who sent me this burden? *kāyoz* *kəro*, *škrōm* sh he wrote a letter and sent it (to us?). — Cf. Sogd. (°)škr- to push, bring, Prs. *šikār* hunting, chazing.
- šikār* Yu hunting, shooting. — no širen š° šol, no širen 'š° ke'nam! — Fr. Prs. *šikār*.
- šo'kor* Yzh, sh sugar. — Khow. < Prs. *škrafla* G scorpion. This word was not known to any of my informants. — Connection with Av. *xrafstra-* as suggested NTS., 3, 298 is, of course, extremely doubtful (cf. Prs. *xastar* reptiles, insects?). But the assertion that *xrafstra-* should be identical in meaning with *spīš-* (Benveniste, *Studia Indo-Iran.*, 244) is hardly borne out by the texts.
- škāt* zh, škyāt sh insipid, tasteless, Khow. *škāt*. — The Khow. word has not been recorded by Lor. or myself.
- škyui* Mm, °iy g, °iy t, °i ti, (g), šxiy m. Z neck; *škyui* Mg neck of a horse. — < \**štaṛka*, with very early contraction < \*(u)šadākahya, cf. 'šilē??
- šāle* Yzh, sh, °e g, rice in the field. — Khow. < Prs.
- šāl* Y (šāl r), šāl Mm, šāl Z lame. — Prs. *šāl*.
- šilē* Yzh, š'lē sh, š'rlo g, r, šille B, neck; *trō-šele* LSIy *del-tāli* m on his neck. — *drio tra šile* he threw it on his shoulder. — Cf. Sogd. šd'k neck; Av. *ušādā-* name of a part of the back, *pušt-i tēz?* V. *škyui*.
- šəlo* Ysh, °a u, šo sh near, at, together with, pēš-i. — šəlo 'icon ai Ysh 'ba pēš-i ū buru'; *šəla daryāhan* u 'pēš-i daryā'. Cf. Gramm. § 218. — Prob. connected with 'šilē.
- šūlo* Yzh, sh rice and meat boiled

together. — Cf. Prs. *šila* rice-soup (< \*šālyā°?).

*ša'lāku* Yzh centipede(?), lizard(?), (not found in Lutkoh). — Kho. *šalāk* lizard(?), grasshopper(?) (Lor.).

*šil'lex* Yzh, °ox sh, g, B, °āx Mm, °ax, s°l'eg' Z naked, destitute. — *mon zomo'nakk* °u mun wulo šilo'xo (f.)

*šui* rio Ysh my child and my wife have become destitute; *šilaxe* pl. — Cf. Sgl., Wkh. *šilax*, Shgh. *šilak*.

*šām* Y, *šom* m. Mm, Z, *šām* G evening. — Prs. V. *xšēma*.

*šam* Ysh ripe. — Cf. Bal. *šam* moist?

*šam-*: *šamd-* Yzh, g, sh, 'šom-: *šam'd-* Mm, *šom-*: *šēmd* Z, *šām-* G to drink. — *yauyo šamam* Yr; *čāi šam!* Ysh, 'šamēm zh, *čāmēm* I don't drink; *šamef-este* sh you are drinking — Av. *šam*, cf. Prs. *āšāmtān*, Zaza *šim-* to drink, Psht. *šūmī* drinks (Yūsuf u Zulaixā, ed. Qandahār, p. 157, l. 12), Orm. *šam-* to sip, (but *tar-*, Par. *tēr-* to drink), *pā-*, *piba-*, in Sgl. *pōv-*, Wkh. *pōv-*, Sak. *pā-*; \**upa-raiz*: Shgh. *berēz*, Yzgh. *bīraz*, etc.; *čaš-*: Sogd. *čš-*, Psht. *čš-* (but Wan. *γōz-* < *gādh* + *s*?); *xwar-*: Prs. *xwurdan*, etc.; Oss. *nūaz-* (?).

*šam'šēr* Mm, °ir Z, G sword. — Prs. V. *xogor*.

*šin* Ysh, in *čir miš šin* 'four days ago'.

*šino* Yzh, sh, g, 'šu° g vulva; 'šino Mm, °a g, °a Z anus; 'šine Mti podex; *šēna* G behind. — Cf. Wkh. *šin*, Sgl. *šin* podex, anus, Av. *sraonī*-hip, podex. Cf. also Wkh. s.v. *šūnj*.

*šinjo* Yzh, sh, °jo g, *šin'jo* r, *šino* Mm, °e g, °a t, 'šizna f. Z needle. — With assim. of *s-š* > *š-š* from \**s(a)u-čani*, cf. Niya Kharoshthi *sujina*°,

Prs. *šōzan*, Kurd. *šūzin*, E. Bal. *šišin*, Sgl. *ššōn*, Psht. *stōn*. *jn* > *nj* also in Khaw. lw. *šūnj* (v. BSOS, VIII, 663), Wanetsi *sunzn* (?). — Prs. *sunjāq* pin, Oss. *šinj* thorn, etc., is a different word. — V. *xar-šīn*.

*šinamia* (pl. *šinami*) Yzh, °nāmō sh, °e r, °i (pl.?) p, u girl. — *loh šināmit* *niāsti* sh two girls were sitting; *dā čatir loh šināmi* *viet* u there were two girls in the tent. — Av. *stri-nāman-* female sex (about animals). Cf. Lhd. *tremit*, Panj. *timat*, etc. woman < *stri-mātrā*.

*šōnzda* Mg, šōz° m sixteen. — Prs. *šūngā* Yzh, sh corner of a house. — Prob. fr. Khaw. *šūng* (of Ir. origin?).

*špāc* Ysh, 'očapoč Mm, *špācin* B, *ispa* (?) p behind, after. — *špāc na tō fsāi* Ysh he rose after you; *spāc e'nān* zh 'pušt-e mā biyā' (?). — \**hača-pasčā*, cf. Prs. *šipas*, Wkh. *čabas*. V. *čpāc*, *vispāc*.

*špāc-kera* Yzh hind quarters of animals; *špāš-kere* sh podex. — V. *pero*.

*šār* Yzh file (tool). — Khaw.

*šir* Yu lion. — *no širen šikūr šut* they went to shoot the lion. — Prs.

*šōr* Yg (in *yu-šōr*). B, *yū šōr* LSly, 100. — Khaw. V. *šād*.

*šarm* Yzh, r shame, pudenda. — Prs. V. *ššarm*.

*še'riet* Yu Islamic law. — Ar.-Prs.

*šur'vāi* Yzh, sh, g, °ba r, °wā Mm soup. — Prs.

*šešo* Yp. In *mamā šō do* 'Warto dā *pešō* a word of unknown meaning, explained thus: 'nām na dārad, *hamtari yak gap ast* (it is merely a word); *mā ba tu āšeq šudam* (?).

*šeša* Yzh a kind of wild vegetable



- growing in the hills. — Lor. compares Khow. *šei* a kind of mountain plant + *šax* (Shina *ša*) vegetable.
- šišo* Yzh, *šišo* sh glass; earthquake. — Prs. *šiša* glass, bottle. — V. *šibi'jrm*.
- šuš* Mm, *šuš* g, *šiš* (g), *šəš* Z lung. — Prs. V. *pāpəs*.
- šišoyo* Yzh, *šišo* r, *šoyo* zh, sh mirror, *šiša'ga* G bottle. — Cf. *šišo*. V. *ai'na*.
- šas'köt* Mm podex. — Cf. *špačkere*, *pero*.
- ššpāzək* Mg spleen (?), *šəšpa'zək* Z belly. — Cf. Brahui *nīm-pāza* spleen (Ir. lw.). — V. *ninamāšcē*, *špərzə*.
- šāstē* Yzh hook, Khow. *kauf*. — Cf. Prs. *šast* fish-hook.
- šstī* Mm, *štī* Z, *štē* LSim what? — *tu šš' lōri?* *tu šš' 'yikonūy?* — < \**šstī* < *šstī* (cf. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, MO., 12, 212). But cf. Oss. *šstī*, *yestī*.
- šāt* Mm honey. — Ar.-Prs. — V. *ag'imīn*.
- šut* Mm near. — V. *nazdik*, *qarib*.
- štāhān*, *štān* Yzh, *štahan* B below, under. — *š' šē mūzān* below the table; *š' us'tāim* I place it below. — *šē* + Prs. *tah*.
- š'ta-žezikan* Yr hamstring.
- štānān polo* Yg sole of the foot. — *št'* adj. from *štāhān*.
- štī-ra* Mm, *štī-ra* (š) t something. — *na to 'š' 'dalom*; *š' 'avəram*. — V. *štī*.
- šuv-* Yzh, *šūvd* M(g), *šuv-*: *šued* Z to suck. — *š(š)ūvd* doesn't drink; *šūvd* sucks, Yzh; *škyin šūvd* M(g). — Cf. Wkh. *šap* (Shaw), Par. *šup kan*, Oss. *sābi* suckling.
- šuv'ā-*: *šuv'vud* Yzh to suck (used about the mother).
- šuvazi* Yp n. of a flower, forget-me-not.

- šax* Ysh n. of a plant, *šičik*. — Khow. *šax* green vegetable (Lor.).
- šāxo* Yzh, g, *š' x' r*, *šāxo* Mm, *šāxa* ti, Z, *šax* G branch. — *štūr š'* Yr a big branch. — Prs.
- šāxeg* Yzh tinder. — Prs. *šaxak* a small twig?
- šāxek-i sar* Mm temples. — V. *yur'pako*, *poza'yak*. Cf. s.v. *ušk-māšiko*.
- šə'xəv* M(t) stream divided into many branches. — Prs. *šaxāba*. V. *baxšiyō*.
- ššyo* Yzh, Mm, *š' d g*, *ššyo* Ysh, g, r, p, *š' va* G, *ššya* Z female. — < \**striya*. Cf. Sgl. *šəc*, Wkh. *streī*, Or. *šetērij*, Psht. *šəja* (q.v.), Oss. *šil*, *šilā* (with l from *nāl* male).

- šayuk* Mm cuckoo. — V. *ka'kuk*.
- šā'yīn* Mm hawk. — Prs. *šāhin*.
- šayoz* Yzh, sh glacier. — Khow.
- šiz* Y, Mg, *šūs* Mm eagle (m. and f.), vulture (Yzh). — Cf. Sgl. *šūš* < \**šāc*.
- šizo-γun* Yzh, Mm cotton-thread. — V. *šidan'wo*, *paxta'i wirz*, *wušūles*.
- šizoγun-žəγ* Yzh, *šoyun-žəγ* sh woman's cloak.

## T

- t* encl. pron. 2 sg. — Cf. § 205.
- tā* Ysh, u until, in order that. — *xšə'vəš tā mrx* sh night and day; *wa'mən 'muzdurə 'na mən del*, *tā zo o'im* give me my wages so that I may go; *ās tā lu'rəum u*. — Prs.
- tī-m*: *loγo'i-m* Yzh, *tī'i-m*: *lo'γōi* sh, *tə'y-im*: *lo'γōi* Mm, *tue-*: *luγay* Z to enter. — *yduyo tīm* (*loγo'im*) Yzh I bathe(d); *lo'γōi do kyēi*, *tro kiyēf*, *da ma'šit* sh, u; *dadrām tīm* = *d' šom* zh, *də kyāyī tīm* sh, *də kyōi tə'yim* Mm. — *tī* < \**ati-i*, cf. Sgl. *atīy*,

- Sogd. *tys-* (cf. Pkr. *aicchatī* passes on), Sar. *dið*, Yzgh. *diš* (: *dayd*); Khuri *tiom* I come. But *loyoī* < ? + *gata*.
- tu* Yzh, sh, *tə* sh, n, Mm, Z, G thou. — Cf. § 203 sq.
- tūi* Mm, g, ti, *tūy* Z, G mulberry. — Anc. lw. from Prs. *tūt*. Acc. to Laufer, Sino-Ir. 582, not from Semit. V. *m²reč*, *tūt*.
- tu'būr* Yzh, *tə*°, *tam*° Z guitar, *rubāb*, *tambūr*. — Borrowed, at different periods, fr. Prs.
- tu'but* Mm, g down of birds. — Cf. Sgl. *tə'bat*, Sar. *tibit* down, Turk. Prs. *tibit* soft goat's hair.
- 'tačingē* (pl.?) Yzh goat-skin shoes, used by the Kafir. — Khw. *'tačing* pubboos, footwrappers; Palola *thačingā*.
- tā-duniā* Yu the lower world, *ta* Z under. — Prs. *tah* (in *tah xāna*, etc.). Cf. *tahē alarsrē, š'tāhān, tā'kaš*.
- tfo* Yzh, *tfe* sh, *tuf* r, Mm, *təf* Yg, Mg, *tfo* Yg, *tfo* M(g), *tuf* G, *tuf* Z saliva. — Prs. Cf. Shgh. *tuf*, etc.
- tfak* Yzh, *tu'fok* r, *tu'fak* Mm, *tə*° Z, G gun, rifle. — *tofək* da'ham Yzh I shoot. — Prs. — Wkh., Sgl. have the Turk. word *miltiq*, Shgh. etc. the native *can*. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 659.
- tfo*°: *tfo*° Z to put fire to. — V. Z, s.v., and cf. Par. *tapēw* to heat.
- 'togo* Mm, *ta'ga* G, *tang* Z narrow. — *tang* fr. Prs.; *togo* may be genuine. — V. *tang*, *trok*.
- 'tuga* Z, °ga G button, bud. — Deriv. < \**tumga* < \**tukma* suggested § 119. But probably < Prs. *tuqa*. V. *tukmo*.
- tag'bīr* Yu plan, explanation. — na *tag'bīren* o'im. — Also Psht., Par., Khw., Ashk., Awromani *tag'bīr* < Prs. *tadbīr*.
- tīyo* Yzh, p rope made of willow-bark (p: used for fastening the handle of a spade, v. Ill.). — Cf. Wkh. *tik* willow, Prs. *tāk* branch, tendril, vine, etc.; Psht. *tāya* elm or poplar.
- tu'yd-am*: *tu'ydāy-am* Mm to shave, *turda*(?) B to cut. — Cf. *tīz*. V. *fxau*, *xīrd*.
- 'tuym* Y (*tū*° g), *tūym* Z grain, corn. — Cf. Prs. *tuxm* etc., v. Z s.v.
- ta'hē a'larsrē* Yzh threshold. — Cf. *tā-duniā*. V. *siri*.
- ta'qio* Yzh, r pillow, back of a chair, *taki'ya* Z pillow. — Ar.-Prs. *takya*. — V. *vir'zanē*.
- 'tēiko* Yzh, *'tā*° g eye-apple. — Cf. Bakht. *tē*, *tī* eye, Par. *tēč*?
- to'ko* Mm, *tōqa* Z alone. — Cf. Wkh. *toko*, Sgl. *tāke*, Rosh. *tōqā*, Prs. *tāqa*. — V. *fkyiyo*.
- tuk'mo* Yzh button. — Turk.-Prs. V. *tuga*.
- 'tukun-um* Mm to chop up, hash. — Cf. *tik*, *kik* Z to beat?
- tā'kaš* Mm, g, *tā-i-kaš* (g), *'taš-kaš* Z armpit. — Cf. *tā-duniā*, Prs. *kaš*. — V. *čaf'šyān*.
- tāl* Yzh, sh, g, *'tolo* r, °a m. Mm, Z, *tā'la* G kettle. — Sgl. *tāl*, cf. Kati *čol*, Lhd. *thālī* dish, metal vessel? Not to be compared with Shgh., etc.
- tōthē* plate, tray (< \**tāthaka* > Y \**tāčē*) as proposed by G.
- 'tāl-im*: *ta'li-m* Yp to whittle, *tēly*: *tēly* Z to kill, slaughter. — *'tālom* ro *p²žē* I whittle the log, *'pāra pāra mēkunim*. — < \**tard*, v. s.v. *potiēč*.
- te'la-um*: *tu'li-im* Yzh, *tola'um*: *tūliy* sh, *tə'lav-um* Mm, *telev-am* t, *tēlaw*°:



- teheiy* Z to seek, search for. —  
*gadā'i t°* Ysh I beg; *rua'sat tūli'yō*  
 he took leave, 'talbist'; *ēi tal'wā*  
*gadā'i* don't beg; *šūi no tūli'yān*  
 'ba gadāi talabistan raft'. — Ar-  
 Prs. *ṭalabidan*.
- ṭrla* Yzh copper(!), *ti'lā* Mm, *te°* g,  
*tillā* B, LSI m gold. — Prs. — The  
 meaning 'copper', if correct, must  
 be due to a recent adjustment caused  
 by the introduction of Khw. *so'worum*  
 'gold' (LSIy gives *zer* 'gold'). B has  
*loh* copper (< Khw.).
- tal'kān* Yzh, sh dried mulberry flour. —  
 Badakhshi Prs. (not in lexx.). But  
 cf. Prs. *talxā* parched grain, pulverized  
 and mixed up with water? — V.  
*čir'yāčē, ki'to'ri, pušē*.
- tulis'mād* Yzh flood, river in spate. —  
 Khw. (O'Brien) *tisilmād* id., but acc.  
 to Lor. *tisilmād* means 'many, a  
 crowd (of men)'.  
*tēlt* Yzh, *te°* sh, *te°* Mm, B old, shabby,  
 tattered, *šy'd(?)*. From Ar-Prs. *ṭils*  
 old, ancient, dirt of a garment?
- talx* Yzh, r, g, Mm, g, Z, *°lpx* Ysh  
 bitter. — Prs.
- talx-karda'čē* Yp dandelion. — \*Prs.?  
 Bailey suggests connection with Phl.  
 (Bund.) *kārda, kārtak* n. of a flower,  
 Pandanus (?). Cf. Khw. *trispōy*  
 dandelion: Y *trisp* sour, acid.
- tām* Ysh food. — *t°* *kvet-isto* she is  
 preparing food. — Ar-Prs.
- ta'mākū* Yr tobacco. — Ind. fr. Prs.
- tono* Y, g, B, *ta'na* Z, *tan* G body;  
*tana* Mm stem of a tree. — Prs. *tan(a)*.  
*tanou* B rope. — From Khw. *tanau*  
 (v. BSOS. VIII, 664)? But cf. Shgh.  
*tanōv* (Sköld).
- tandene'ū* Yp threads connecting the  
 wings of a spinning wheel (v. III.),  
 Kho. *tandē'nī*. — The Khw. word  
 is unknown elsewhere. Cf. Prs.  
*tananda* a weaver's instrument, etc.?  
*tandur* Yzh, sh, *tondoro* Mm, *°a* g,  
*tandōra* G thunder. — Prs.
- tēn'dār* (-f) Ysh thin.
- tan'drust* Yzh, r, *tun°* sh, *tendu'r°* u  
 well, in health. — Prs.
- tunuk* Yzh, *t'i'nek* M(g) shallow, Khw.  
*tonk*; *tunkā* B thin. — Prs. *tunuk*  
 (cf. BSOS. VIII, 670).
- tang* Mm, Z saddle-girth. — Prs. — Cf.  
*togo, trok*.
- tēp'lāya* Yzh drum. — Prs. *ṭabla(k)*.
- tūi-pušk* Mm dried mulberry-flour. —  
 V. *pušē, talkān*.
- tro* Ysh, r into, on, etc. — *'šūi tro 'šāhar*  
 Ysh he entered the town; *'nā tē tro*  
*'lās kō'rum* I put it in your hand;  
*tro zrl č-āyōi 'ba yād-i mā na āyad*;  
*tra awā zyūstē r* he flies through the  
 air. Cf. § 219. — Av. *tarō* and  
*antarō*? Cf. Parachi, *tar* (IIFL, I,  
 § 101).
- tāra* Mm a single hair. — *yū t°*. —  
 Prs.
- tiro* Y, *°a* Mg, *tūro* Mm darkness, *°ra*  
 G dark. — Av. *taθra* (pl.). Cf.  
 EVP. s.v. *tōr*.<sup>1</sup>
- toru* Yzh, g lower. — *t°* *pōrēik* zh  
 lower lip; *toruor-drai* g bedding,  
*kurpa* (: 'put-below').
- tūr* Z trap. — Cf. Wkh. *tor*, v. EVP.  
 s.v. *tōr*?<sup>2</sup>
- tūr* Yzh, p mountain-ash. — Khw.
- trō'boda* Yzh, *'pālō 'tribōno boda* g ankle;  
*trōbōn ta lasboda* sh wrist. — But  
 Prs. *tarband* means only 'a wet  
 bandage'. V. *boda, usk'māžiko*.
- trif* Z: *t°raft* Ysh, Z to steal. — *'tīgki'ki*

- u'gah* ʔə *aləra'fəf* *yu t°* Ysh the woman stole at once one of the gold coins. — Cf. Av. *trəfyāt*, Phl. *trufak* (v. Reichelt, Av. Elementarbuch, 61; Nyberg, J.A., 1929, 293; Bailey, J.R.A.S., 1933, 1004; Schaefer, Stud. z. antik. Synkretismus, 216). Already in Av. *tr* > *trə*, cf. Ishk. *truf*, Shgh. *cif* with secondary *tr*-treated as ancient postvoc. *θr* (*arāi* 3, but *puc* son).
- trok* Yzh, sh saddle-girth. — Kho. *trang*, Wkh. *trāng*, Shgh. *te'rang* (v. s.v.). — Cf.:
- trok* Yzh, °g g, r narrow, *troyo* B tight.
- trog-wēliko* Yzh, *tro-wēliko* sh irrigation rivulet running across a field. — Prob. from *trok* narrow, and not related to Or. (Lentz) *tur-wēd* Hochgraben, or to Psht. *trai* small stream, mill-race (v. EVP. s.v.).
- taryo* Y (*to°* g), *targiko* Mm shed for goats and sheep, *ayēl-i māl*. — Cf. Bur. *tārkh* walled enclosure??
- try* Yzh, r, *tī°* sh, *tir'yo* Mm, *tər'ya* g, Z, *turyo* B sharp. — Av. *tiyra*, cf. Kohrū, Keše *tir*, etc.
- trik* Yzh thing, matter. — *cə'min t° astet?* 'ēi *čiz ast?*
- 'tarik* Yzh poplar. — Turk. (but Khov. *terek* chenar). — V. *ra'meno*.
- tira'mā* Mm, g, t, °ō autumn. — Prs. — V. *pa'iz*.
- ta'rān* Yzh, sh soft, wet, unfinished cheese; *təringd* Z fresh, new. — Cf. Prs. *tar(r)* moist, fresh.
- trušnē* Yzh, °a B, *tišno* Yr, *tižna* g thirsty. — Yr, g fr. Prs.; Yzh, B fr. Khov. *trušni* (Ir. lw., cf. BSOS, VIII, 664). — V. *kāk*, *z'orij*.
- trišp* Yzh, r, *trə°* sh, g, *trišpo* Mm, °e g, *teriš* (*trišpd* f.) Z *trišpo* B

- sour, acid; *trišp* B thirst(!). — Cf. Sgl. *te'reš* (lw.?), Wkh. *te'rešp*, Bal. *trušp*. Poss. \**tršpa* < \**tršpa* (v. EVP. s.v. *trūc*), cf. Russ. *terpkij* sour, acid (< \**trpükü*), v. Trautmann, Balt-Slav. Wb., 325).
- 'trāxnik* M(g), *terax'nök* Z spark. — Z compares the group of words mentioned s.v. *cə'rox*.
- ta'rāzū* Yzh, *tā°* sh scales; *Trāzū* g, n. of a constellation, Libra. — *t°* *a'vre*, *mām dš* *t°* Ysh bring the scales, I shall weigh. — Prs.
- 'trāz* Y: *trāz* Yzh, *trēzi-ēn* sh, *trējvē-m* r, *'trāj*: *trāz* Mm, *trōnj*: *trāz* t, *trōj*: *trāz* Z, *trōj* G to bind, tie. — *mlān trāzim* Yg, *trējvēm* pf.; *mo* 'adam 'yavo *trēz*, *mai* 'adamē 'yavo *trāzet* zh, *tu* *na'ko* *va* 'yavo *trāzet*. — Prs. *taranjidan* to tighten (v. Z s.v.). (Cf. Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 138).
- 'tasa* Yp copper tray. — Ar-Prs. *tās* goblet.
- tō-i-sar* M top of the head. — Cf. Sgl. *tā-i-sar*, Prs. \**tār-i-sar?* V. *'kaka*, *pxoyak*.
- tāš'ko* Yzh, *tə°* g, *to°* r, *ta°* sh, p, Mm adze. — Cf. Prs. *tēšp*, *taš*.
- tāt* Y, *tōt* Mm, g, (g), Z, *tāt* G father. — *āi tāt*; *na to tāt*; *yo kyei mən tāt kyei* Yr; *mō a'maf tāt* this is your father; *taten što* the father said. — Sgl. *tāt*, Wkh. *tāt*, cf. Z s.v. *tūt* Yr mulberry. — Prs. V. *m'reš*, *tūi*.
- 'tūta* Mt Adam's apple. — Cf. Prs. *tūta* a sty on the eye-lid (orig. 'swelling'?).
- 'tavidoyo* Yzh, *tovdaga* Mt a tree with small berries, *tauda*, Khov. *čilažum*(?). — Prs. \**tafta* is unknown in this sense.



*to'vūnyo* Yzh, *'tovu°* sh, p box, chest. —

Cf. Prs. *tabang(u)*, Psht. *taucang* tray, wicker basket, chest. — V. *sandug*.

*tu'vor* Yzh, sh, Mm, *to°* Yr, *tū'vər* g. *to°* Z large axe. — Cf. Prs. *tabar*, etc.

*tuvər'zin* Yzh battle-axe. — Prs. *tabarzin*. Kho. *taparziŋ* is an early lw.

*tovs'tōn* Yr, *tōwi°* Z, *tāvi'stān* Mg summer. — Prs. V. *'wāro*.

*'tūcanly* Mm stirring-stick; *tēv°*: *tēvd* Z to stir. — Z compares Ishk., Shgh. *tēv°* etc. to stir (but connection with Prs. *tāftan* is improbable). *tēv°* < \**tāwaya-* fr. IE. \**teu-*, cf. \**tuwer-* (Walde-Pok., I, 749).

*tux* Yzh steam. — Khov. *tox*, cf. Sgl. *toxt'xē*.

*tarta'bandē* Yp boarding enclosing the hearth, °dl Z fence. — Prs.

*tīx'im*: *'cāst-əm* Y (*tīx°* g); *'cīx-əm*: *cāst-am* Mm, *cīx-im*: *cōst-am* t, *'cīx-im*: *cōst* (g), Z, *cēsta* B to fall. — *uos tīx'im* Yg, *psāt tī'x'im* sh, *cīx't* 3 sg. M(g). — < \**hača-had-*, cf. *nič-*, *čad-*.

*'taya* Yzh, g, r, *'tāi* sh, *'to-i* Mm, *'to-ika* g colt. — Cf. Sgl. *ta'yāk*, Wkh. *tōy*, Sar. *tāē*. — Turk.

*ta'yār* Ysh, *tē°* B ready, completed. — *t°* *šūi*, *kər*. — Ar.-Prs.

*'tāzo* Yzh, g, °a sh, *'tāza* Mm, *tāzo* B well, in health. — *pādšā t°* *šūi* Ysh; *to tat ta'z-š tōndu'rūst astet?* u. — Prs.

*tīz* Yzh quick, g sharp. — *tīz as!* — Prs.

*ta'zīa* Yzh heron, Khov. *manqāy*.

*'tīz-əm*: *'tāy-d-əm* M(g), *tēz-*: *tuyd* Z to cut, split. — Z compares Shgh. *tēz-* to shave (with -š- from the preter.), Rosh. *tōw*, Wkh. *tōš*, etc. (with which

cf. also Sgl. *tūl*, Psht. *tōžal*, Oss. *dasin* to shave) < Av. *taš-*. — But *tīz-* points to \**tāčaya-*, \**tāčaya*, cf. Oss. *tājin* adze. Acc. to Lidén fr. IE. \**teg-*. — *tuyd-* (q.v.) to shave is based upon the past stem.

*tāzī'ān cōg'gō* Ysh a kind of pear. — Cf. *tāzīa?*

## T

*tfo* Yzh, *tifo* g n. of a small bird which says "*tif tif*", Kho. *tif*. — Acc. to Lor. Khov. *tif* is a kind of hunting bird.

*tok* Yzh, *tok* sh wild pear. — Khov. *tōng*, cf. also Psht. *tāngū* fruit resembling an apple. A more recent lw. than *kyogo*, *cōgo*, q.v.

*'fakye* Yzh n. of a part of the plough. *tī'pē* Ysh much. — *bo<sup>h</sup> tī'pē dau'let*. — Kho. *tīp* full.

## Θ

*θam* LSIy come, *θamus* then. — Very doubtful forms. *θ* is not found in any other Y word.

## V

*-va* a verbal particle denoting the conditional and the indef. pronoun. V. §§ 252, 210.

*vo nota accusativi*. — Cf. V. §§ 208, 215.

*'vīo* Y, Mm, *viyd*, °a Z, *vī'va* G he was. — *zū'wān v°*, *yū 'wulo v°*, *loh pūrē vī'et* Ysh; *mun wulo šiloxo šūi vīo* my wife had become destitute; *'vīo yū ā'dām*, *wo 'hādāmen to luydi vī'at* Mm; *yū wīya vīo*; *mən uzīr luvro*

vēm. Cf. §§ 225, 233, 250. — vī as irrealis and cond. v. § 253 sq. — Av. būta-, Wkh. vītk, etc.

'rad-: 'vāst Yzh, r, 'vōnd-: vōst- Mm, t to bind, to tie together (something broken), 'pēvand mēkinam'; to place loaves on the hearth to be baked (Mt). — yau vāstēm Yr. — Av. band-, cf. Sgl., Wkh. vānd-, Shgh. vīnd-, etc. — V. trāz-

ve'dō-um: ve'dī-am M(g) to warm one's hands by the fire. — \*upa-(han-)tap-, with secondary preterite(?). Cf.:

vō'dāy-əm: vō'dāy-d-əm Yzh, sh, vīdayda B to mix. — \*abi-(han-)tak-(?). Cf. Osa, āndajīn to solder. Cf. § 118.

vōl'yo (w°) Yzh, sh, w° r, 'val'yo Mm, °ā (g), °a MFB, wal'ye LSIm, welyo y, būryō (f) B up, above. — vōl'yo a'im, vōl'yo o'yām Yzh, 'val'yā a'yām M(g): mən kyēi vōl'yo as'tēt Yzh my house is above; šut val'yo Ysh 'raftan bālā'; wēl'yo 'bālā āmad'. — Av. vārdica- + kā might result in Y \*vōl'yo, vōl'yo, but in Mm we should expect \*vōl'go(?).

vul'gōr Yr, wur'yār M(g) shoulder-blade; wur'yār Mg, t, °gar m upper part of the back, between the shoulders; wurgōr m. Z spine. — Prob. < \*wul'gōr. Cf. Psht. wulai shoulder-blade.

'velīco Yzh, ve'l° sh lightning. — Prob. < \*velīco < \*wi-daipā-, cf. Sogd. wydymp'h (Buddh.), wydymp' (Chr.) = \*wišēmbā, Bartangi (Sköld) wēdebj < \*widaipaka-. Sar. (Bellew) wadāfz (d = δ). Sak. bātava f, acc. to Konow < \*witapā-. — A root \*daip-, \*dip- is unknown from Ir., but its existence is proved by the Sogd. and Bart. forms.

vōn Yzh, g, r, vān sh main root, bottom,

foot of anything. — Av. būna-, Prs. būn, etc.

vō'n-īm: vō'd-ēm Yzh, sh, vōn-: vōt u, 'vīn-um: vōd-əm Mm, vōn-: vud, w° Z to carry, bring, carry off (animate beings). — vō wulo (vō to wulo) vōnem Yu I bring a (your) wife; vō 'mun vō'na 'marā bigir'; 'pūra vō'dēm Yzh I brought my son; vō mara vō'det šalo pādšāan sh they brought the man before the king; šō pādšāan vō vō'lo vōt galavānen u the cowherd took his wife away from the king; vō'det 'sāro sh 'burdan pāyān'; vō'det Mm 'burdā'; vō wulo šōwōn ēē vōt kōne Yu 'zan-i-ūra na mētāni giriftan'. — < \*upa-nī-, upa-nīta- (v. § 118), cf. Par. ēn-: ānt- < \*ā-nī-, and v. Bloch, L'indo-aryen, p. 44.

vō'nayaro Ysh, g, r, vīne'yārīko zh high hill, cliff, 'sāx-i kalān', Khow. zom. — Tālāš Mīr vō'nayaro Yr. — Cf. vān and yar.

vān Yzh, sh, g, vōn r, vān'ov Mm, vān'ova g, vān'g' Z, vān' G long. — vōs vān šūi Ysh now he stretched himself. — \*barīn-, cf. Av. barāzan- (barāšna-), barāšnu- height, hill.

vrai Yzh, sh, r, u, B, vō'rāi Ysh, g, vō'rāt Mm, °ōi g, t, ti, Z, °āy G, vō'i M(g) brother, cousin. — mən 'vōrai šō to 'vōrayen us'tūr Yzh my brother is bigger than yours; āi vōrāi, ēē vōlēf-este sh o brothers, why are you weeping. — Av. brātar-, cf. Sgl. vō'rūd, Wkh. vō'rīt (also from the nom.).

vri-īm: vri'r-om Yzh, 'vri-īm: vī'r-om (f) sh, 'vri-ām: vri'l-om r, vri-m: vri-əm g, vri'r-om: vrišk- Mm, t, G, vō'rīr-: vō'rīr, vō'rīsk- Z, vristā B to



break. — *mən va skud vrləm* Yg I broke the stick; *vrlət* 3 pl., *vrla* imper. 2 sg.; *mo ādam vrlī, māi ādame vrlēt* zh. — Orig. *vrlī*: *vrlīk*, *vrlīš* < \**braiś*: \**brīśta*, cf. Sgl. *vrlī*: *vrlēt*, Shgh. *vrlāz*, etc. Cf. § 238.

*vār* M(t), *vār* LSIm time. — *yidīr vār fta wīnəm* I see you a second time. — Early lw. from Prs. *bār* < \**icāra*? But note the vowel. V. § 58.

*vāro* Ysh after. — *ti mōl v° 'az t bād*. — Cf. Av. *aparəm* postea.

*vāra* Yzh, sh, °o M(g), 'vū°, 'v° Z burden. — *yo vāra kōi-kān?* whose is this burden? *wo vāra la'yado da kyei* Ysh he put the burden down in the house. — Av. *bāra*, Sgl. *vār*, Wkh. *vār*.

*vāra-um* Yzh: *vā'vād-o* sh to load, 'bār kardan'. — Cf. *vāra*.

*vār* Z light red. — V. Z s.v.; Bartholomae, *Mir.Mund.*, VI, 5; and Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, 36, 3, 67.

*vāro-um*: *vāro-um*(?) Yzh to roast. — The forms are not clear. *vāro* (with -ē from the imperative \**vāro*? < \**vā(n)j*) < \**brinj*, cf. Khov. lw. *vānē-im*; Bal. *brijag*, Sak. *brījs*, Psht. *wrīt* (if < \**brixta*). But Wkh. *vareš*, etc., v. EVP. s.v. *wrīt*.

*vāro-ya* Yzh to that side, 'ūsūn'. — Cf. *vāro* < *apara*- and v. *mīr-ōya*.

*vāro*: *vāroft* Y, *vārofs*: *vārofsōy* Z to fly. — *vāroft* 3 sg., *vāroft* 3 pl. — Z compares Shgh. *vāroft* to stand (cf. Notes on Shgh. s.v. *vāroft*) cf. Wkh. *vārofs*-id., Yazgh. *vārofs*- and v. Bailey, Orient. Stud. in honour of C. E. Pavry, 22. — Y \**vāro* > *vāro*? Cf. *vāroft*.

*vāro* Y, °d Mg, °ā (g), °a t, °go m, °vāro f. Z, *vāro* G eyebrows. — *vāroft* pl. Yp. — \**brūkā*, cf. Bakht. *burg*, Oss. *ārfūg*; but Wkh. *vāro*, Sogd. *brūk*, Talish *bav* (\**brūkā*?) Sgl. *vāro*, Psht. *vāro* (< \**brūk*); Shgh. *vāroft*, etc. (< \**brūkā*?)

*vāro* Yzh, u fruit. — *vo ārief la pōnēkaf la vāroft yurd* u he seized the apricots with the leaves and with the fruit (or: foliage?). — Cf. Prs. *bār*, etc., v. Bailey, BSOS., 6, 73.

*vāro*'kōndī M(g) n. of a small shrub used as fuel. — Cf. *vāro-vurgo* s.v. *zeviro*.

*vāro*'kvē Yzh, sh, *vāro* p a kind of cheese-box, made from strips of willow bark. — Khov. *vārofti* (-tī?) bark of willow or poplar used for making baskets (Lor.).

*vāroft*: *vāroft* Z, to stand, *vāroft-əm* Mm I am standing, *vāroft-əm t* I rose, *vāroft-əm* G I rise, *vāroft* LSIm stand (imper.). — \**upa-rāmaya*, cf. *vāroft*? Note Z *vāroft* but *vāroft* with v.

*vāroft* Yr cousin(?). — Cf. *min*.

*vāroft* Ysh nephew, brother's son. — Cf. *vāroft*, *pūr*.

*vāroft* Mm, *vāroft* Z brother's son. — < \**brādryaka*, cf. Av. *brātūrya*. V. EVP. s.v. *vāroft*.

*vāroft* Mm, *vāroft* Z brother's daughter. — < \**brādri(yakā)*. V. *vāroft*.

*vāroft* Mm, 'vāro Z, *vāroft* G silk. — Prs., cf. Psht. *vāroft*, Shgh. *vāroft*, etc. V. *vāroft*.

*vāroft* Yzh, *vāroft* sh, *vāroft* g. *brūt* r, *brūt* Mm, (g), ti, *brūt* g, t, Z, G mustache. — *pa ka'čio vāroft* 'dea Ysh cut your mustaches with scissors.

- Prs.; Y *vr-* points to early borrowing.
- vrazi'dinē* Yzh pillow. — Kho. *warz'dini* thick, round bolster for leaning against (Lor.), in its turn fr. Ir. (cf. RSOS. VIII, 663).
- 'vāzəyo* Yzh, *'varzəyo* sh, r, *'vəzəyo* g, *'vəzərgo* Mm, *'vəzərya* g, (sh), *'vəzərga* f. Z, *'vərga* G, *'vəzəyo* B wing; *'vəzəyo* Yp the 'wings' of the spinning-wheel (v. Ill.). — \**bazrakā* cf. Khov. lw. *waraz-un*, Prs. *bazir*, and v. EVP. s.v. *wazar*.
- vir'zanē* Yzh, g, *ur'zə* sh, *vir'nī* Mm, *və* g, *və* m. ti, Z, *vir'nī* Mt pillow (filled with shavings of willow wood Yzh). — < \**byzanaka*, cf. Khov. lw. *vraznī*, Sgl. *vəzd*, Wkh. *vərz*, Bal. *barzī*, and v. Z s.v. — V. *vrazi'dinē*.
- vispāc*, v. *wačpāc*.
- viš* G to set (about the sun). — With orig. \**w-* and with *š* from the past. Cf. Wkh. *wis*, Yaghn. *vis-* to set < \**wi-isa*?
- 'višco* Y, *'viškvo* Mm, *°a* g steep hillside, ravine, *'pušta, sasta*, Khov. *dahār*. — Cf. Psht. *wač* ravine, crevice, if = *wat* < \**bišta*.
- 'vəza* Mm, *'vīzo* (g), *'vəzo* g, t, *°a* Z he-goat. — Cf. EVP. s.v. *wuz*. V. *fer'yāmə*, *nar'bəz*.
- və'zo* Y, *'vəzo* Mm, *'vīzā* (g), *'vəza* g, t, Z, *wu'za* G she-goat; Yzh, Mm also female ibex. V. *'vəza*.
- vəz'bum*: *vəzbi'im* Yzh to tighten; *wəzib*: *wəzīvd* Z to press together. — < \**abi-zamb*, cf. Av. *zamb* to crush, Wkh. *vīzam* to rub to powder.
- vīzə* Y, *vūzə* Mm, *vīzə* g, (g), t, *vīzə* ti the arm above the elbow; Yzh also

calf of the leg; Yg, r arm below the elbow; *buzga* B muscle. — Cf. Av. *bāzu*, Psht. *wəzai* shinbone, etc.

*vəz-γūnəy* Z goat's hair. — Cf. Psht. *wəzγeunē*, etc., v. EVP. s.v. *wuz*.

*və'zān-əm*: *və'zād-əm* Yzh, sh, *'vəzān*: *'vəzād* g, *'vəzān*: *'vəzād- r*, *və'zān*: *və'zād* Mm, *və'zān*: *və'zād- t*, *və'zān*: *və'zād* d, *wə* Z, *wəzān* G, *wəzāda* B to know. — *və'zād* 3 sg.; *zo* Pārsē *vəzānəm* Yg I know Persian; *zo dūr āgoya čī wīzīdam* B I couldn't come to-day. — Cf. Shgh. *wə'zān*, Sak. *vaysān* to recognize, etc.; Sgl. *pəzīn*. V. Z s.v. \**wi*, *abi* or *upa-zan*?

*və'zāxo* Yzh womb, pregnant (animal), Kho. *garbīn*. — < \**upa* or \**api-zaḡā*, cf. Av. *api-zaḡā* the future birth. V. *pəzāxē*, *zāxko*.

*'vəzurgə*, v. *te'virəyo*.

## W

- wə* that, ille. — V. Gramm. § 208.
- wə* Ysh, Mm, u Mm, u Yu, Z and. — Prs.
- wūi* Y, Mm, Z, G, *wūy* Mt, *wūy* ti, *wū* g, *wū* (g), *wūx* (?) B wind. — *wūi* *kit(istə)* Yzh, g it is blowing. — Av. *vāta*. Cf. *Wūi*.
- wa-čpāc* Ysh, *vispāc* (š) u back (adv.), *wəšpāc* LSIy behind. — *wə* *zīnkiko* v<sup>o</sup> *šūi* Yu the woman went back. — Cf. *špāc*.
- wa'čārum* Ysh alms, *'gadāt*. — *wə* *nā-mən dēl* give me alms. — Khov. *wəčhārum*, etc. (Lor.).
- wə'dəyo* Ysh, r separate, Judā. — *wə'dəyo* *kenəm* sh I separate; *xostə šə yo'wən* *wə'dəyo* *šūi* r the husks were separated from the grain. — Perf. ptc. of *wār*.



*waft-em*: *waft-em* Yzh, *waft-um*: *waft-um* Mm, *'waft-u/am*: *waft-e/am* t, (g), Z to weave. — *waft* pres. 3 sg., *wafto* pret. 3 sg. Yzh. — Cf. Prs. *bāftan*, etc., Wkh. *ūf*, Sgl. *if*; \**ub*- in Av. \**ubda*, Paht. *ūdā* to weave, *būda*, Prs. *pūd* wool (\**upa-ubda*), Oss. *urd* warp, chain (< \**ubdra*, cf. Pashai *udri* snare < Ir.), Kurd. *ūnfin* to weave; \**wāp*- in Oros. *wōb* (Lentz) sheaf, Phl. Psalter *w'py*.

*waf'sto* Yzh, *waf'sto* sh small wasp, *'waf'siyo* Mm, °a t, G, *'waf'siye* M(sh), °iya f. Z wasp. — V. NTS. V, 46, s.v. Bal. *gwabz*.

*wah'ray* Yzh hungry, *wā'hrāk* sh, *waxrāx* B hunger, *'woxrōgī* pl. Mm, *'waxrd* Z hungry. — zo w°, tu w°-a? Yzh; *mai* 'lu'di nī'āstat 'wuro, w° Mm the daughters were sitting there, hungry. — Tomaschek (BB, 7, 206) suggests derivation from *wē-khorāk* 'without food' (?).

*wō'jou* Yr span from thumb to little finger, *wa'zab* Mm span from thumb to forefinger. — Prs. *wajab*.

*woko* Yzh, r there, 'uko'. — w° *ninomrō* Yr there is the spleen; *woko cōs dārū* vto, *woko cōs kimat vti* Yzh 'ūko ēi dārū būd, *ūko ēi kimat bāša*. — Taj-Prs. *ūko* + *wo*.

*wu'l-um*: *'wust-um* Yzh to throw. — *pa yar wu'lum*, *wu'lē* I throw, he throws a stone. — Cf. Ishk. *wēd* to put; Feili Lur *bistin* to throw, Siw. Zaza *wist* he threw; and cf. EVP. s.v. *wēstol* (*wulēm*) to throw, shoot.

*'wolo* Yzh, sh, *'wilo* Mm, °a g, *'wōla* Z, *wō'la* G large irrigation channel. — Cf. Wkh. *wōd*, and v. Z s.v. and EVP. s.v. *wāla*. Cf. *'weliko*.

*wu'lai* Yzh, u° g, *ulā'yō* r, *wōlio'yo* sh, *wu'loi* Mm open, *wil*- Z to open. — Cf. Skr. *vi-dhā* to spread, diffuse? Cf. *wulēyo*.

*'wulo* Yzh, Mm, *wu'lo* Ysh, u, u'lo g, r, *'wula* M, g, t, *'wilā* (g), *'wōla* ti, *wōla* Z, *wu'la* G, *ulo* B, *wula* LSim wife. — Pl. *wuli* Ysh, *'wulē* u. *wo xoi wulo lrsē* Ysh he saw his own wife; *wo yoi 'wule nām li'o* he called his own wives; *no 'ā'beli 'pūrf 'wuli awzde* sh he brought wives for both his sons. Cf. Av. *vaδū-*, Sogd. *wδw*, etc.

*waly* Yzh, *wālē* sh, *wālu* Mm, *wālui* LSim feast, merriment; *wālē* B marriage. — If the originally meaning is 'wedding-feast' (cf. Prs., etc. *sūr*, *tōi* 'feast' and 'wedding'), we may compare Av. (*upa*)-*vad* to marry; v. Sgl. *wōtuk*.

*wul'ya* Yzh, *wul'yāks* (pl.) sh, *wul'yaks* r, *'wul'ga* Mm, *wulgviyō* g, *'wulgiy* (g), *wul'yē* pl. t, *wilē*, pl. *wilē* ti kidney. — \**wydkā* or *wyōkā*, f. < Av. m. dual *vōrōka*, from which also Khorasani *bulk* (Houtum-Schindler), Prs. lex. "pulk", Ishk. *gul*, Kurd. *gule*, etc., Yazgh. *widgaθ* (Sköld), Sak. *bilga*. Orm. *yulkak*, Sgl. *wolk* may be derived from \**wydk* or \**wytk*. — Oss. *urg* (and the Ir. lws Syryān *vōrk*, Cheremiss *βāryō*) with early loss of the dental, cf. Jacobsohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen, 220. — Prs. *gurda* < \**wytaka*, cf. Bal. *guffay*, -iy with ff through IA. influence? — \**wydkā* scarcely from \**wert* (Marstrander IF. 20, 347, Charpentier, MO. 8, 109). — V. EVP. s.v. *pušta-warga* and cf. Wkh. *wātk*, Sgl. *wolk*.

<sup>1</sup>*wēliko* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*wō* sh, <sup>1</sup>*wō* r, g, <sup>1</sup>*wē* Mm small irrigation channel. Cf. *wolo*. <sup>1</sup>*wūlēyo* Y, Mm, <sup>2</sup>*ā* (g), <sup>1</sup>*wūlēyē* g, <sup>1</sup>*wūlēya* t, <sup>1</sup>*wūleya* Z span (from thumb to little finger). — Cf. Shgh. <sup>1</sup>*wīdēd*, Sgl. <sup>1</sup>*wūdit*, Wkh. <sup>1</sup>*wōlēt*, Sogd. <sup>1</sup>*wyδ't* ('foot' acc. to Benv., JA, 223, 221), formally < Av. *vi-dāti-* distribution, cf. Skr. *vi-dhā-* to spread. Kati *velyōu* is possibly borrr. from Mj. — In N.Bal. we should expect \**giḍāth*, but we find instead *girārth*, *gu*. — V. *wōjou*.

<sup>1</sup>*wūlyeyo* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*wūlyēyo* sh, <sup>1</sup>*wūlyā* Mg n. of a small shrub, '(y)irya, iryān'. Cf. Av. *varōdā-* shrub. V. Wkh. *yurya*.

*walna* LSIm (for) hunting. — Cf. Av. *vā(y)-* to chaze, hunt?

<sup>1</sup>*wīn-*: <sup>1</sup>*līšē* Y (sh also <sup>1</sup>*līšē-am*), <sup>1</sup>*wīn-*: <sup>1</sup>*līšk*. Mm, (t), (g), : <sup>1</sup>*līšk* Z, : <sup>1</sup>*līšk* G to see. — *icnēm*, 3 sg. *wīt* Yzh, *wo xoi xomonaf līšē* sh he saw his own children; *līšē-va*, (v. § 252); *mən vōtō līšēm* g; *yū ādamen xūben līšē* u a man saw a dream; *wo xūben ku līšēt* u where did you see that dream? *mən xūcən līšēyēm* r; *mon fta līškim* M(t). — < Av. *raēna-*: *dərəšta-* (v. Z s.v. and G, p. 153), cf. Par. *dhōr*. — Mj.-Yd. belongs to the small group of Ir. dialects which has neither the western (incl. Psht.) type *bin-*: *did*, nor the north-eastern, Sgl., etc. *wīn-*: *wīnt* (Sogd. *wīf*). Cf. in E.Ir. Sak. *di-*: *dāta*, Par. *buch-*: *dhur*, Orm. *juṣ*, jun.: *dvē-k* (and Bal. *gind-*: *dīt*, *dist*).

<sup>1</sup>*wīn-um*: <sup>1</sup>*wī'et-um* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*wī'ēn-əm*: <sup>1</sup>*wī'ēt-əm* g, <sup>1</sup>*wī'en-am*: <sup>1</sup>*wī'et-am* Mt, (*yūcēn*): <sup>1</sup>*wī'yēt-um* m to untie, loosen, '*yala mākunim*'. — Cf. Skr. *vi-tan-* to unfold, spread. — V. *yū'can*.

*wind*, v. *wo*.

<sup>1</sup>*wūy* Yzh, sh, <sup>1</sup>*wūn* r, g, <sup>1</sup>*wūg* Mm, g, (g) marmot, '*wunduk*'. — Cf. Sgl. *yūnek*, Wkh. *wīnek*, *wundek* (from Taj., Prs. (dialect) *wanak*).

<sup>1</sup>*wār-əm*: <sup>1</sup>*wat-əm* Yzh, sh, <sup>1</sup>*wār-əm*: <sup>1</sup>*wet-əm* Mm, *wetta* B to separate. — *wad'yo*, *wodyo kenēm* Yzh, sh I separate, '*judā mākunem*'. — Cf. Av. *var-* to select, with secondary preterite (v. § 238)? — Cf. *wōdyo*.

*wor* Yzh, sh, *wōr* r, *war* g oath. — *wor xorēm* zh, *war xorum* g I swear. — Av. *varak-*, cf. Phl. *var*, Orm. *ywar*. V. *qasam*.

<sup>1</sup>*woru* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*wār* g upper. — <sup>1</sup>*wō* pōršik zh, g upper lip. — < \**w(v)ar*. < Av. *upara-*.

<sup>1</sup>*wūro* f. Yr a large duck.

<sup>1</sup>*warfo* Yzh, r, <sup>2</sup>*g*, <sup>1</sup>*worfo* sh, Mm, g, <sup>1</sup>*wōrfe* ti, <sup>1</sup>*wdrfa* f. Z, <sup>2</sup>*fa* G snow. — Av. *vafra-*, and Orm. *yōf* m., but Psht. *wāwra*, Zaza *vāur* (Kurd. Pers. Forsch. III, IV, 170) and Saka *baura* f. (not Saka m. as supposed by Konow, Saka Studies, 123), cf. § 177. Meillet's rejection of the derivation of *vafra-* from Skr. *vap-* (BSL, 35, CR. 26) is unfounded, cf. e.g. Palola *kir* 'snow': Skr. *kir*.

<sup>1</sup>*wā'riyo* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*wa* sh rain. — Av. *vāra*, Wkh. *wūr*, Khw. (lw.) *wāru*.

<sup>1</sup>*wōryo*, <sup>2</sup>*yiko* Yg, <sup>1</sup>*waryiko* f. zh, <sup>1</sup>*worgiko* Mm, <sup>1</sup>*worgika* f. Z she-lamb, one year old, "worth one rupee" (*yak rupā šuda*). — < \**warakā*. Cf. Sgl. *wērak*. V. *wōrya*.

<sup>1</sup>*wury* Y (*wūry* g), Mg, (g), t, *wurg* m, Z, *wurx* M(sh), *wurk*, *wərg* G wolf. — Av. *vərka-*, cf. Sgl. *wōrk*, Burushaski (lw.) *urk*.



*wur'yār*, v. *vul'yōr*.

*waryi'jin* M(g) n. of a water-fowl, 'kāl-miry' (?). — But cf. Wkh. s.v. 'kāl-mory.

*wōryiko*, v. *wōryo*.

*war'waden* Yzh trouser-string. — Prob.

< \**war-vaden* < \**warta-bandana*, v. s.v. *woro*. Cf. Sgl. *wōl'vōš*.

*wārican* Yg the Milky Way (?). V. *padō*.

*wār'wāne* Yzh, *wōr'wānā* sh, *wōr°* r, *wōr'wāne* g a kind of wild, uneatable berries. Prob. a pl. form.

*wōr'ya* Yzh, *wō°* g, *wōri'ā* r, *wā'rē* (pl. *wāri'ān*) sh, *wārē* Grammoph., *wōrya* Mm, *wōryōyo* g, *wōrēy* Z new-born male lamb. — Cf. *wōryo* and *nar-wōrya*, *prasi'lanē* *wā'rē*.

*wōr'z* Yzh, r, Mt, *wōr'z* Yzh, Mg, *wōr'z* m. Ysh, Mm, Z, *yūr'z* Yg, *wōr'z* G woollen thread. — < \**yū'g'zho*, cf. Sgl. *wōr'z*, Yazgh. *wōz*, poss. Bal. *gu'z* root (fibre). V. EVP. s.v. *wōza*.

*wār* (pl. *wā'rē*) Y, *wōr* Mm, g, (g) main roof-beam, 'fir-e-kālān'. — Cf. Sgl. *wāf*. \**warta* dissim. from \**wartra* 'protection'? V. *wōro*.

*wāro* Y, *wōro* Mm, °a t summer; *wōrā* M(g), °e ti early spring, 'awal-e-bahār'. — < \**wāhyt* + ā, cf. EVP. s.v. *wōrai*, and Par. Voc. s.v. *xāra*.

*wōr-um*: *wōš'ē-um* Yzh to knit, *wō'r-ēm*: *wōš'ē-ēm* sh to weave (?), *wōr*: *wōš'k* Z to stretch the warp on the loom. — *wōš'ē* he knitted. — Cf. Av. *vart*-to turn? Oss. *yā'dārt* (reel on) spinning wheel with dissim. < \**wa(r)taθra* (but cf. Miller, Osset. § 3, 21)?

*wōro* Y, *wōro* Mm, *wōra* f. Z, °ra G trousers; *wōro* B clothes. — Cf. Sgl. *wōf* trousers, Prs. *garda* leather breeches of a wrestler, Arm. *vartik*

trousers (v. Nyberg, MO. 25, 181), Orosh. *tar-wēg* belt, Psht. *niwārai* belt of a pair of breeches; perhaps from Ir.: Kati *icif*, Waig. *ōf* Kafir breeches. — Av. *var*-to cover.

*wōryo* Yzh, *wārgd* Z quail. — V. Z s.v. and EVP. s.v. *wōraš* (de Morgan gives Psht. *ourladza* = \*(w)uraja), Phl. *vartak*, Prs. *wārdj*, *wālaš*, etc., Brahui *bārū* from Ir.? Cf. Ishk. *wōre*.

*wōs* Y, *wōs* Z now, then. — *wōs* 'što ke then he said; *to yār wōs kū-ō?* where is your friend now? *wōs do sūy ōyēm* r 'āli da kuca mērum'. — V. EVP. *ōs* (s.v. *ōšēdōl*), and cf. Paikuli 'ies now. *wō'sa* Yzh, *wā'sa* sh, *wō'so* r, *wā'si* wide, broad, *wāssa* B loose. — Cf. Sgl. *wā'sē*. Cf. Av. *vasō* (adv.) unlimited, Prs. *bas?*

*wō'sorico*, *wō'sarico* Yzh, *wā°* sh widow, unmarried woman, *wōsoro* B widow(er). — Prob. from Khov. *wō'soru*, in its turn from Ir. \**βē-sar* (cf. Tomaschek, BB. 7, 199 and Morg. BSOS, VIII, 670). V. *bluco*.

*wōst-ēm*: *wō'tā(y)-im* Yzh, sh, : *wōstōy-ēm* M(g), *wōst*: *wōstōy* Z to place, leave behind. — Pres. 3 sg. *wōst*; pret. 3 sg. *wō'tāi* 'mānd'; *štāen wō'tāim* Yzh I put it below. — Av. *ava-stā*-to place, put.

*wōs'to* Y, *wōst* G, LSIm; but *blst* Mm, g, (g), t, Z twenty. — Av. *visaiti*, cf. Sgl. *wōst*, Wkh. *wōst*.

*wōš* Ysh, g, r, Mm, Z, *wōš* Yzh, *wōš* B, *wōš* Mt grass. — < Av. *vāstra*, v. EVP. s.v. *wōšō* and cf. Sgl. (w)wōš, Wkh. *wōš*.

*wōš'ē* Yg morning; *wōl'k* M(g) it dawns, 'rōz mēšauca'. — Cf.:

: *wuškvo* M(g) flew up, 'ba hawā raft',  
: *uškāy-am* Mm, *wušk'*: *wuškōy* Z  
to rise. — < \**uštā* < \**ut-sthā*, cf.  
Par., Bal. *ušt-* to rise; Sogd. 'ušt-  
(Benf. JA. 223, 177). — Cf. Av. *uštāna-*  
vital force: Skr. *utthāna-*, and v.  
Turner, BSOS, 5, 131.

*wuškuj*: *wuškujōy*. Z to seek. — <  
\**uštunj-*, cf. Skr. *tu(ñ)j-* strike, push,  
etc. + *ut-*?

*wuški-ostia* Mm ankle, wrist. — Cf.  
*ušk-māčiko*.

*wuššiles* Mm cotton thread. — Cf. Wkh.  
*wə'sāi*, Ishk. *wəsi* id. + *loso* (q.v.)?

*'wuššiyō* Ysh, r, *uššiyō* zh, sh, *uši'yō* g  
hunger, hungry. — zo *uši'yō kenem*  
zh I am hungry, mo 'māra u° *kit*  
this man is hungry; *wuššiyō kər* sh  
he became hungry. — From. \**wysitā*(?),  
cf. Prs. *gurs*, etc.

*wuššiyāday* Ysh, *uššiyād* zh, *uššōādīy*  
Mm, (*wuššyād*(ig)) Z hungry; (*wuššōy*:  
(*wuššyād* Z to become hungry. —  
no *uši'yādām* Ysh I am not hungry;  
zo *wušiada'y-əm* sh, zo *uššiyād-əm* zh  
I am hungry; mo *ādām uši'yādē*, mai  
*adamē uši'yadet* zh. — *wuššiyād* <  
\**wəsayanta-* 'hungering' > 'having  
become hungry'? *wuššiyād* used as  
a secondary verbal stem. Cf. §§ 248,  
259.

*wə'xo* Yzh, r, p, *'wəxo* sh, *'wəxo* g, *'wəxo*  
Mm, °a ti, *wə'xa* t, Z, *wə'xa* G root-  
fibre. — Cf. Prs. *bəx*, Psht. *wəx*, Shgh.  
*wəš*, etc. V. § 152.

*wə'xān* Yzh tasteless. — From Khw.  
*wəxāl* < Ir. \**βē-xwād* (BSOS, VIII, 670).  
*'wəxrogī*, v. *wəharay*.

*wəxš-* Yzh to grow (about plants). —  
*wəxšē-este* it is growing; *uməd asted*  
*ke mən yō wəxšē* I hope that my

barley will grow; *yōu wəxšē* the  
barley grew(?). — Av. *wəxš-*.

*'wəya* m. Y, Mm, Z, °o Mg, (g), t, ti  
long-leaved, wild willow. — 'yū *'wəya*  
*w'ō* Mm. — Av. *waēti-*. Ishk. *wəd*,  
Sak. *bī*, v. EVP. s.v. *wala*. — Cf.  
Oss. *yēs*, *yīs* brushwood, scrub; Saka  
*bisu* bush, tree < \**waitsa-* (but Skt.  
*vetasa-*). — V. *a'wusto*, *čili'kyō*.

*wəyo'ma*, v. *yāmo*.

*wəzā-im* Yzh, *u'zā-im* g, *u'zāy-əm* pf. r  
to be tired; *u'zāy-əm*: *u'zāy-t-m* sh,  
*u'zāy-am* r, *wəzāy-am* Mm, *ūzāiya* B  
to be left behind. — *u'zāy-am* Ysh  
I am tired, *u'zāy-et* r you are tired.  
— Cf. Par. *ūzeh-* to be left behind,  
Oss. d. *izayun* to remain, Turf. NW.  
*wəz'd* left, Av. \**ava-* (or *vi-*) *zaya-*.  
Cf. also Sgl. s.v. *fərīnd*.

*wəzī'ā-um*: *wəzī'ēd-um* Yzh, *wəzī'āv-am*:  
*wəzī'āv-əm* sh, *u'zī'aw-* r, *u'zī'aud-um*  
r, *wəzī'āv-am* Mm, *wəzī'aw-*: *wəzī'ēd* Z to  
extinguish, to blow out a fire. —  
*yūr u'zī'audum* Yr I extinguished the  
fire; zo *va yūra u'zī'ā-um*; *yūra*  
*u'zī'aw!* r. — Cf. Yazg. *ūzī'aw-*: *ūzī'ōt*  
intr., *ū'zau-ū'zī'aw-* tr., v. *wəzī'aw-*,  
and cf. Z s.v. — Z compares Prs.  
*wəzīdan* to blow, but cf. Turf. NW.  
*wəzīd* (Mir.Man. III, 64), Saka *buysu-*  
to extinguish.

*wəzd* Yzh, sh, *wəzda* r, *wəz* g, *wəzd*  
Mm, g fat (raw, of a recently killed  
animal). — V. EVP. s.v. *wāzda*, and  
cf. Sgl. *wəst*, etc., Wanchi *wəz* (Lentz),  
Yazgh. *wūd* (Sköld), and from W.Ir.  
*Zaza wāz* tallow, Kurd. *baz*. — Cf.  
Charpentier, KZ, 46, 25.

*wəz'd-um*: *wəz'dā-im* Yzh, sh, *ūz'd-əm*:  
*ūz'dā-i-m* g, *'wəzn-* Mm, t, (g): *wəz'nāy-*  
m, *wəzn-*: *wəznōy* Z, *wəzn-* G to



- wash (hands and clothes). — *wuz'dē* 3 sg. Yzh, *last ūzēm* g. — Cf. Wkh. *wuzd* and v. s.v. *z'nay*.  
*'wuz'yo* Ysh extinguished. — *yūr w° šūi* 'ātes' *murd'*. — Perf. ptc. of \**wuz*, intr. of *wuziā*.  
*wa'zir* Yu vizier. — *yū wazir luydo* a vizier's daughter. — Prs.  
*wu'zir* Y, Mm, t, (g), *w'zir* B, *wu'zir* Z yesterday. — Cf. Zaza *vāzēr*, *wizyēri* yesterday. Acc. to Tomaschek, BB. 7, p. 198 from \**zyō + ayar*, but prob. < Av. *uzayara* (= *uzrah-*) afternoon, cf. Oss. *izār* id.? V. *iziko* and Sgl. *wəcə'rīn*.  
*'wāziyā* M(g) a large kind of pine, resin, *'wajiyō* m pine.  
*'wačnu* Yzh garlic. — Khov. *wəz'nū*.

## X

- 'xā-im*: *'xāst-əm* Yzh to thresh. — *xosto* *xām*. — Cf. Sgl. *xūy*: *xūūš*, Or. *xay*: *xūst*, to thresh, Bakht. *xāū* threshing, W.Oss. *xwayun*, E.Oss. *xoin* to crush with one's feet, *ār-xoin* to thresh < \**xwāh*, Saka *hvađ* to crush, Av. *x'asta* threshed (v. Bartholomae, Mir. Mund. II, 27 sq., who wrongly compares O.Engl. *swadu* trodden path).  
*'xio* Yzh (with post-velar *x*) a fruit-bearing shrub growing in the hills (*dar kōh ast*, *mēwa dārad*).  
*xi'āban* Yu, in the Prs. formula *x° bar x°*, *bi'āban bar bi'āban*. — Prs. *xiyā-bān* flower-bed.  
*xūbun*, v. *xōrun*.  
*'xabar* Ysh, u news, information. — *x° lārm* 'šunīdam'; *x° kər* no *ādaməf* he proclaimed to the people; *to doəf* *x° čes-ā?* don't you know anything about them? *zo x° yu'rum* I get news about s.t. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xa'čir* Yzh, *ka°* g mule. — Turki *qačir*, Psht. *qačara*, Bal. *khačar*, etc., but Prs. *qātir*.  
*xə'dā(i)* Ysh, *xu°* LSI God. — *ba nām-i-x°*; *xə'dāiyen* 'bande the slave of God; *ā x°* oh God. — Prs.  
*xud'ba* Yzh, *°ō* sh wedding. — Ar.-Prs. *xu'tba* sermon, *xitbat* asking in marriage.  
*'xādem* Yzh, *'xādēm* sh baker, or distributor of food at a feast (*baxš mēkina da tūi*). — Ar.-Prs. *xādim* servant.  
*xedi'ya* Yzh play, game (Khow. *istuk*); *xadiya* B to play. — Inf. of *xo'd*.  
*xo'd-əm* Yzh, *'xod-əm* sh, *'xwod-əm* g, *'xōd-əm* r: *xadi-m* Y, *'xad-am*: *xə'di-yam* Mm, t, *xə'd-ām* (t), *xād*: *xadiy* Z, *xād*: *xadi'ya* G to laugh. — Pres. 3 sg. *xit* Yzh. — Cf. Prs. *xandīdan*, Sgl. *xānd*, Wkh. *kānd*, and in Kafir: Ashk. *kōn*, Kati *kan*, etc.  
*xōf* Y, *xaf* Mm, Z scum, foam. — Cf. Sak. *khavā*, Sgl. *xōf*, Wkh. *xep*, Shgh. *xif* (lw., but *šāf* 'drivel' is genuine); Oss. *xāf* 'pus'; Prs. *kaf*, v. S. s.v.  
*'xof-əm* Y: *xo'fai-m*, *'xift-əm* zh, *'xift-əm* sh, r, *xēft-əm* g, *xaf-am*: *xift-am* Mm, *xef-əm* (g), *'xof-am* (t), *xifta* B to cough. — *xofəm-ste* Yg. — Cf. Sgl. *xōfuk*, Prs. *xafa*, *xufa*, Bakht. *kufa*, Par. *khūf*, Khov. (lw.) *kaf*, Oss. *xufin*.  
*xōfui* Mm, *xōfui* Z, *xāpui* Yzh cough. — *'xāpui* 'dīstē it stuck to me(?), 'čāšpida *kat-i-mā*(?) (?). — V. *xof*.  
*xafa'bandē* Ysh tight-fitting necklace. — \*Prs., cf. *xafā* strangling, choking.  
*'xafs*: *'xāved* Yzh, u, *xāfs*: *xōvd* M(g),

- xafs*: *xāvd* Z to descend, 'xambīdim', Khov. *xacamiman*. — *da yū šāhər xāv(āf)* he (they) alighted in a town (*dar yak šahr xambidan*). — Cf. Z s.v., and Sgl. *xav*, Sar. *šāvs*, Wkh. *šam*, etc. — Ir. \**xa(m)b/p-* to bend, curve (Prs. *xam(b)* crooked, dome, etc., *xamēr* slightly curved, *xabīdan* to be crooked, etc.), and *čamb/p-* (Prs. *čam* crooked, *čambar* circle, *čafta* vaulted, curved, etc.). V. *xap*.
- xuflan* Yzh, sh evening. — Prs.
- xu'gor* Y, *kugor* B sword. — From Khov. *khog'gōr*, etc., in its turn from Ir., cf. Sogd. *xnyr*. — V. BSOS, VIII, p. 668.
- xūyo* Yzh, g, r, *xūyiko* sh, 'xūgo Mm, *xū'ya* g, *xūga* f. Z, *xū'ga* G (acc. to Junker with unvoiced *g*) spring, fountain. — Cf. Wkh. *kik*, Orm. *xāko*, Av. *xā*. V. *Xūyiko*.
- xāki* Yzh, u earthen; greyish green, earthcoloured, *xā'ki* G grey. — *banda-i-xāki* a human being. — Prs. *xōkova* Mm first watering of the fields. — Cf. Shgh. *xākāv*. — Prs. \**xāk-āba*?
- xā'lou* Mm, g, °*ōw* Z wet. — Prs. *xalāb* water mixed with mud.
- xāl* Ysh (not zh) taste. — From Khov. *xāl*, in its turn from an Ir. dialect with *l*, cf. Prs. *xiwāl*, etc. V. BSOS, VIII, p. 670. — V. *maza*.
- xālē*, ° Y empty. — Ar.-Prs.
- xī'ālē* Yp thought. — Ar.-Prs.
- xāl* Y, *xā'la* G perspiration. — Cf. Wkh. *šil*, Sar. *šaiš*, Yazgh. *šwīš* (Sköld), Khov. (lw.) *xēl*, and EVP. s.v. *xwala*.
- xūlo* Yzh, Mm, *xūlo* Ysh, *xūla* f. Z, °*la* G embroidered cap. — Cf. Psht. *xōl*, Prs. *xōl*, etc., Georg. lw. *khudi* cap.

- xāl'fān* Yzh, *xālī'fān* sh, °*ōn* Mm large skin bag for keeping flour; *xāl'fuan* Z large goat-skin bag for crossing a river. — If genuine, poss. from \**xarōpān* < \**xwarōpāna-* 'food-keeper'. Z compares Roshan. *k'alwōr*, etc., but this is not possible.
- xō'lōryo* Yzh, sh, g wet clay, used for building walls; mud, bog. — Cf. Prs. *xard* black, viscous clay (with dial. *rd* < *rdʔ*), Shgh. *šarō*, *šark* wet clay. V. *Xōlaryāi*.
- xā'lās* Ysh, u finished. — *x° kō'ret* they finished it; *x° šūi* (the work) was finished; *šūikiko* *x° šūi* the woman got rid of them. — Ar.-Prs.
- xulxadi* Yp nettle. — Cf. *xūlʔ*.
- xām* Y, *xōm* Mm, g, Z raw. — Prs.
- xōan*: *xōat* Yzh, *xōōy*: *xōōt* g, *xōn*: *xōt* sh, r, *xan* *xat* Mt, *xar-am*: *xat-om* m, *xar-am*: *xōt-am* (g) to buy. — Pres. 3 sg. *xit*, 1 pl. *max* *xōnam* Ysh, 3 pl. *xōnet*; Pret. 3 sg. *xot* zh. — *xar* from Prs.; *xōn*, etc. prob. from \**xarn* (with secondary *rn*, cf. § 133) < \**xran*, cf. Sgl. *xōrn*, Oss. *ālān* < \**xran* (scarcely \**xrin*). The explanation of the *-a-* is doubtful. Cf. also Orm. *š'in*, Zaza *herin*, Turf. Phil., Sogd. *xrin*, and v. Bartholomae, ZII, 4, 177 sqq. — *xōt* < *xōn* + *t*.
- xun* Yzh, g, r, Mm, g, t, B, *xōn* Ysh, *xōn* m. Z raven. — Cf. Sgl. *xarn*, Yazgh. *xworn*, Wkh. (lw.?) *šun*. V. Notes on Shgh. s.v. *xūrn* < \**h(u)* *warana-* or \**k(u)* *warana-* (cf. Nep. *kupankhi* crow). Cf. also Ostyak *varñai* crow, etc. (v. Jacobssohn. Arier u. Ugrofinnen, 36)?
- xūno* Yp lid of a wooden trough. —



Cf. Prs. *xwān* covered table, spacious tray.

*xana'daro* Yzh, sh professional female baker. — Prs. *xānadār* house-keeper.

*xap* Yzh, u silence. — *xap ken* zh be silent; *wo xap kəp* he kept silence; *mo xap ēt kit?* why is he silent (*xaba ēt mēkina*)? — Prs., cf. Sgl. *xap*.

*xap- (xab-ʔ)* Yu to fell. — *amboh pēzə xap* fell much timber, 'bizambān'. — < \**xamb-*, cf. *xafs*.

*xāpui*, v. *xʰfui*.

*xoro* f. Y (*xō* g), Mm, *xərd* g, *xara* Z, *xa'ra* G donkey. — Av. *xara-*, cf. Sgl. *xōr*, Wkh. *xār*, etc. Reg. the genus, v. § 179.

*xor-* Yzh, *xur-* sh, *xu'r-əm* r, *xor-um* g: *xu'r-um*, *-əm* Y, *xūr-um*: *xu'r-ām* Mm, *xar-am*: *xū'r-ām* t, *xōr-im* (g), *xar-* Z, G: *xur-* Z to eat; *xorovda* B to feed. — *mo 'adam na'yan 'xut* Yzh this man eats bread; *va mun xut u*; *mōx na'yan xu'rəm* sh; *xorif-este* you are eating; *yo ādam (mən pūren) na'yan xu'ro* sh this man (my son) ate bread; *xu'rat* you ate; *tə na'yan xorjet-a?* sh have you eaten bread? *no xu'ran na'yan čes* sh there is no bread to eat. — Av. *x-ar-*, cf. Sgl. *xecār-*, etc.

*xuri* Mm itching. — Cf. Sgl. *xūr-*, *xurūš*, Prs. *xār*. V. *loxē*, *xārišē*.

*xu'ri* Mm, *xūrya* Z sister's son. — \**hwahriya-*, cf. Sgl. *xār*, Wkh. *xariyōn*, Shgh. *xēr*, v. EVP. s.v. *xōr'*. V. *nə'wisa*, *vrai'pūr*.

*xu'rāb* Mm lean. — Cf. Sgl. *xarāb(ē)*, Wkh. *xarāb* < Ar.-Prs. *xarāb* bad (cf. also Sköld, Mater., p. 89, n. 215 \*). On the other hand Prs. *lāyir* 'lean'

has acquired the meaning 'bad' in several Ir. dialects, and some Ir. words for 'good' originally mean 'fat, stout'.

*xar'bəza* Yzh, *°o* r, *°būzo* g, *°bū'za* G melon. — Prs.

*xird-əm*: *xrist-əm* Yzh, *xir'd-am*: *xʰrist-əm* sh, r, *xərd-əm*: *xrist-əm* g, *xred-əm*: *xrest-əm* Mm to shave, scratch; *xrid-*: *xrist* Z to comb, scratch. — *xerdtm* Yzh I scratch myself; *xirdē* 3 sg.; *wu'zir va yārzo xristəəm* g I have shaved my beard yesterday. — \**xrint*: \**xrista-* (cf. § 227), through contamination of \**krt-* and \**xri-* (v. EVP. s.v. *xriyol*)? V. *fxau*, *tuyd*.

*xu'rigo* Mm, *°d* Z sister's daughter. < \**hwahriyakā*, cf. *vrēriyo* and v. *xuri*. *xar'gūs* Mm, g, (g), t, (sh), Z hare. — Prs. V. *sīy*.

*xīryo* Y, *xirgo* Mm, *°ga* g, *°ga* G, *xʰirga* f. Z water-mill. — *xīryo ya'gytīm* Ysh 'šakidīm'. — Cf. Sgl. *xu'dāri*, Wkh. *xə'dōrg*, Z s.v., and Notes on Shgh. s.v. *xə'dārj*. With \**hwatārakā-* 'self-grinder', cf. Bal. *watās* 'self-fire' = pistol.

*xōr'yū* Yzh, g, *°yūi* r a bird resembling a dove, but larger, Khov. *gyux* (?). — Can the name mean 'donkey-eared', cf. Prs. *xargōš* hare, etc.?

*xir'yar*, v. s.v. *xursago*.

*xu'rāk* Ysh food. — *yurd xʰo no xu'ran* she bought food to eat. — Prs.

*xu'rom* Yzh, p, *xu'rum* r, *xu'ram* Mm, *xīrām* (g) threshing floor. — *xosto lyadēm da xu'rum* Yr I threw the straw on the threshing-floor; *xʰd'rōim* M(g) I threshed. — Cf. Sgl. *xōr'mōn*, Wkh. *čə'rām*, *čiramm* (NB & I), Sar. *šūrum*, Orosh. *šūrum*, Shgh. *xəlan'jak*

(lw. < \*xram-jakf), Par. *kha'mōr* (< \*xamarn < \*xraman), Orm. *ṣ'amand*, *xarmanjāl* (lw.), Prs. *xir-man(gāh)*; (cf. also Bal. *khurmānī*, Brahui *xurruṃ* grain-pit). Prob. from *xram* = Skr. *kram-* to step, tread, etc., cf. Khw. *krom-*, Kati *kr'am-* to thresh (cf. Paht. *ṣō-bal* < \*gā(u)-pada- threshing), but with various phonetic aberrations.

*xurom'fia* Yzh, sh winnowing-stick.

*'xurmuṣo* Yzh, °muṣo sh, *'xurmoṣo* g, *xurdiko* Mm pea (Taj. *mājik*, prob. = *muṣung* *Pisum sativum*), but acc. to Yzh = *patek*, *Lathyrus sativus*. — Prs. *xurd* + *muṣo*, q.v.?

*'xirman-i-bī'bāt* Yu (in Prs. formula) threshing-floor.

*xir-pul* Yzh bare-footed. — Cf. Prs. *xir* bare-faced, impudent, etc., Brahui *xēr* open gravelly ground, and *polo*.

*xar-pō'lang* Mm a kind of leopard. — \*Prs.?

*xar'pūst* Yzh a white mushroom, Bad. Prs. *pu'fuk*. — Prs. \**xar-pōst* on account of the greyish colour? V. *pu'fānek*.

*xōrs* Mm, *xōrs* g, *xōrs* (g), t, (sh), *xōrs*, *xōrs* Z bear. — Prs. V. *yarš*.

*'xōris* M(t) moraine, heap of stones; (g) pebbles, 'xāk'; ti pebbles, sand. — Cf. Prs. *xār(ā)* a hard stone; but -is?

*xu'rūso* Yzh n. of an animal resembling a fox, but larger, which attacks ibex'es, Cyon *Alpinus Pallas*? — < \**xrausā-* 'crying' (Prs. *xurōs*, *xurōh* cock), cf. Sgl. *xrēsag*.

*xursā'go* Yzh, *xirsa'go* Mm, °gō g; *xir'yar* Yr millstone. — Cf. *xlryo* and \**sago* (= Prs. *sang*), *yar*; cf. Wkh. *xēdōrg'yar*, °bort, Par. *xēra'gir*,

(but Oss. *gār-guroine* 'stone-quern', hand-mill).

*'xārišē* Yzh itching. — Prs. V. *xuri*. *xerisē* Yzh, xō° sh, *xēršē* r, *xēršē* g, *xeris'kyiy* Mm name of a small tree growing in the hills, whose wood is used for making axe-handles, 'xarišta'; *xō'rista* M(t) tamarisk. — But Prs. *xarišta* an arched roof, etc.

*xaršīzn* M packing-needle. — Acc. to Steingass *xar* — (e.g. in *xar-amrūd*) denotes the largest or coarsest of its kind. Cf. *šinjō* and v. *juāl-dūz*.

*'xarvo* Yzh hut on a mountain pasture, Norw. "seter".

*xa'raṣ* Yzh mattress. — Khw. *xa'lāng* mattress; Sar. 'khavung' (Bellow) bedding?

*'xōisk* Mm small anvil(?), *'xōyisk* Z sledge-hammer. — Cf. Prs. *xāyisk*, Wkh. *xeyisk*, etc. sledge-hammer.

*xōs'mānek* Yzh, r, and *Burbunu* (acc. to p), *sōx'mānek* Yp, *sōx'māng* g pellet-bow. — Prob. < \**sang(k)āmnak*, cf. Wkh. *sēm'bōnak* < \**sangbānak* < \**sang(k)mānak*. V. § 137.

*xis'mat* Ysh service, work. — *mān min* xō° *kōrum* I have done so much service (work). — Ar-Prs.

*xu'sur* Yzh, sh, Mm, *xu'sur* Yr, *xu'sor* g, *xu'sir* Mg, *xu'sur* Z father-in-law, husband's brother. — Genuine, or from Prs.? Cf. Sgl. *xō'sor*, Wkh. *xō'sor*, *xō'sur*. V. *yūi*.

*xō'sorlō'ro* Yr wife's brother. — Cf. Sgl. *xusorbo're*, Par. *xasur'birā*, Prs. *xusar-pūra*, Brahui (lw.) *xāspar* < \**xasura-puḍra*. V. *rōicun*.

*'xāstē* Yzh, °tī p straw, 'kāh', Khw. *tuš*. — Cf. *'xosto*.

*'xisto* Yzh, °tō sh unbaked dough. —



*'xista kenēm* zh I knead. — Borr. from Khow. *'xasta* unbaked, leavened dough (Ir. lw.)? Cf. Sgl. *xēste* bread, Prs. *xāsta* risen, leavened (reg. the vowel cf. Taj. *xēst* = Prs. *xāst*). — Waziri *xīst* kneaded, Or. *axīx*: *axīxt* to knead, *axēxē* dough, *xōxē* fresh dough (and Wkh. *žēē* bread?) can scarcely be derived from \**xīšta*- (v. Henning, ZIL 9, 179) on account of the meaning. Cf., perhaps, Av. *hvaršta*-well belaboured, which would also explain Or. *x*- instead of *š*.

*'xosto* Yzh, r grain. — *xosto xāim* zh I thresh; *x° lyadēm da xurum* r I put the grain on the threshing-floor.

— Cf. *xā*, Av. *x-asta*-threshed.

*'xusto* (f.?), Yzh, *xūst* sh, r, g, B wet. — Cf. Wkh. *žasē*, *xaic*, Sar. *xūst*, Shgh. *xest*, Paht. *xūst*. With dissim. from Av. *xūsta*-liquid, moist; Sak. *kūstā*, etc. serum (Bailey).

*'xī-im*: *'xī-im* Yzh, *x°šī-m*: *x°šī-m* g, *x°šī-em*: *x°šī-m* r, *xšīy-em*: *xšī-im* (or *xšīo korum*) sh, *'xšīy-am* Mm, *xšī-ām* (t), *xšīy*: *x°šīy* Z, *xšīy-om* G, *xšīya* B to weep. — Pres. 1 pl. *xšīyem-esto*, 2 pl. *xšīyf-este*, 3 pl. *xšīyēt-ste* Ysh. — Z compares Av. *xšūdra*:-; but cf. Sgl. *šid*-, Ishk. *šin*-to weep, Sogd. *'yš'yen*, Phl. *šēwan* lament, Abdu *šī'en* weeping. (Av. *xšī* 'distress' is doubtful).

*'xōš-om*: *'xīš-īm*, *-om* Y, *'xāš-om* Mm, *'xōš-am* t, *'xōš-am* (g): *'xīškv-om*, *-ām*, *-am* m, t, (g), *xāš*: *xīšk* Z to pull, drag. — Pres. 3 sg. *'xōšē*; *'hāzer* *'xīšīm* Yzh I sighed. — Cf. Sgl. *xāš*, Wkh. *xāš*, Yaghn. *xāš*, Sogd. *yrš* (Reichelt, Vimal. Sūtra, 156) to pull, Yazgh. *xarāx*-to pull, smoke,

Prs. *farxāšta* dragged along the ground; but *kašdan* to pull, etc. V. § 132.

*xu'sō* Y, *'xušo* Mm, *°a* g, *'wūša* Z, *xū'sha* G mother-in-law. — < \**hicasrū* + *-ā*. Cf. Sgl. *xoš*, Wkh. *xuž*, etc., Prs. *xusrū*, etc.

*xū'sō* Mm, *'xūša* ti ear of corn. — Prs. V. *sor*, *yūya*.

*xu'sēi* Yzh, sh, *°e* LSIy, *xu'ski* Mm, *'xušk'oy* Z, *xu'skvē* G greater, elder, *'kalāntar*. — *xu'sēi-ē* vraī Yzh, sh, *xu'ski vrōi* Mm; *iš to xu'sēe* sh elder than yourself; *šō xo'ōin xu'sēen xīsmat* ken serve one who is greater than yourself. — Bailey suggests connection with Sogd. *γicystr* master, Sak. *hväšta*-principal, first. Cf. also Oss. *xīstær*, *xēstær* elder, eldest, poss. from Av. *hvršta*-best, greatest, eldest. But the vocalism is not clear. Cf. also Tedesco, BSL 25, 53.

*xu'sko* Yzh, *'xu°* sh rice with lentils. — Prs. *xuška* boiled rice without butter.

*'xāškən* Mm, *'xaskən* g, *'xaska* G horse-dung. — Cf. Paht. *xaršin* (Mohmand *xarš'no*, Wanetsi *xarsina*). The Mj. word is prob. influenced by *γū-skən* (q.v.).

*xšī'leniyo* Yzh, *x°šlā°* sh reed. — *°len°* < *nāl*, q.v.?

*'xšēma* G supper. — Cf. Sogd. *xšām*, etc. < Av. *xšāfnya*-. Early lw.? Cf. § 96. V. *šām*.

*xv'sān* Ysh happy. — *ādāmē xv'sān šot*. — From Khow. *xu'sān*, in its turn from Ir. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 671. Benv., JA, 223, 242.

*xv'sānē* Ysh, *xu'sānē* LSIy pleasure, happiness. — *x° kenet* they will make merry. *x° kō'net*. — Khow. *xōšā'nī*.

'xšira m. Yzh, g. Mm, Z, 'xšira Yr, 'xšira sh, 'xširo Mg, (g), 'ra G milk. — Y-M agrees with W.Ir., while Shgh. has *šūvd* (< Av. *xšvīpta*°), which is found all over Ir., and Sgl. *xom*, Wkh. *šāwē* are isolated. Psht., Par. andOrm. have retained the usual Av. word *payah*. — V. *xšūvd*.

*xšir-kvesa* Mm wooden milk-cup. — Cf. Prs. *kāsa*.

*xšōvo* Yzh, g. 'vo sh, 'xšō'vo r, 'xšō'avo Mm, 'xšō'ave g, 'ā (g), 'xšō'ava t, 'xšō'vo ti, 'xšāvd t. Z, 'wa G night. — *xšō'vō tā mīx*, *xšō'vōyī mīx* Ysh by day and by night; *no xšō'vō xšō'vo ēē šā* don't call the night 'night'. — Av. *xšāpā*, Psht. *špa*, etc.

*xšūvd* Yzh, sh, g, *xšō* r, *xšūvd* Mm, *xšūvd* g, *xšūvd* t sweet. — < Av. *xšvīpta*-(vant)-milk (v. EVP.s.v. *šāvd*), Sak. *švīdā* cf. Ktesias *οιτα-χόρα* n. of a tree which means γλυκό, ἡδύ (cf. Prs. *šir*-in sweet), Prob. also connected with Prs. *šīftan* to trickle.

*xš(u)wān* Yzh, *xšūwān* LSIy shepherd. — Cf. Chr. Sogd. *xwšp'n*, and the Sak. transition of *fš* > *kš* in *kšundai* husband and (acc. to Bailey) in *kšārma* shame. — V. *čupān*.

*xatā'i* Ysh fault. — Ar-Prs.

*xatra'lōy* Yp muddy, dirty water. — Cf. Khw. *khatar* id. (Lor.).

'xēvun Ysh, 'ēn r, 'xūbun zh, 'ēn u, 'ēn Mm, G, *kūvan* B, *xūb(e)* (Prs.?) Yg sleep, dream. — *xūben aγ'oi* Yg I fell asleep; *xūben 'līšēm* Yzh, *xūbe līšēm* g; *xūben līšē* Yu; *zō xūben wīnem-este vīo* I have been seeing a dream; *šō xēvun aγa šuyēm* r I woke from a dream. — Cf. Sgl. *xōdm*, etc. V. Benveniste BSL. 30, 75 sqq. (add

Phil. Ps. 'xūmn sleepless). Reg. v/b v. § 59.

'xāwund Yzh master. — Prs.

*xowīza* Yzh, 'xo° sh bug. — Cf. Prs. *xazdūk*, *xawazdūk*, *xūzda*, *xabazdōk* (acc. to Gr. Ir. Ph. I, 2, 6 from Aramean) beetle, scolopendra, chafe. V. Sgl. *xā'mənjək*.

'xāxo Yzh, sh, p thistle. — \*xāra-xā, cf. Prs. *xār* thorn?

*xa'xālic* Yp a sweet-smelling, greyish, composite flower.

'xeyo Yzh, p, g, 'xayo sh, r, 'xēyo Mm, 'a t, 'xeya g, 'xēya ti, 'xeya t. Z, 'xēya G wall. — \*xatā-? Cf. Gabri *xāda*, Khw. *xatan* house, room (v. BSOS, VIII, 660)?

*xōi* (in sandhi also *γoi*) Y, *ady* Z own. — *vo xoi wulo*, *zō'monaf līšē* Ysh he saw his own wife, children; *no xoi pūrāf* for my (own) sons; *do xōi kyēi* to his own house; *wo 'γoi 'nām lī'o*, *wo 'γoi 'pūrāf 'nām līo* he gave his own and his son's name; *tu ēamin vo xōi nāfs kene?* what shall you do about your own soul (: family)? *vū to xai vrai yurdum* u. — Av. *x-atā*, etc.

'xoyo Ysh self. — *'xoyo aγōi-va* he would have come himself; *xōyo kū šūi?* where did he go himself? *wos na xa'γin lō'zo kō'ntum* now I let build a house for myself; *na xāin no xurān ēēš* there is nothing for him to eat; *šō xō'īn 'az xud'*; *na 'xāyī kī'o kit* he makes trouble for himself. — V. *xoy*.

*xu'yāyeno* Yzh, *xu'yāyeno* sh, *xu'yāyeno* Mm wife's or husband's sister. — < \*hvacah-γnā. Cf. Prs. *xāzana* < \*hvahā-janikā, Par. *xijinjek*, Kurd. *xwāšīn*, Wkh. *xūyun*, Sar. *xayūn*.



'xuzd-um: xuz'dāi-m Y, xuzd-um: xuz-  
'dāy-om Mm to send, dispatch, 'rahi  
kardan, mēfiristam'. — *wo mən xuz-  
'dāi 'māra rawān karda ast*; ādam  
xuzdum. Possibly < \*xwazn, but  
no similar word traced in Ir.  
xuz'būi Yzh, xō° r sweet smell. — x°  
lārəm, xuzbi nāyoiste 'būis mēāya'.  
— Prs.

## X

xi'mānē Yzh, xi'mōnē g, r, xi° sh,  
Grammophone, šumonna B male ibex.  
— Phonetically < \*(a)šmānaka-  
(scarcely \*āš°), but connection with  
Skr. ātmān- (cf. e.g. Ishk. jan'war  
markhor, jāndār ram, etc.) is ex-  
ceedingly problematic.  
xi'roi Yzh, xi° p, xi'roi g, xi'roi Mm,  
°oi g, xi'rāi (g), (sh), xi'roi Yr, xi°  
sh, xi'rāi Mt, xi'ray Z, xi° G three.  
— xi'roi pūrē Yr. — Av. θrāyō, etc.  
xi'ra'sāl Yzh three years ago.  
xi'roiwist Yr sixty.  
xi'rox-ē: xi'roxē Yzh, xi'rēx-i M(g) to  
shy; cf. kirax-: kiraxōy Z to tremble?  
— *yasp xi'roxē*. — < \*xi'roš- <  
\*θraθ- < \*θrah, v. Nyberg, Hilfs-  
buch d. Phl. II, 199.  
xi'rizen Yzh, r, xi'rēzen sh, xi'ryūzen  
Mm, xi'ovlizen t, širizen B the day  
before yesterday. — Tomaschek, BB,  
7, 196 < \*θri + azan; better <  
\*θrita°.

## Y

yā Yzh, yō Z or. — *yā pū'sak škōr, yā  
na'yon škōr* send either clothes or  
food. — Prs.

yāi, v. is.

yō Y, yā Mm, Z that, G this. — Gr.  
§ 207.

yōu Yzh, yōū sh, you r, Mm grain  
(collective). — *'you yal'bīl kenəm Yr*;  
*və yōu rās keṛəm r* I heaped up the  
grain. — Av. *yava-*, cf. Sgl. *you*, etc.  
yū Yzh, r, p, Mg, t, Z, G, yū Ysh, u,  
g, Mm one. — *yū 'wulo; ša ašera'fiof  
yu t'roft* she stole one of the gold-  
coins; *wo yū mārā* this one man;  
*da ū šah'r* Yu in a town; *yū pādšā  
pūr . . . ū wazir luṛdo* Ysh; *yu čad  
miči* Mm a few days, 'yak čand rōz';  
*š-ōi* Ysh from one. — < \*ēy < Av.  
*aērō*, cf. EVP. s.v. *yau*. Scarcely  
with Junker (Sitz.Heid.Ak.Wiss.  
1914, 22) < \*ajūa.

yūi Mm, yūy g husband's brother, 'yūwar'.  
— Poss. from \*yātah, a secondary  
masc. of \*yātā (Sgl. *yūō*) husband's  
brothers wife. But Kabul Prs. *hēwar*  
(Par. *hēwar*), Bad. *yūwar* points to  
an ancient form \*ēwar with unex-  
plained loss of *d*, from \*dēwar (cf.  
on the other hand Sgl. *tēu*, and v.  
Meillet, BSL, 30, CK, 90), and a  
secondary m. sg. \*aiwah (instead of  
\*(d)aiwā) might also have resulted  
in \*yū. Possibly a cross between  
the two stems. V. *yūi-wulo* and  
*rowun*.

yā'bū Yg pony. — Prs.

yōba Mm, ibia LSIm dance; *yōb-: yēby-  
Z* to dance. — Cf. Wkh. *vibyā* very  
quick ambler (Sköld)?

yād Yzh, sh memory. — *nāmən yād  
astet zh* I remember; *yād kərum fto*  
sh I remembered you. — Prs.

yādē Yzh, sh, yādē g, p, id'yo(?) r,  
yō'diy Mm, 'yāndi ti, °diy g, °diy t,

'yandiy (t), yā'dāy (t. 'yādiga) Z, °ēy G blind. — mo 'marā ('zīgiko) 'yade Yzh this man (this woman) is blind; but yū 'mār 'yandiy, yū 'zīgika yan'diya M(t). — Av. anda-, Sogd. 'nt, etc., v. EVP. s.v. rūnd.

yū'dūr, v. dtr.

yaf'čirigiko Mm, yuv g m. Z arrow. — Av. išu- + \* — V. piš.

yoy'go Y flood. — y° hawāz kit zh the river roars. — Y g must represent Ir. ŋk/g. Prob. < \*āḡangā < Av. āfant- (qv.) + kā.

'youyo (yāu°) Y, °go Mm, °ga g, °re ti, yōuā (g), 'yōuga Z, yāu'ga G, yaūya LSIm, °oy water. — yduyo tim, loyolm Yzh I bathe(d). — < \*āpakā, cf. Wkh. yupk, Sgl. vək, Zaza 'aukā.

yūy Yzh, sh, r, yōy g, Mm, yly Z yoke. — Prob. < \*yauga- (Prs. yōy, Bal. jōy), not \*yuga-. Cf. Sgl. yōy.

yūyo Yu, 'yūgo Z one (among several), 'yaki'. — wo yūyen nām Z. viš the name of the one was Z. — Prob. from yū one, not from \*yūtakā separate, other (Shgh. ylyo). V. yukvego.

'yūyān Yzh, 'yā° sh, g, r liver. — \*yaxnya-, cf. EVP. s.v. yāna (v. also Krause, KZ. 56, 304). With ji'gar (q.v.) cf. also Sak. gyagarra.

yūyāmo Yzh, yu° sh four days hence; 'yūyāmo Mm, woyō°ma t, woyū yāmo B the day after to-morrow; yūyemo G to-morrow (?). — \*yūtakā separate (cf. Nyberg, Hilfsbuch, II, 249, and Par. Voc. s.v. āā) + yāmo, q.v. — Cf. sūyāmo.

yakta'ha Yg, yakta'i Z shirt. — Prs. yaktahī, Shgh. yektā'yē (Lentz).

\*yukvego Mm one (among several). —

wo yukve'gin k'edo rə zəmln one of them dug in the earth. — Cf. yūyo. yāl Yr, yāli (pl.?) Mm, g mane. — Prs. V. čalo.

'yelu Yzh stack of corn. — Cf. Wkh. yād- to pile up?

'yila Mm little.

'yälko, v. 'yežko.

'yāmo Yzh, sh the day after to-morrow (?); yāmo B, 'yāmo Mm, yō°ma t, yēm Z to-morrow; yāmo Yg, yē°ma G yesterday (?). — Cf. sūyāmo, yūyāmo and sa'bā, sa'ār.

'yūmenā M(g) n. of a shrub, Khov. medrāx (?).

'yana Yr husband's brother's wife. — Cf. Kab. Prs. yānga brother's wife? V. ixcogo, yūi-wulo.

yāncilyā M(g) lizard.

'yāy-əm: yāyvi-īm Yzh, yāy-əm: ya'gī-m, yir-əm g, 'yān-um: ya'gyī-īm sh, yān'v-əm: yūr-um Mm, 'yōn'v-əm: 'yūr-um t, yōn'g': yēn'g' Z to grind. — Pres. sg: yāyīm, yāyē, yeikv; pret. 3 sg. yāy'yo Yzh; xiryo ya'gyīm sh 'šakīdim'; yirəm = polm kīrəm g. — < \*ar-nā: \*ārta- (\*ā + rta-); yāyvi-, etc. is a secondary formation from \*yānt < \*arnita-; yēn'g' is formed from the pres. stem (v. § 243). Cf. Sgl. yūn-, Shgh. yān-: yūd- (cf. Z s.v.), Orm. hīnl-, ēl-, Paht. aḡal; Or., etc. yēx- from 3 sg. yēxt (< \*yānt, cf. kīxt he does): pret. yūg- or yēxt- (from the pres.). Cf. also Bakht. ardan, Talish hore to grind; Gazi 3 sg. arūc (Bailey). V. yāyē.

yār Ysh friend. — Prs.

'yārē Yzh assistance. — y° dalīm. — Prs.

yōruya, v. ararōy.



*yārmē* Yzh, °o sh, g foreleg, shoulder-blade, °o p arm above the elbow. — Av. *arəmə*°, Wkh. *yurm* forearm, Sar. *yaran* (Biddulph) arm (or perhaps = *yorn* elbow?), Prs. *arm* arm from elbow to shoulder, Zaza *ērmē*, *ār'māl*, Talish *ām* shoulder; but Oss. *arm* hollow of the hand.

*yursiliko* Yzh, °ul'ko sh shoe-string. — *yur*° < Av. *aōdra*-shoe + *si/uliko*, poss. < \**losiko* (v. *loso*) with assimilation of *o* to the preceding or following vowel.

*yarē* Y, *yerē* B bear. — Av. *arša*-, Shgh. *yūrē*, etc. V. § 132. V. *xərs*.

*yeršio* Yzh, *yaršio* sh, r, *yāršio* g, *yeršio* B barley. — Connected with Sgl. *vərēos*, *urēos*, Psht. *ōrbašē*, *icorbas*, *arbasī*, etc., Sak. *rrusā*, but the original form is uncertain. \**ar-pasyū*? V. *arəmin*.

*yurv* Mm, *yirv* g, (ti), *yirv* t, (g), *yirv* Z, G mouth.

*yūrya* Yzh delay. — *y*° *kəret* you came too late.

*yurzōn* Yzh, sh, *yūrzōn* g, r, Mm, g, ti, Z, °rn Mt, (g) millet, Panicum millaceum. — < \**(h)ārzana*-. Cf. Wkh. *yīrz*°, Sgl. *uūzdān*, Psht. *ēdan*, Wanetsi *ēzēn*, Par. *ārzn*, Orm. *a'zan*, Kurd. *harzin*, Prs. *arzan*, Sak. *ēysā* (< \**alysana*) Bakht. *halum* (with Prs. *l* and -um from *ganum*), and (acc. to Bailey) Prs. *alum*, Phl. (Bund.) *lucm*. V. AO. 7, 200. — Cf. *yavarso*. V. *arəmin*. The resemblance to Greek *ἐλμπος* (cf. Geiger, BSOS, VIII, 548) is prob. accidental.

*yurzōyo* Yzh crushing-stone in a hand-mill (*yešio*); *yurzōyo* sh, *yūrzōyo* g, *yurzōyo* r, *yūriko* Mm hand-mill for

grinding snuff, Khov. *purduynču*. — *yūr*- < \**yādra*-. Cf. Sar. *yār-yacāk* (Bellew) handmill?

*yaržo* Y, *yo*° Mm, *yōržē* g, t, °a (g), ti, *yōrža* Z, *yār'ža* G beard. — With metathesis from \**raiža* < \**raišā*-, Prs. *rēš*, etc. Cf. Psht. *žira* < \**riža*.

*yārē* Yzh, °o sh, g, r, *yō'rēy* Mm, *yā*° g, *yāri* (g), *yō'rēy* Z flour. — *y*° *kenem* Yr, *yadmī* *y*° g. — < \**ārtaka*- (= *ā* + *r*-), cf. Psht. *ōrē*, etc. — But Psht. *ucur* 'small' < \**rta*-, Prs. *xurd* < \**huc rta*-.

*yūr* Yzh, sh, r, LSIy, *yūya* Yg, p, *yūr* Mm, g, (g), ti, Z, G fire. — *zə* *ra yūya uzīarum* (*žafum*) Yg I extinguish (kindle) the fire. — *Y* r points to \**ārt* (cf. Par. *ār* and Sogd. *rō*, v. Reichelt, ZIL 4, 247), with metathesis from the unstable Av. stem *ātr*- (a cross between *ātar*- and *ādr*-).

*yiskig*, v. *išēty*.

*yasp* Y (*yāsp* sh), *yōsp* Mm, g, (g), Z, *yāsp* G horse. — *yaspē* Yr pl.; *yaspē yazēdēt* sh 'aspāra dāvāndan'; *vo yaspē palān žio* he saddled the horse; *sko yū yasp pādšā pūr suwār šūi* the prince mounted one horse. — Av. *aspa*-, Wkh. *yaš*, etc.

*yaspa* Yzh, g small yellow and white locust. — Diminutive of *yasp*? Cf. Ital. *cavalletta*, Germ. *Heupferdchen* id., and (acc. to Lidén) Swed. diall. of Finland *hästmöra* 'large ant', etc.

*yuspōn*, v. *rzspēn*.

*yastē* Yzh, sh, °o g, r, *yōstiy* Mm, *ya*° g, *yasti* ti, *yāstey*, *yos'tiy* Z, *yāstēv* G bone. — < \**astika*-, cf. Sgl. *ostok*, Sogd. \**stē*, Wkh. *yašē*, Prs. *ast*, etc.

*yūston* Mg, *yūstōn* m. Z, °ān G felt. — < \**wi-starana*-. V. *livzōn*, *nāmyo*.

yū'saxo Yzh one year old. — Cf. loh-saxo.

yāšk Y, yošk Mm, g, ti, Z, G tear. — \*asruka, cf. Sgl. āšk, Wkh. yašk.

yō'eurso Yzh, r, yō° sh, 'yōiso r, 'yavurso Mm, 'yēvursa ti, 'yēvursā (g) a kind of juniper, arca. — Av. hapērsē, cf. Ar.-Prs. awiras, v. NTS. I, 46; V. 40.

yūvōrsōn Mm, t, ti, °ārsōn (g) upper part of the door-frame. — \*upara-sayana-? V. alarsnē.

yucazgo Mm plough-wedge, fāna.

yūi-wū'lo Mm, yūy-wula g husband's brother's wife, 'yagga'.

yū'wan-ēm: yū'wat-ēm Yzh, yūco'n-am: yūco't-am sh, 'i'wōn-ēm: 'i'wot-ēm r, yū'wēn-ēm: yū'wēt-ēm Mt, yū'wēn-ēm: (wī'yēt-um) m to loosen, untie. — V. wēn.

yūcistolos Yzh, sh, r, °elos g thirty.

yū'wiz Yzh, sh bit, double bridle. — Khov. iwis.

yox Ysh, B, yax Z, G cold. — no yox 'isto he did not say it was cold. — Prs.

yaxio Y (sh also yā°), °iyo Mm, yāxiya g, 'yōxiā (g), yēxiya, yēx° Z ashes. — yāxiō xōryet-ā? Ysh have you eaten ashes? — With Z < \*āθ(r)yā- (v. § —1). Av. ātrya-, Shgh. θtr, Or. aθēr, cf. also Psht. irē, Sgl. wuter, Sogd. "s'y (Prs. xaz-ir ashes beneath which are latent sparks)? But why x? Cf. yēxiō.

yūx's-am: yūx't-am Yzh, g, 'yuxs-am: yux't-am Mm, wuxsa B to learn. — Cf. Sogd. yūx-s to learn, Wkh. yēšk, Sar. īxman learning, Sak. āuska 'accustomed' (\*ni-yučaka), ānuta 'unaccustomed' (Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 13

< \*ni-yang, but j + k not > sk). V. Meillet, BSL, 23, 76; Markwart, Ungar. Jahrb. 7, 98; Lommel, Or. Stud. Pavry, 285. — Cf. Sgl. apaxš.

yaxsōriy, v. laxsōrē.

yēxiō Yzh, yēxiō sh, yēxiō g, r, 'yōxiō Mm small handmill (for crushing salt in, Yzh), zōrki, dašū(?). — \*yāθryā, v. yur-zuyō (cf. § 101)?

yēxiō Yzh, yāxiō, yūxiō Mm, 'yēxiō g, yēxi f. Z nest. — Cf. Shgh. yēθ, Or. yōθ, Wkh. yōθ(t), Ishk. yēca, etc. (v. Z s.v.). < \*(y)āθyā- < \*ā-hāθyā-? Prs. āyān(a), Phl. 'hy'ng (Mir. Manich. III, 48), Keshe hūyā'ne, etc. — Cf. ag'min-yēxi.

yēxiō Yzh, g, r, yē° sh, yēsko LSIy, 'yālko Mm, 'yēlka g, °ā (g), yelko LSI m duck. — yēxi- might be derived from \*āθy-, cf. Skr. ātī, but M yāl-? yē'ya Y, 'yeya Mm, °o g, 'yāya m. Z, yēya G bridge. — Av. haētū, cf. Sgl. yōtuk, etc. V. § 175.

yūya Mt, (g) ear of wheat. — \*(h)auša-ka, cf. Prs. xōša, Psht. wažai. V. sōr, xušō.

yōzda Mg, (g), t, (sh), °da Z, G eleven. — Prs.

## Z

zo Y, Mm, zā Z, za G, ze LSI m I. — V. § 204. — B's zo 'that' (rel.) is due to a false analysis of one of his sentences.

zōbo, v. zōmbā.

zibījīm Yzh, °īm earthquake. — < \*zambinjum < Prs. zaminjumb (also Shgh.), Brahui (lw.) ziminjumb; cf. Sgl. zile īem, Wkh. (Bellew) zalanjum (infl. by zal-zala), Sar. zmadjunj.



<sup>1</sup>*zifkyān* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*zəfkyin* p rolling-pin.  
<sup>1</sup>*zīgaki* (pl.?) Yp side-plank of the spinning-wheel. V. III. Cf. *zīk*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zāyo* Y, Mm, <sup>1</sup>*zāya* Mg, <sup>1</sup>*zāya* Z crow, *zāy*. Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*zīyē-um*: <sup>1</sup>*zīyēd-um* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*zīyē-um*: <sup>1</sup>*zīyēd-am* Mg to twist; <sup>1</sup>*zīyē-*: <sup>1</sup>*zīyēd* Z to rub, grate. — Cf. *yīn-* + \**uz*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zūy-um*: <sup>1</sup>*zūy-d-um* Yg to pour out. — *yauya da zūy-um* (drim) I pour the water (into a wooden bowl?) Yr.  
<sup>1</sup>*zūyī(v)*: *um*: <sup>1</sup>*zūyēd-um* Y to walk about, fly, 'gaštan', <sup>1</sup>*zūyī* Mm flies, *zūyēd* walk, *zūyurdum* I walked LSIy. — *zūyā as!* Ysh come quick; *tra awā zūy-stā* g he is flying through the air; 3 pl. *zūyāt*. — \**uz-gaub/p*?? — V. *zūyū*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zūyāl-əm*: <sup>1</sup>*zūyāl-əm* Ysh to run away (from a wild animal). — Av. *zūyāl*, to flow, fly away; cf. Sgl. *zūyāl*: *zūyāl* to run away, Sak. *haysgasta* "gegangen" (Leumann, Lehrgedicht, VI, 101), *vaysgad* to dismount.  
<sup>1</sup>*zūyōno*, v. *zūyānax*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zūyōriy(-am)* Mm, <sup>1</sup>*zūyōriy* Z, *zūyōriyā* G, *zūyōriy* LSIy thirsty. — \**uz-garaka*, cf. Psht. *yārai* glutton, Prs. *zard* gluttony, etc.  
<sup>1</sup>*zākār* Yzh, g, Mm, *zār* (g), G poison. — Prs. V. *saṅkiyo*, *zaro*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zīk* Y, *zūk* Mm, Z, G, *zīg* Mg, (g) t, <sup>1</sup>*zīk* ti knee. — *zīken pōrvečina* sh the knee-cap. \**zānuka*, cf. Sgl., Wanetsi *zūg* (but Kurd. *hizni* etc. < *znu*).  
<sup>1</sup>*zīl* Yzh, r, *zēl* sh, *zēla* g, *zūlv* Mm, *zūlv* g, (g), *zīlv* t, *zīlv* ti, (dōl Z) heart. — *mōn trē zīl astet* Yzh, r I remember; *trē zīl ē-āyōi* I did not

remember. — Prob. < \**zīdyā*, v. EVP. s.v. *zīz*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zūl* Yzh, sh difficult, violent, 'zōr'; B strong; *zūlā'ear* G strong. — Prs. (with l from *zūlm*?).  
<sup>1</sup>*zā'mai* Yzh, *zā'māi* sh, g, <sup>1</sup>*zā'mōi* Mm, g, (g) son-in-law, sister's husband, *zā'māy* G sister's husband. — Av. *zāmātar*, etc.  
<sup>1</sup>*zō'm-om*: *zō'māi-m* Yzh to yawn. — From Khov. *zōmēik*, in its turn from Ir. (v. BSOS, VIII, 662). Cf. Oss. *zāmbin*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zōmbo* Mg, t, <sup>1</sup>*zō* (g), <sup>1</sup>*zō* ti, *zōbo* m gums. — Cf. Psht. *zāma* jaw, Wan. "zāmbae", Skr. *jambha* (v. AO. II, 280); Sogd. *zmb*, Or. *zimb* river bank, side?  
<sup>1</sup>*zō'min* Mm, *zā* G, B earth. — *k'ēdo vō zōmin* Mm he dug in the earth. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*zō'mōn* Y, Mm, *zuman* LSIy child. — *zō xoi zō'mōn* *līšc* sh he saw his own children; *zō'mōn paidāi* a child was born; *jīnko zō paidā kit* r the woman bears a child. — Cf. EVP. s.v. *zōmōl*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zōmō'nak* Ysh a small child. — *mōn zō* *zō mōn uulo* my child and my wife; *no mōn zō-zf*; *mōn zōmana'ken* obl. — Cf. Sgl. *zōma'nōk*. V. *zō'mōn*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zō'margire* M(sh), <sup>1</sup>*zōgdē* t small, yellow animal, resembling a mouse, 'zāma-gira'; *zō'mārgirā* (g), *zō'gārmōyō* g yellow, large lizard(?). — Cf. Av. *zamarā-guz* hiding in the ground, Or. *zīmār* earth, ground (Lentz).  
<sup>1</sup>*zōmī'stān* Yzh, sh, *zōmē* G, *zōmī'stōn* r, *zāmī* Z, *zōmī'stān* Mm, g, t winter. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*zōn'rō* Yzh, *zōn'iō* sh, *zōn'yo* g, *zō* r, *zō'nīyō* Mm, <sup>1</sup>*zō'iya* g, *zō'nīyā* (g), *zō'nīyā* Z daughter-in-law, brother's wife,

- zanī'ya G husband's brother(?). —  
 āi zō'nī pl. sh; zō'nī'ef, zī'nī'ef pīstet  
 the daughters-in-law asked. — \*snūšā,  
 cf. Wkh. sītaš, Sgl. wuz'nel, Shgh.  
 zenay, Sar. 'zinull'.  
 (°)zī'ānē Yzh, zī'ān g, r early afternoon,  
 pēšin. — < \*uz-ayana-, Av. uz-ayara-  
 or < Av. uzayeirina- (v. § 133). V.  
 wuzir.  
 zīn Yr, Mm, g, t, Z, G saddle. — Prs.  
 V. pa'lan.  
 'zīndo Y, Mm, g alive. — amax tad z°  
 rīi Ysh if our father were alive. —  
 Prs.  
 zā'nax Yzh, sh, g, zē'nox r, 'zoyno Mm,  
 °a g, °a t, Z, 'zōyna Mti, °a (g),  
 zdx'na G chin. — Y from Prs., M  
 with metathesis from \*zon(o)xa (v.  
 § 137), cf. Gaz za'gan.  
 zō'nay-əm: zō'nā'i-m Yzh, zō'nay-am:  
 zō'nāi-m sh, zōney-ām r: zō'nāi-m g,  
 M(t), wu'znāy-əm Mm to bathe, swim.  
 — Av. snaya-: snāta-, cf. Sgl. zōnē,  
 Shgh. zenē (q.v.), Par. sunī, Sogd.  
 sn'y, Oss. nain. — wuzd-, wuzn- (q.v.)  
 'to wash' < \*awa-snā- (with shorten-  
 ing in compound), Skr. awa-snāpaya,  
 to wash; cf. Or. wēzdao to swim(?).  
 Wkh. wuzd- to wash, pres. 1 sg.  
 wēzdeyūm, 3 sg. wēzdešt (Sköld) has  
 been influenced by dē-m, dēšt (q.v.).  
 Note also Oss. nain to bathe, but  
 axsīn (W. Oss. axsmun: axsnad) to  
 wash; Prs. šinā(h) swimming, but  
 šunān, ušnān a herb with which they  
 wash clothes.  
 za'gar Yzh, zang Z rust. — Prs. zang'ār).  
 zopē Yzh, zōpē sh, r clothes, quilt, 'bistara',  
 Khov. zap. — zōpē āydem Yr I put  
 on clothes, zōpē lto sh, zo'pēf obl. pl.  
 LISim.  
 zōr Yzh, sh old (about a person), t.  
 'zōro zh. — Cf. Prs. zar old man.  
 Ysh zōl < Prs. zāl? Cf. B zoriko  
 old woman.  
 za'rūr Ysh necessary. — na maf cē  
 zarūr? na max z° šūi, kə... —  
 Ar-Prs.  
 za'rūri Ysh necessity. — no xoi zarūrien  
 out of (my) own necessity. — Ar-  
 Prs.  
 'zariškyo Mm, zārviškyika g spider. —  
 Av. \*zairi-porēšti- 'yellow-back'?  
 zīt Yzh, sh, Mm, g, ti, Z, G, zito (t.?)  
 Yr yellow. — Av. zairita-, cf. Par.  
 zītō (v. § 125), Shgh. zīvd, Wkh. zart,  
 Sgl. zāl. V. azito.  
 zō'riy Yzh, p, Mt, ti, (g), zē° g, zī'bēy  
 Ysh, zō° g, zē'riy(?) r, zō'vū Mm, Z,  
 G, zē(?) LISim tongue. — \*hizwāka,  
 cf. Sgl. zēvūk, Yazgh. zō'rēg (Sköld),  
 Wkh. zik. Cf. §§ 107, 181.  
 zē'viryo Yzh, zō° r, zī'b° sh, 'vōzvurgo  
 Mm, 'vīzvīrya g, 'vōzvīrya t, °ā (g),  
 'vīzvīrya ti, vōzvul'ga Z birch, 'haft-  
 pōst' (Yzh birch-bark). — Y zēv° <  
 M vōzv°, dissimilated from \*vōzv-  
 vurgo, cf. Shgh. vōzyn (v. Z s.v.),  
 Tajiki burz, birk (< \*bīrzk?); Par.  
 bhīn tree. V. also Sgl. bōrēz, Wkh.  
 furz s.vv. — \*byza-wārakā- (with  
 v < w after z, cf. § 107), or °pābrakā-  
 "birch bark"?  
 zāxēi'dīn Yzh kettle. — Cf. Khov. ēi'dīn,  
 Ishk. ēudan kettle; Prs. ēudan cast  
 metal.  
 zaxm Yzh, r, G, zaxmō Ysh, g, zoxm  
 Mm wound. — Prs.  
 zax'mo Yzh, B, Mm, zō° Yp, zax'mō Mg,  
 'za° Z field. — Obl. pl. zaxmaf  
 LISim. — \*zamaxā-, cf. W.Oss. zānxā.  
 zāžko Yzh child-bearing. — žigko z° šūi



'zan bača karda'. — Av. *zāba* + *kā*, cf. Sak. *ysamtha* birth, Prs. *zakh* first milk after parturition, *zakhān* womb. — V. *pəzāčē*, *vəzāčō*.

*zly*: *zūy*-Z to bear a child. — Av. *zaya*. V. *prške-zē*.

# Ž, (J)

*ž*:- *žst*-Y, *žay*-m: *žst*-m Mm, *žoy*-am: *žst*-am t, *žoy*:- *žst*-Z, *žay*:- *žst*-G to say, speak. — Pres. 1 sg. *žam* Yzh, *žom* sh, r, *žom* g; 2 sg. *tu ču žui?* zh what do you say? *žē ču žui* sh don't say, 'na gu'; 3 sg. *žut* zh; 1 pl. *max žam*; 2 pl. *maf ču žaf?* 3 pl. *žet*; imper. 2 sg. *žā*; pret. 1 sg. *žstim* zh, *žstom* r, *žstum*, *žim* g, *na to žstom* sh; 3 sg. *žst(y)ō*; 3 pl. *žst(y)ot* sh; pl. *žstayom* r. — \**žat*:- *žasta*-, cf. Goth. *qipan*, etc. V. NTS. VII, 116 ff.

*žē*, *žō*, *žā* Y, Mm, *žā* Z from. — *žā xōān* sh, 'az xud'; *žī dalen* from below; *žō luraŷan* 'az dūr'; *žim kyeyen* from this house; *žōi* from one; *yo amūno žē pūren astet* r this apple belongs to the son. — Av. *hača*. V. § 50.

*žai* Mm, *žei* (g), *žoy* Z place. — *žei kinam* M(g) I hide (a thing). — Prs.

*žī* Ysh still(?); *žī*, *žī* Z but, also. — *uos wa žūi nā tat kyēin-ā*, *da kyēi žī formi-ā?* has she now gone to her father's house, or(?) may she be at home? — Av. *čōi?* Bailey compares Kashan diall. *ji* 'ham' (Zhuk.).

*žto* Y, *žtiko* Mm, °a g bow-string (Ysh thin string for a pellet-bow, v. *soy*). — Av. *žyā*, Wkh. *žai*, Sgl. *zē*, Psht. *žai*.

*žōi* Yzh, sh lake. — Khov. *žōi* irrigation-

channel (< Prs. *joy?*) does not fit the meaning. Poss. < Av. *zrayah*-. *žau* Yzh, *žū* sh, *žūg* leather (for shoes), *xām*, Khov. *žōū*. — \**žauka* < \**g<sup>h</sup>eu* (a base theoretically expected in the loc. sg., etc.)?? Cf. Skr. *go*-, Kalasha *gao* 'leather'?

*žū*, v. *čū*.

*žib*:- *žib*-Y to rise, *žūba* B to stand, *žibim* awake. — *žibām* zh, °am r, g, *žibam* sh; imper. *žib*; pret. *žibim*; *uos žibe tar oyem* now I rise and go. — \**žimp/b*- to bend (upwards), v. W.P. I. 545??

*žu'āb* Yzh answer. — *zo 'nā to ž' dalrm*. — Ar-Prs.

*žaf*-um: *žaft*-um Yzh, g to chew, masticate; to light a fire; *žaf*-um: *žaft*-um r to embrace, 'časpānum'. — *žafum-ste* Yg, *yūra žaftam* g 'āteša kardam'. — With *žaf* cf. Prs. *žāvidan* to masticate, Psht. *žōvil*; *žaf*- may be a separate verb connected with Prs. *žafsidan* (= *čafs*°, *časp*°) to stick, adhere. Then, again, there is *žōf*:- *žēft* Z, *žēft* LSIm to send, command.

\**žafā*, in *vā lažino žafa'u* Yu put fire to the wood-pile. — Cf. *žaf*.

*žift* Yzh pair, LSIfy united. — Prs.

*žig'ar* Mm, g, (g), t, Z, *žō* G, *žiger* B liver. — Prs. V. *žēyon*.

*žiga'rēn* Ysh light brown. — Cf. Prs., Wkh. *žigari*.

*žaya* Yu place, spot. — *da žaya žūi* he came to a place; *mo ča'min žaya* from where is he? — Khov. (Ir. lw.).

*žōy* Y, *žōy* Mm cloak, female dress, *žēy* LSIm clothes. — *žōy aydēm*; cf. *stur žōyo*.

*žōyūrg* Z crop of a bird. — V. Z s.v. and cf. Prs. *žāgar*, *žō*; *zāgar*, °ur.

*zu'yus kur'mo* Yg scorpion.  
*za'hānd* Ysh, r, *jo'hānd* r, *jo'hōn* Mm.  
 (g), *ja°* Z, *jahān* B very, much. —  
*jo°* *brland* Yr very high, *jo°* *ādame*  
 many men; *jo°* *sāl* sh many years;  
*jo°* *rūpāyo* Mm many rupees. — From  
*Prs. jahān* world?  
*zu'kū* Yzh, sh, *iskū*, *šokū* Z whence? —  
*yo mayā zu'kū?* tu *zu'kū* *šū'i*. — V.  
*še* and *kū*.  
*jikyā* M(g) n. of a water-fowl. — Cf.  
*tingo*.  
*zīl* Yg blanket. — Khw. *zīl*, Wkh., etc.  
*jīl*. But *Prs. zīlū*, *zailū* a kind of  
 woollen blanket.  
*zīlo* Yzh hail. — Possibly genuine, cf.  
*Prs. zāla* (v. AO. I, 266). V. *mōyiki*,  
*zālabārān*.  
*zālabārān* Mm hailstorm. — \**Prs.*  
*juāl'dūz* Yzh large packing-needle. — *Prs.*  
*jalay* Mm saddle-covering.  
*zime'zīm*: *zime'zīm*, *zime'zīm* Yzh to  
 pull up weeds.  
*zēn* Yzh, sh, *zēn* g, *jen* r bed. — Khw.  
*zēn*.  
*ju'āna* Mm, *o'yo* g, (g), *jūcō'na* Z male  
 calf, 1—2 years old. — Cf. Wkh.  
*ju'āna*, Sgl. *jūcōdē*. \**Prs.*, cf. *Arm.*  
*yavanak* young of an animal.  
*zān'dār* Ysh animal. — *yo ces-mrān* *zō?*  
 — *Prs.*, cf. Khw. *zāndār* bird, Sgl.  
*ram*.  
*zūna'yē* Yzh, *o'yo* r, *zu'no* sh, *zingyigo*  
 M(g), *zīggyōyo* ti, *zūngēy* LSim small  
 boy. — \**a-jarnaka*, cf. *Psht. zānai*,  
*zānai?* But *z?*  
*zēna'yēri* Yzh giddy. — Khw.  
*zēn-pāliko* Yzh foot of a bed.  
*zīna'zo* Ysh bier. *Ar-Prs. jīnāza*.  
*zang* Yzh, sh war, fight. — *zang kenēm*  
 = *dufīm*. — *Prs.*

*zangal* Yzh, g, u (corr. by zh into *kyesina*),  
*o'gal* sh, *jāngāl* r, *jaṅ'gul* Mm forest.  
 — *no zangalen šot* they went into  
 the forest. — *Prs.*  
*zīṅko* Yzh, *o'ko* sh, r, *o'go* g, p, *zīṅko*  
 Mm, *o'a* g, *o'ā* (g), *zīn(k)a* Z woman.  
 — *jīṅko zomōn paidā kit* Yr the  
 woman bears a child; *zīṅko zāṅko*  
*šūi* zh; *icov loh zīṅkof avezdo* u he  
 brought the two women. — Av.  
*jaini* + *kā*.  
*zīṅkiko* Y, *o'iga* Z woman, wife. — *zīṅkiko*  
*īštyo* sh the woman said; *zīṅkiki īštyo*.  
 — *Demin. of zīṅko*.  
*zāro* Yzh poison. — \**jaṭrā*, cf. *Prs.*  
*zahr*, and Khw. *zār* (from Ir., v.  
 BSOS, VIII, 660).  
*zā'rā-um* to bear, endure, Khw. *zīrēiman*.  
*zēr* Yzh, u surrounding. — *zēr niṣam*  
 zh I surround; *īstāri po fiz zēr šut*  
 the stars surrounded his face. — Cf.  
 Khw. *jer* in a row?  
*zīrābē* Yzh, *o'a* g, *jura'bē* r, *zē'rāb* sh  
 stockings. — *yū zō* zh. — *Prs. jurāb*,  
 and Khw. (lw.) *zārāb*.  
*zī'rlyēm*: *zī'r'yā-im* Yzh to scream, Khw.  
*zīryoik*. — Cf. *Prs. zāyār* cry, clamour?  
 Khw. *zīryēik*, etc. from Y?  
*zīr'mālē* (pl.) Yzh, *zīlmāl* p kernel. —  
 Cf. Khw. *zōl* kernel?  
*zor'zo* Yzh, *zor'zo* sh, g, r, *zar'zo* Mm,  
*zār'za* g, *jōr'zo* B partridge; *zōrzo* B  
 bird. — \**zaričē*, cf. *Ishk. ujirj*, *Prs.*  
*zarič*, v. EVP. s.v. *zarka*.  
*jausa'rēn* Yzh, *jau'sōē* sh at daybreak.  
*zīedēraus* Mm bat. — Cf. *zīb* to rise,  
 (fly?) and *raūso* (s.v. *rūso*)? V. *lverzōya*  
*rūso*, *šāparakilay*.  
*ju'wān* Yzh young; *zīwān* sh, *jewān* G  
 youth, young man. — *zūcān* vfo;  
*zūcānen* *īšto*, *lie nō zūcānen*. — *Prs.*



*ju'wāri* Yzh, r, °ē sh, *ju'ārō* g, *jo'wāri* Mm jowar. — Ind.

*zū'y-am*: *zū'yt-m* Yzh, sh, *zū'y-im* r, *zū-um* g, *zū'y-am*: *zū'y-um* Mm, *zū'y-am*: *zū'y-am* t, *zū'y*: *zū'y* Z to sew. — *zū'yum* viō g plpf.; *zūya* baš sh 'ba dūxtan'. — \*uz-(h)yū, cf. Skr. ut-syūta- sewed up?

\**zezi*, in *šeta* *žezikan* Yr hamstring.

*ja'zir* Yzh ruin. — Khov. *jazir* ruin, from Ar.-Prs. *jasr* slaughtering, decreasing?

*ža'žiro* Yzh, *ja'žiro* p, *zāžiro* Mm, *'zajira* Z chain. — Y < Khov. *jan'jēr* (cf. Shgh. *žinjil*, Sköld), M from Prs. *zanjir*.

### List of Names.

*Idəy*, v. *Yidg*.

*Iy'dak* Yr, *Iy'dak* Mt, *Yu'y'dak* m, (g) vill. in Munjan.

*Imir'dino* Yzh, *Imurjrn* u (Taj. form) vill. in Lutkoh. Khov. *Imirdin*.

*Undu'stān* Yr 'Hindustan'.

*Infjgān* Yzh = *Idəf* 'the Yidgha speaking part of Lutkuh'; Sköld *Indijāni* = *Minjāni*(?) Taj. form of \**Indio*.

*Anju'mān* Ysh, °an r, *'Ajumāno* Mm the Anjuman Pass.

*Apeā'yo* Yu vill. in Bashgal (Bragamatal), Kati *Apei*.

*Ar'cū* Y the Artsu Pass (leading from the top of the Lutkoh valley into the Bashgal valley).

*Or'yo'co* Ysh Orghuch in Chitral.

*'Iriko* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Owirik.

*Ir'zōy* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Yorjogh.

*'Ajumāno*, v. *Anju'mān*.

*Ar'zūiko* Yu vill. in Lutkoh.

*'Uṛak* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh.

*'Iskutul* Ysh, *'Skutul* u *Iskutul* in Sanglech.

*Av'yato* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Khov.

*U'yuti*.

*Ov'xizo* Yp n. of a place in Parabek (Lutkoh).

*Iu'elm*, v. *Yu'wim*.

*Iḡ* Yzh, *Iḡ* u vill. in Bakhshir, Izh.

*'Iz'ar* Yu Shah-i-Sidim, at the foot of the Dorah Pass; acc. to zh *I°* is the name of the big rock (the 'Snake-stone'), not of the hot spring at Shah-i-Sidim.

*Badax'sān* Ysh, r *Badakhshan*; B° *yer* zh the Dorah Pass.

*'Bəyūšt* Yu vill. in Bakhshir (Bogosht). < \**Ba'gašita*, cf. *Baxšir*?

*Burbu'nū* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Burbunu.

*Bre'yeyo* Yzh, *Bra°* u, *Bra'yayo* r Munjan. V. BSOS VI, 439 sqq.

*Bir'zin* Yzh, *Br'zrn* u vill. in Lutkoh, Khov. *Bi/arzin* (< Ir. \**wyzana*-?).

*Bāš'kār* Ysh Bashgal.

*Bax'sir* Yu vill. in Bakhshir (Beshkar);

*Bax'sira* *Ta'gou* zh 'the Bogosht (Bakhshir) valley joining the Lutkoh river at Izh'. Survey map Beshgar. Khov. *Baxšir* < \**Baya'sita*, v. *Bəyūšt*? (Cf. e.g. the relation between Khov. *šapt* and Wkh. *šapt* 'wolf'). V. *Təri* *Baxšir*.

*Čir'wul* Yu n. of a place near Droshp.

*Čitrāyo* Yzh, r, Mm Chitral. *na*, *da* *Čitrāyī* 'in, to Chitral' Ysh, *yū* *čī* *Čitrāyen* Mm 'a man from Chitral'. Cf. BSOS, VI, 441 sq.

- Da'yerio* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, Daghiri.  
*Dëam'bi* Yr, *Dëam'bëh* Mt, *Diam'bë* (g) vill. in Munjan.  
*Dangula'dore* Yzh clan in Gurti, Lutkoh.  
*Də'rā* Yr, *Du'rā* the Dorah Pass.  
*Drošp* Ysh, u vill. in Lutkoh.  
*Dra'wuso* Ysh Drosh in Chitral. na 'Drauso šqi.  
*Dašt-i-Būt* Ysh a place in Munjan, between Miliyeg and Shahr.  
*Dāst-i-Ru'bāt* Ysh a place in Sanglech.  
*Fə'rastufi* Mti a lake in Munjan, Frastofi.  
*Go'ik* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, Gobik.  
*Gu'lyū* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, Gulugh.  
*Gur'tio* Yzh, u, 'Guṛti g vill. in Lutkoh, Guṛti. Khov. *Guṛti* (*Guṛti*).  
*G'istini* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Gistini.  
*Govar'baz* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh.  
*Gövr'i'stən* Yr, *Gouri'stən* u, *Gauri'stən* sh Kafiristan. From Pers. *gabr* Zoroastrian, pagan.  
*Gažan'dore* Yzh a clan in Zhitr and Imirdin in Lutkoh.  
*Ġəlamandore* Yzh a clan in Burbunū in Lutkoh.  
*Gharmai* vill. on the Kokecha in Yamgān (acc. to the map India and Adjacent Countries, 37, C. 4). < \**gar* hot.  
*Ġəz* Yr, *Fəz* Mt, *Ġəz* (g) vill. in Munjan, *Aiyāz* (acc. to M(g)).  
*Haidar'dore* Yzh clan in Gistini and Parabek in Lutkoh.  
*(H)artef* Yzh (obl. pl.) the Ozhor-valley in Chitral. Badakhshi *Hart*.  
*Kūa* Yg 'the Kho tribe, the Khovar language'. Cf. BSOS, VI, 441 n.  
*Kōbul* Ysh Kabul.  
*Ka'lā* Mt a vill. in Munjan; *Ka'la* Yr a vill. in Kuran, *Kalaomir*.  
*Kale-i-Šō* Yr, *'Khala-i-Šō* M(g) vill. in Munjan.  
*Kām* Yu vill. in Bashgal.  
*Kəm'diš* Yu vill. in Bashgal.  
*Kandu'zala* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Kandoojal, Kundzar.  
*Kunji'kāf* Yu a mythical mountain, Koh-i-Kaf.  
*Kə'rən* Ysh, *Bola-Kə'rən* r, *Krān* Mt a district in Munjan.  
*Katwā'rt* Ysh Ktiwi in Kafiristan.  
*Kv'lvam* Ysh Kulam in Kafiristan.  
*Luliko* Yu vill. in Bashgal.  
*Lizo* Mm vill. in Munjan (= Kala, Qalā?).  
*Maḡu'gāl* Yu vill. in Bashgal, Mandogal.  
*Mayna'wul* Ysh, Mt, *°eul* Yr vill. in Munjan, Vavilov *Megnul*. Cf. Av. *mayna-* naked?  
*Mili'yeg* Ysh vill. in Munjan, prob. = *Miāndeh*. — *mili* < *madya*; *yeg* for *-yāg* < \**kaḡaka*-, cf. *Madhyān-kath* (Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 128)?  
*Munio* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Khov. Manur. < \**Mānūtā*?  
*Mīān'deo* Yr, *Miān'dea* Mt, *Miān'dia* (g), *Miāndeh* Mm vill. in Munjan.  
*Mon'ji*, pl. *Mon'jiyi* Mm a man from Munjan; *Mon'ji rōi* the Munji language; *Mon'jiy* G Munjani.  
*Mun'jān* Mm Munjan. Cf. BSOS, VI, 439 sqq.  
*Mur'dān* Yu a place near Droshp.  
*Mə'rātdore* Yzh clan in Birzin, Lutkoh.  
*Māstiko* Yp n. of a woman.  
*Nou* Yr, M(g), *Nau* t vill. in Munjan.  
*Narku'rata* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Nar Karet.  
*Peç'xūgo* Yu a place in Lutkoh, Garm *Cisma*, Khov. *Peç-uc*, 'Hot Springs'.  
*Pa'naū* Mt, *'Phanō* (g) vill. in Munjan.  
*Panj'sir* Ysh, *Pan'sir* r Panjshir.  
*Pə'rāyo* Mm Kafiristan. Cf. Sgl. *Parōy*.  
*Pəruy* Ysh, *'Paroyo* u vill. in Sanglech. Sgl. *'Pəroy*.



- <sup>1</sup>*Parāuko* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Kh.  
<sup>1</sup>*Parabek*.  
*Per'kyān Ta'gou* Yzh the part of the  
 Lutkoh valley inhabited by Yidghas.  
<sup>1</sup>*Pārsē* Yg Persian. — zo *P<sup>o</sup> vānām* I  
 know Persian.  
*Pur'wos* Yr vill. in Kuran.  
<sup>1</sup>*Rūi* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Rui.  
*Ru'bāt* Ysh, Mt, *Ru'bōt* Yr vill. in  
 Kuran.  
*Ru'bāt-i-Tang* Ysh vill. in Kuran.  
*Ram'gvil* Ysh Ramgul in Kafiristan.  
<sup>1</sup>*Rāzer* Ysh, r vill. in Kuran. — Poss.  
 fr. Av. *razura-* forest.  
*Skar'zer* Ysh, <sup>1</sup>*Skōrzer* r vill. in Kuran.  
 — \**Uska-Razer?* Cf. *Sar-Jāngāl*.  
<sup>1</sup>*Skāwo* Ysh, *Sāk'vō* r vill. in Kuran,  
 Survey Map Sekwao, Burhan-ud-Din  
 Sekui.  
*Sumbul'dore* Yzh a clan in Wart, Lutkoh.  
*Su'māldore* Yzh a clan in Upper Zhitr,  
 Lutkoh.  
<sup>1</sup>*Sānek* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Sanik.  
<sup>1</sup>*Sang'liē* Yzh, *Sang'liē* r, u, *Sang'liē* sh,  
*Sang'liē* Mm Sanglech.  
*Sarjāng'gāl* Yr, Mm vill. in Munjan.  
*Stō'yno* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Sighin.  
<sup>1</sup>*Sterft* Y the Struik Pass (Mil. Rep. Shif-  
 chik), near Dorah.  
<sup>u</sup>*Stur'lāmo* Yu vill. in Bashgal, *Bar-*  
*gramāṭal*, Khow, *Lufdeh*, Prs. *Deh-i-*  
*Kalān*.  
<sup>1</sup>*Stuṣun* Y the Ustich Pass, near Dorah.  
 Mil. Rep. Ustujn.  
<sup>1</sup>*Sūd'gol* Yu vill. in Bashgal. Robertson  
 Shidgol.  
<sup>1</sup>*Šoyō'yo* Ysh, *Šuyoyo* Mt Shoghor in  
 Chitral. Badakhshi *Šoyot*.  
<sup>1</sup>*Šāhar* Ysh, M(g), *Šār* Yr, *Šahr* Mt,  
*Šār-i-Munjān* (sh) vill. in Munjan.  
<sup>1</sup>*Šō-i-Pārī* M(g) vill. in Munjan. *Šāh-i-Si'dīm* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, at the  
 foot of the Dorah Pass.  
<sup>1</sup>*Šāl'xān* Yp n. of a man.  
<sup>1</sup>*Šō'rōn* M(g) vill. in Munjan = *Šāhor*  
 (cf. Burhan-ud-Din *Šaran*).  
<sup>1</sup>*Šī'xāidore* Yzh a clan in Zhitr, Lutkoh.  
<sup>1</sup>*Šē'xāmandore* Yzh a clan in Barbunū,  
 Lutkoh.  
<sup>1</sup>*Šū'yo* Yu vill. in Bashgal; Robertson  
 Shui, Pshur.  
*Ta'gōu* Ysh, r, *Ta'gōu-i-Mun'jān* Mt vill.  
 in Munjan.  
<sup>1</sup>*Tuyakaf* Ysh, *Tuyokaf* r vill. in Kuran.  
<sup>1</sup>*Te'li* Ysh, *Tō'li* r, Mt, *Tr'li* Mti, *Thr'li*  
 (g), also *Xu'li* ti (local form) vill.  
 in Munjan. < \**(h)adad*, or a similar  
 base.  
<sup>1</sup>*Tālaš* <sup>1</sup>*Mīr* Yr Terich Mer in Chitral.  
 Cf. BSOS, VI, 443.  
<sup>1</sup>*Tuniko* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Thonek  
 Thunik.  
<sup>1</sup>*Tōri* *Bax'šir* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Turi  
 Bashker.  
<sup>1</sup>*Tērko* Yzh Turikho in Chitral.  
<sup>1</sup>*Wilū* Yr, Mt, (g), (sh) vill. in Munjan.  
<sup>1</sup>*Wulf* Ysh, r, M(g) vill. in Munjan. —  
 Cf. Av. *vāθra-* flock, troop (cf. Pashai  
*sāṭha* 'village' < *sārtha*, etc.)?  
<sup>1</sup>*Wī'rān* Ysh, <sup>o</sup>*ān* r, <sup>1</sup>*Wīreno* Mg, <sup>o</sup>*āne*  
 ti, <sup>o</sup>*ano* Yu "Veron", Prasun, *Pārūn*,  
 in Kafiristan. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443.  
<sup>1</sup>*Wagt* Yzh, *Warto* p vill. in Lutkoh,  
 Wharth.  
<sup>1</sup>*Wayo* Mt vill. in Munjan.  
<sup>1</sup>*Xūyiko* Yu vill. in Lutkoh. V. *xūyo*.  
<sup>1</sup>*Xōlar'gāi* Ysh, <sup>1</sup>*Xōloryāi* a pass between  
 Munjan and Sanglech. — V. *xōlāryo*.  
<sup>1</sup>*Yidg*, pl. *Yid'gi* Mm, <sup>1</sup>*Id'g*, pl. *Id'gē*  
 Yu, Mti 'a man from Injigan'; *Id'g*  
 Yr, sh, *Id'yaf* zh, *Yid'yūn* Mm 'In-  
 jigān, the Yidgha-speaking part of

Lutkoh'; *Yed'γā* Yg, n, Mt, *Yid'gānə*  
*rōi* Mm 'the Yidgha language'. —  
 Prob. Yidg < \**Hinduka*. *Yed'γā* <  
 \**Hindukaka*-. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443;  
 and Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 894, n. 2  
 about T. *ānātkāk*. If this derivation  
 is correct, the Iranian settlement on  
 the south-eastern, "Indian", side of  
 the mountain-range must be of con-  
 siderable antiquity. Cf. § 14. — V.  
*Injigān*.

*Yuy'dāk*, v. *Iγ'dek*.

*Ya'mak* Yr vill. in Kuran.

*Yakhserighar* pass between Upper Munjan  
 and Upper Bashgal (Survey Map). Cf.  
*lax'srrē, γar*.

*Yu'wim* Ysh, *I'wim* r a side-valley of  
 Kuran. Survey Map *Yoim*.

*Zi'bāk* Ysh, *Ziba* u Zebak.

*Zitik* the Zidig Pass, near Dorah.

*Ĵurm* Mm vill. in Badakhshan.

*Žitr* Yzh, *Žutər* u vill. in Lutkoh, Jhitar.



SANGLECHI-ISHKASHMI





## INTRODUCTION

1. The first information about Sanglechi was given by Shaw in the short Comparative Vocabulary appended to his article "On the Ghalchah Languages".<sup>1</sup> The 116 words collected by Munshí Faiz Bakhsh and transcribed by Shaw are not very correct,<sup>2</sup> but they have formed the sole base for our knowledge of this important dialect till now, and have been discussed by Tomaschek in his *Centralasiatische Studien* II,<sup>3</sup> and by Geiger in *GIPh*.

Of the adjoining and closely related, but slightly more persianized, dialects of Zebak and Ishkashim Sir George Grierson has given, as far as the material at his disposal permitted, excellent accounts in the *LSI* and in the separate publication "Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami"<sup>4</sup> embodying the material collected by Sir Aurel Stein. These works have been my constant guides during the preparation of the present account of this dialect-group.

Finally Zarubin quotes a number of Ishk. words in his *Munji vocabulary*.<sup>5</sup>

2. The Ishk. and Sgl. material discussed in this volume was taken down in Chitral in May and June 1929 from visitors to the bazar of Chitral Town.

<sup>1</sup> JASB, XLV, 134 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Note e.g. *yír* (یور) "fuel" for \**yüz* (یوز); *zulúk* "tongue" for \**zuwúk*; *vurd* "brother" for \**vrud*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> SWAW, phil.-hist. Cl. XCVI.

<sup>4</sup> R. A. S., Prize Publication Fund, Vol. V.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above Y—M, § 1.

From Ishkashim I had two informants. They were, however, both of them so unsatisfactory for my purposes that I did only keep them on for a couple of sittings.

1. The first was a middle-aged man from Ishkashim (*Išk'āšim*) Ishk. proper. His mother-tongue was Persian, but he said that his was the only one among the sixty houses in the village in which the local language was not used.<sup>1</sup> He professed, however, to know Ishkashmi, and most of the forms given by him agree fairly well with those known from other sources. In some cases of however, he probably did not know or remember the true Ishk. forms and gave Prs. ones instead.

2. The other was *Malak Muhammad*, a native of the Zebak Zb. district, but settled in Ishk. (*Škāšim*). He gave me a short list of words in the dialect of Zeb., which in the main appears to be correct. But there are some suspect forms and words in his list, (e.g. *wōl* "ear"; *nāyd* "night"; *mīs* "nose"), and he certainly gave Prs. words in several cases where native Zeb. ones are still in use.

From the Sanglech valley I had five informants:

3 and 4. *Aziz Bēg* and his brother *Daulat Bēg* were natives of Sgl. p 1 the hamlet of Porogh. They were kind, and willing to do their Sgl. p 2 best, but even this was rather poor. Their pronunciation was rapid and slurred, many sounds disappearing more or less completely in connected speech. Perhaps this is a result of their dialect being used only within a very narrow circle of close relations and acquaintances, who are accustomed to each other's peculiarities of articulation.

It was also very hard work to get grammatical forms out of them, and they were utterly incapable of telling a story, or of giving any but the most disconnected and fragmentary accounts of happenings in their own village and similar subjects. I managed, however, to prepare a fairly extensive vocabulary during the few days they could be induced to remain in Chitral.

<sup>1</sup> But recruits from Ishk. and Zeb., whom I met at Kabul in 1924, denied the very existence of any separate language in their village. Cf. also Sköld, *Materialien*, p. 3.



5. Also *Laškar Bēg* came from Porogh. From his lips I took Sgl. p 3 down a short tale.

6. A fourth inhabitant of Porogh was *Gul Mahamad* from whom Sgl. p 4 I compiled a list of words.

7. *Āsūd* hailed from Iskitul, the village above Porogh. From Sgl. is him I compiled a vocabulary of his dialect, which presents various peculiarities of its own.

8. *Baxtauwār* was a quite intelligent young man from Sanglech Sgl. s proper, the uppermost village in the valley. Unfortunately I had only occasion to work with him during one short sitting, and all I could do was to write down a list of words.

9. The material collected by the late Dr. Sköld and incorporated Sk. into this work belongs to the Ishk. dialect. Nothing further is known to me about his informants.<sup>1</sup>

Ishk. or Sgl. forms given by a professed Wakhi from Wark are marked "Wkh." "Wkh."

Ishk. material quoted from Grierson is designed by Gr., and his Gr. Zeb. material by Gr. (Zb.). Quotations from Zarubin are marked Gr. (Zb) Zar., and from Munshi Faiz Bakhsh (Shaw, Ghalchah Languages) Zar. MFB.

3. An account of the geography of the country in which Sanglechi-Ishkashmi is spoken is given by Grierson in the Introduction to his book on Ishkashmi.

Ishk. is spoken in and around the village of Ishkashim in Afghan territory at the Oxus bend. According to Stein it also extends to a few villages on the Russian side of the river,<sup>2</sup> and it will be seen below that it is possible that a mixed Wakhi-Ishkashmi dialect is spoken in Wark in Western Wakhan.

It is doubtful whether the subdialect called Zebaki is spoken at all in the market village of Zebak (*Izivūk*) itself. My informants, both in 1924 and in 1929, all agreed that Prs. was the exclusive language of this place, and it is quite possible that they told the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Materialien, p. 3.—I have found no texts among his material.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Sköld it is used in Rind, and by half the population of Namadgut.

truth, and that Zeb. is spoken only in some of the surrounding villages. We know that the Zeb. material of the LSI comes from Bāzgīr, a village situated between Zebak and Ishkashim, and it may be that my informant Zb. was a native of some village in the neighbourhood of Zebak.

Acc. to Grierson<sup>1</sup> Sanglechi (or perhaps Zebaki) is spoken also in the valley leading from Zebak to the Nuqsan Pass (the Deh-i-Gul) and in the valley of the Wardoj below Zebak. I have not been able to check these statements.

My informants told me that the true Sanglechi dialect is spoken in the villages of Porogh, Iskitul and Sanglech. Sgl.s. asserted that it was also spoken in Flakhmarik, but p4 denied this (statement).

Acc. to Burhan-ud-Din, Fareg (Porogh) possesses 8 houses, and Isketul' and Sanglič 15 each. But Vavilov,<sup>2</sup> who is no doubt a more reliable source, gives 40 houses for "Porx" (60 before the flood in 1923), and 30 for "Isketul'". The same author states that Isketul' lies 14—15 km. above Zebak at a height above the sea of about 2900 mètres, and that Porx is situated a little below Isketul' at a height of 2840 mètres. Sanglech, the uppermost village of the valley, is 20—22 km. above Isketul, and 3280 m.<sup>3</sup> above sea-level.

4. As observed already by Grierson,<sup>4</sup> Ishk., Zeb. and Sgl. "are all slightly varying forms of one and the same language, which we may call *Iškāsmī*".<sup>5</sup>

Ishk. is clearly distinguished from Sgl. in several respects. Thus, in a number of cases, Ishk. *ō* corresponds to Sgl. *ā*, Ishk. *ū* to Sgl. *ō* and Ishk. *a* to Sgl. *o*. Cerebral *ṇ* is not known to Ishk., and the use of *l* is more restricted than in Sgl., while on the other hand Ishk. usually has *t* < *st*, corresponding to Sgl. *t*. Ir. *ḍ* in

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. pp. 108 sqq., and 517 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. p. 519. But 3380 m., p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Ishk. etc. p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Or, what I would prefer, Sanglechi-Ishkashmi.



some words apparently results in Ishk. *s*, but Sgl. *t*, and Sgl. *đ* has been dropped or replaced by *d* in Ishk. Other points of phonetical difference are restricted to individual words among the material available to me. Thus, e.g.: Ishk. *štok* "girl"; *šofūn* "comb"; *rēmuz(d)* "sun"; *kərčīn* "cock"; *rəšnī* "fire"; *pumec* "to dress"; *fak* "thee"; but Sgl. *əščāk*; *āfšūn*; *ōrmōzd*; *kurčūn*; *šənāi*; *pānec*; *təfak*, etc.

In the field of morphology, we may mention the absence of the accusative prefix *va* in Ishk., the differences in the inflexion of the pronouns and the verb substantive, the opposition between Ishk. (but also Sgl.s) 1st sg. *-m* and Sgl. p. is. *-n*, and the development of secondary preterites in Ishk.

As regards the vocabulary, Ishk., which on account of its geographical position is more exposed to foreign influences than Sgl., has given up a number of ancient words which are still in use in the latter dialect. Thus e.g. Ishk.: *yōzda* "11", *dwōzda* "12", *bīst* "20", *garm* "warm", *gardak* "neck", *šafēd* "white", *mātou*, *mā* "moon", *šab* "night", *lab* "lip"; but Sgl.: *kođos*, *diđus*, *wīšt*, *γōrm*, *γorōk*, *əspēd*, *wulmēk*, *fəršōu*, *rīvlav*, etc.

5. The variations recorded within Ishk. are most of them insignificant, consisting chiefly of slight oscillations in the quality or quantity of vowels. Thus, e.g., from my material: *mut* "fist", *wuluk* "flour", *kərčīn* "cock", *ōvd* "seven", *vʀrū* "brother"; Sköld: *mut*, *ūluk*, *wūlāk*, *kʀčīn*, *ūvd* *wrūd*, *wru*; Grierson: *mut*, *uluk*, *kurčīn*, *ūvd*, *vʀūd*; Zarubin: *mot*, *wuluk*, — — —, (<sup>w</sup>)*ūvd*, *vʀūd*.

It is impossible to decide how far such discrepancies are due to real difference of pronunciation of a local or individual nature. To a certain extent they are probably due to the "personal equation" of the recorder. But forms such as *fʀrēt* "asked", *avūld* "brought", *das* "ten", as compared with Sköld's *fōrast*, *avū(l)d*, *dah* and Grierson's *frut*, *avul*, *dah*, etc., point to the existence of certain variations within Ishk.

6. Zeb., as described by Grierson in LSI, resembles, perhaps, more Sgl. than Ishk. But it shares with Ishk. several characteristics.

Thus e.g.: *ō*, *d* for Sgl. *ā*; cf. also Voc. s.vv. *mēn* "apple", *štāk* "girl", *rəšnī* "fire", *pumec-* "to dress", *atayd* "entered", etc.

In a few cases the Zb. forms of the LSI agree with Sgl., but those given by my informant with Ishk. Cf. e.g.: *kərčīn* "fowl", *rēmōz* "sun", *tīnen* "thy". It is, however, doubtful whether we can rely much upon the forms given by Z, whose vocabulary was interspersed with Prs., Wkh., or simply incorrect forms. It is, of course, only natural that the villages of the Zebak district should form a transitional zone between Ishk. and Sgl.

7. Sgl. itself is not an altogether homogeneous dialect, but presents several variations in the three villages from which material is available. And even the forms given by the different informants hailing from Porogh are not always absolutely identical.<sup>1</sup>

It is doubtful whether there are many other places in the world where local linguistic division has been carried so far as among the inhabitants of the handful of houses in the Sanglech Valley hamlets.

Thus e.g. Sgl. p. has *wərvēs* "fox" (Ishk. *wurvēs* etc.), but Sgl. p. s. *wərvēs*; Sgl. p. *mokodok* "frog" (Ishk. *mukuduk*, etc.): is. s. *moydōk*; Sgl. p. *nəmē(ō)k* "salt" (Ishk. *namulṽāk*, etc.): Sgl. is. s. *nəməyō*, etc.; Sgl. p. *wužinjāk* (Z *wužinjāk*) "woman": is. s. *wuzinjāk*; Sgl. p. *kuḷ*, *kuḷ* "did": is. s. *kuḷ*. Cf. also: Sgl. p. *xwār-* "to eat": s. *xor-*; Sgl. p. *wāl* "trousers": is. *wāl*; p. *rig/vlav* "lip": is. s. *rivlav*; p. *wəništ*, *wunižd* "turned round": Sgl. is. *wəniyd*, s. *wunižd*.

Sgl. p. 3 shows a specially pronounced tendency towards diphthongization of *ē*. Cf. e.g.: *t'ēym*, *m'ēl*, *d'ēr*, *r'ēyn*, etc. Sgl. p. and is. agree as against the uppermost village of the valley in the following words: *wužir* "partridge"; *žānžək* "entrails"; *žan-* "to kill"; *šənāi* "fire"; 1st sg. *-en*, 1st pl. *-em*; but s. *wužiržir*; *žanžək*; *jan-*; *rəšnāi* (cf. Ishk. Zb. *rəšnī*, etc.); *-em*, *-en* (= Ishk., Zb.). Cf. also Sgl. p. *pōvd* "drank" (Ishk. *pəvd*): Sgl. s. *pīd*.

In some other cases it is Sgl. is. alone which differs as well from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the vacillation in the use of the personal endings *-əm* and *-ən* (v. § 132), and in the preterital stems.



the villages below as from s. Most characteristic is the transition of *ž* to *γ* in *wəniγd* "turned round"; *wəydān* "millet" and *wəyduk* "long". We also find Sgl. is. *fʳōs* "to ask" and *γəxōai* "sister" corresponding to p. s. *fʳas*, *fʳūs* and *ixwāi*, *xōai*. In Sgl. is. there is moreover a certain tendency to lengthen vowels, cf. Voc. e.g. s.vv.: *cām*, *kužuk*, *astamayzak*, *saδ*, *jāndār*.

8. The situation is rendered still more complicated through the possibility of a dialect of the Sgl., not the Ishk. type, existing in western Wakhan. My informant from Wark in Lower Wakhan, not far from Ishkashim, professed to speak Wkh., but of the words given by him the majority was of Sgl.-Ishk., not of Wkh. origin.

Some of them are typical Ishk. words. Thus, e.g.: *pəšir* "cheek"; *mukuduk* "frog"; *vuks* "snake"; *kʳust* "bark"; *čuwīn* "apricot"; *rəxni* "fire"; *nic* "nose"; *posk* "hide"; *ākik* "egg"; *ōzik* "tear"; *čōm* "eye"; *zōl* "yellow"; and others with *ā*, *ō* corresponding to Sgl. *ā*. But more often the Wark forms agree with Sgl. Thus e.g.: *ōrmōzd* "sun"; *bʳež* "birch"; *fərxə* "night"; *fisē* "nose"; *γic* "coal" (Sgl. *žic*, I *zic*); *γōruk* "neck"; *kiskūd* "roof"; *məryōk* "sparrow"; *hari* "work"; *puδf* "meat"; *sūi* "hare"; *spēδ* "white"; *žau* "horn"; *xūi* "black"; *tiwede* "burnt" (Sgl. *təv*, Ishk. *sav*); *wuyden* "millet"; *wulmē* "moon"; *wužeržer* "partridge", etc., etc. Cf. also *kenen* "I do" and *ʔfak* "thee". "Wkh." of Wark employs the fricative *δ*, and it changes *ž* into *γ* (besides *ž* into *x*, *š*), just as is the case in Sgl. is. Note also *fəryəmē* "kid", which looks like an archaic form of Sgl. *fəryəm*, and the curious (hybrid?) form *hībδ* "7".

It is, of course, quite conceivable that Wkh. of Wark is no genuine dialect at all, but only a mixture of Wkh., Sgl. and Ishk. forms made up by one who did not know any of these languages properly. But each of the theoretically possible explanations present difficulties of its own, and it would be quite idle without further knowledge to enter upon speculations about the possibility of a mixed dialect being spoken in the border villages of Ishkashim and

Wakhan.<sup>1</sup> The question is not, however, devoid of a more general interest and ought to be investigated on the spot.

9. On the whole Ishk.—Sgl. is, however, a well defined dialect group, which is clearly distinguished from all its Ir. neighbours in the Pamir. Especially Ishk. in its vocabulary frequently presents points of resemblance with Wkh. But this may be due just as much to recent contact as to any special, inherited relationship.<sup>2</sup> The same may be said about the lexical accordances with Yd.—Mj.

A survey of the historical phonology and morphology of Sgl.—Ishk. will show the originality of this dialect-group on several points, but also its connection with the rest of the Pamir dialects.

The general appearance of the language, phonetically and morphologically, is less aberrant from the Ir. normal than that of other Pamir dialects. This is probably due to its geographical position on, or close to, the ancient trade route from Faizabad to the Dorah Pass.

We do not know anything about the ancient history of the small Sgl.—Ishk. (speaking) communities.<sup>3</sup> But nothing prevents us from believing that it has developed during a very long period in the districts where it is now spoken. It is likely that it once extended further down the Kokcha Valley, bordering somewhere upon Saraghlani.

The future of Sgl.—Ishk. is probably more immediately threatened than that of Wkh., Yd.—Mj. and the Shgh. group, both on account of the small number of speakers and through the proximity of and comparatively easy access to the central, Persian-speaking parts of Badakhshan.

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Sköld, p. 2 sq., Namatgut, just below Wark but on the Russian bank of the river, is half Wkh. and half Ishk.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, *št* > *t*, *ʃ* in both dialects, and e.g. *pəv* 'to drink'.

<sup>3</sup> Herzfeld's identification of Paikuli *szelšn*, *szelčn* with Sanglech (AIM; VII; p. 58) is not convincing.



## PHONETIC SYSTEM

10. Any attempt to determine the exact phonetic value of all the sounds of the different dialects of Sgl.—Ishk. without a prolonged study of the language can, of course, only be quite provisional, and in a still higher degree this applies to the construction of the phonological system. About the phonology of Ishk. I do not venture to make any assertions.

### *Consonants.*

11.

	Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive . . . . .	<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>ʈ, ɖ</i>		<i>k, g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate . . . . .		<i>c</i>		<i>č, ǰ</i>			
Fricative . . . . .	<i>f, v</i>				<i>x, γ</i>		<i>h</i>
Sibilant . . . . .		<i>s, z</i>	<i>ʃ, ʒ</i>	<i>š, [ž]<sup>1</sup></i>			
Nasal . . . . .	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		<i>(ŋ)<sup>2</sup></i>		
Lateral . . . . .		<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>				
Rolled . . . . .		<i>r</i>					
Semivowels . . . . .	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

The consonant system of Sgl. appears to be based upon the following correlations:

<sup>1</sup> *ž* is probably a variant of *ǰ*, v. below.

<sup>2</sup> *ŋ* is a variant of *n* appearing before velars, and not a separate phoneme. When appearing alone it is probably a variant of *ŋg*.

1. Voiced: *b, d, ḍ, g, ḡ, v,*<sup>1</sup> *γ, z, (ž) ž.*

Surd: *p, t, ṭ, k, č, f, x, s, š š.*

The surd sounds *c, q* and possibly *š* have no voiced counterparts.

2. Plosive: *p, b, k, g.*

Fricative: *f, v, x, γ.*

3. Plosive: *t, d, ṭ, ḍ.*

Sibilant: *s, z, š, ž.*

4. Oral: *b, d, ḍ, g.*

Nasal: *m, n, ṇ, (ŋ).*

5) Plosive: *d, ḍ,* or, perhaps, Nasal: *n, ṇ.*

Lateral: *l, ḷ,* Lateral: *l, ḷ.*

6. Labial: *p, b, m* *f, v*

Dental: *t, d, n* *s, z*

Retroflex: *ṭ, ḍ, ṇ* *š, ž*

Palatal: *č, ĵ*

Velar: *k, g, (ŋ) x, γ*

12. The uvular *q*, the glottal *h*, and besides *r* and *w, y* are disjunct phonemes.

Of the above sounds *q, h, ḍ, b, g* (except in sandhi for *-k*) and possibly *č* are found only in loan-words.

Aspiration of surd stops, especially of *p*, is heard, possibly more markedly in Ishk. than in Sgl.

While *ŋ* is a variant of *n*, the cerebral *ṇ* must be considered as a separate phoneme, when it occurs unconditioned by a following *t* or *d*.

13. *Labials:* *f* and *v* are labio-dentals.<sup>2</sup> Sk. does not always distinguish between *v* and *w*.

*Dentals:* In Sgl. postvocalic *d* is usually sounded as a *ḍ*. Sgl. p 1 frequently pronounced <sup>d</sup>*ḍ*, while p 2's *ḍ* approached, and often was mistaken for, *l* (e.g. in *šilōk* = *šidōk* 'become'; *kolos* = *kodōs* '11'; *Iskitūd* = *ōūl*). Also Sk. gives *ḍ* in a few words. Note *ḍ > ṭ* in p 2 *dān-pṛḍf*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below regarding *v*.

<sup>2</sup> Bilabial *φ* was, however, noted in *oṣpūr* '4'.



*t* and *d* are nearly, and *ḍ* quite inter-dental. *r* is alveolar, and in some cases it is pronounced even further back. In a few words Sk. writes *rd* for *ṛd*, cf. the similar tendency in Psht., Bal. and other Ir. dialects of the East. Postvocalic *n* is sometimes retracted towards the position of *ṇ*.

*Palatals*: It is possible that *ḡ* and *ḥ* are distinguished in initial position, *ḡ* being used in some loan-words in preference to *ḥ*. But in postvocalic position *ḥ* is used always, or nearly always.

From the phonetic point of view initial *y* is a fricative, not a semi-vowel. But it forms a pair with *w*.

*Cerebrals*: *ṭ* and *ḍ* are really post-alveolars. In genuine Sgl. words *ṭ* easily becomes *t*. *ṣ* and *ṣ̣* are usually readily distinguishable from *ṣ* and *ṣ̣* in Sgl., but perhaps not in Ishk. Note Sgl. is  $\check{\text{ṣ}} > \gamma$ .<sup>1</sup>

*ḷ* is not always clearly distinguished from *l*. It has no flap, and is articulated with the tongue in a more advanced position than Psht. *r*. Regarding the situation in Ishk., cf. § 4.

*Uvulars*: It is doubtful whether *q* is always distinguished from *k* in ordinary, careless pronunciation, and whether it is felt to be a foreign sound. But I always heard *qiv* 'to call'. Sk. and Gr. give *q* in several Ishk. words.

14. There seems to be no gemination of consonants in Sgl. But Sk. has noted geminates in several Ishk. past stems and also e.g. in *albatt*, *yalla*, *kull*, etc.

Final consonants are articulated weakly and sometimes disappear. Thus, e.g.: *tā(t)* *bē* 'to the father'; *Izivū(k)* *bē* 'to Zebak'; *xā(n)* 'house'; *nilostō(k)* 'is sitting'; *mə'miš xā* 'rō-tana = *ma* 'mič *xān rōi tan-ān* 'there are three persons in our house'; *ko<sup>e</sup>* = *kuḍ* 'did', etc. Note also the sandhi in *awā ḍuḍ* = *awā dūḍ*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 7.

## Groups of Consonants.

15. Through borrowing from Prs., recent elision of vowels, composition, suffigation and analogical formation of past stems in *t* nearly every kind of consonant group have found their way into Sgl.

Those appearing only in compounds (e.g. *af-mahā*, *am-dak*, *dān-pəθf*, *γōb-naduk*, *γam-gīn*, *juwān-mardī*, *tōk-sarī*, *wəl-vōš*, *xōn-bərš*, etc.) are not on a line with groups occurring in uncompounded words. Also before recent suffixes we find unusual combinations (e.g. *ifč*).

Through elision there arise—especially in Sköld's material—groups such as *ašcāk*, *čpōšt*, *jnūb*, *psād*, *pxōk*, *pšaimānī*, etc. Cf. also *fsək*: *fušek*; *pšūr*: *pəšūr*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Such combinations are probably not true, 'phonological' groups. More doubtful is the case of *kr-*, *pr-*, etc., e.g. in Sk. *krüst*: Sgl. *ko'rost*.—In secondary preterites the combination of any consonant with *t* or *d* seems to be possible. Thus, e.g.: *kimd*, *kurt*, *šext*, *prəft*, *talapt*, *šēbt*, *spārd*, *āwuld*, etc.

In words of Sgl. origin the more important groups of consonants are: *dk* (*nəmedk*), *df* (*pəθf*, etc.), *dm* (*xōd/ōm*), *vd/ō* (*passim*), *vz* (*ōvzūi*), *vr-* (*vʳr-*), *xs*, *xš*, *γ<sup>(v)</sup>n*, *γ<sup>(v)</sup>m*, *γd/ō*, *fš*, *fər*, *st*, *sk*, *sp*, *št*, *šk*, *šp*, *zd*, *z<sup>(v)</sup>n*, *žd*, *žd*, *rv(ō)*, *rk*, *rg*, *rx*, *ry*, *rf*, *rs(?)*, *rš*, *rz*, *rn*, *rw*, *lm*, *lk*, *nd*, *n*, *nz*, *ng*, *mb*.

In initial position we find: *b<sup>(v)</sup>r-*, *d<sup>(v)</sup>r-*, *f<sup>(v)</sup>r-*, [*ft-*], *t<sup>(v)</sup>r-*, *v<sup>(v)</sup>r-*, *xr-*, *xw-*, *z<sup>(v)</sup>n-*, *(<sup>v</sup>)sk*, *(<sup>v</sup>)st-*, etc.

## Vowels.

16. As far as I have been able to make out, Sgl. possesses the following vowel phonemes: *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ū*, *ō* and, possibly, *ə*.

*ā* is usually palatal [*a*].

*e* is most frequently a comparatively low [*e*], but *e* tends to be raised into [*e̞*] and is sometimes diphthongized into [*ɛ̞*].<sup>2</sup>

*i* is usually open [*ɪ*] and may even approach the position of [*i̞*], [*ə*] or [*ə̞*].

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. x.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 7.



Similarly *u* [ʊ] frequently merges into the neutral vowel [ə], or even into [ə].

It is impossible without further investigations to determine, in all cases, the phonological value of [ə], [ə], [ʊ], etc. These sounds vary with the speaker, and there appears to be some vacillation even in the speech of a single individual. Cf. e.g.: Sgl. p 1 *yrr* 'stone'; *šət* 'dust'; *mut* 'fist'; *yex* 'ice'; p 2 *yir*, *šit*, *mət*, *yex*; p 3 *yər*, *šət*, *mət*, *yex*; is *yər*, *šət*, *mət*, *yex*. Some of these variations may be due to the influence of surrounding consonants, others are perhaps merely the result of inexact notation.

An overshort svarabhakti or prothetic vowel appears e.g. in *b<sup>(2)</sup>rūt* <sup>2</sup>*stən*, etc.

Sgl. *ö* is usually articulated near the cardinal point, or a little lower. It shows, however, a tendency to move slightly forward towards the mixed vowels [ɔ̃].

Diphthongs are *ou* [ɔu, ɔu, ɔu, ɔ:u], *oi* and *ai*. They are, however, probably to be considered as combinations of two sounds *a* + *y*, etc.

17. Although there can scarcely be any doubt that vowel length is of phonological significance, secondary lengthening of stressed short vowels and abbreviation of unstressed long ones appear to be quite frequent. The problems raised by these apparently conflicting facts are not peculiar to Sgl. and will need a special study, which takes into consideration the conditions in a great number of modern Ir. dialects.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Y—M § 35.

## HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

### Consonants.

#### Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

18. Initial *k*-, *t*-, *p*- remain unchanged. Thus, e.g.: *kādi* 'when'; *kīf* *k*-, *t*-, *p*- 'hump'; *kas*- 'to see'; *tu* 'thou'; *tovōr* 'axe'; *t'ēym* 'seed'; *pōi* 'sour milk'; *pū*- 'to become rotten'; *pac*- 'to cook'; *pədf* 'meat', etc., etc., v. Voc. s.v.

Acc. to Grierson, § 21,<sup>1</sup> an initial surd is sometimes changed into a fricative. Of the two examples given *xafuk* 'foam' has *x* in all neighbouring dialects, while *fei* 'shovel' has original *f*-, cf. *fūk* 'shoulder-blade'.<sup>2</sup> *Ishk. sav/w* 'to burn' (Sgl. *təv*-) is probably derived from a form in *θ*-, cf. Wkh. *θāw*- and v. § 37.

*de* 'a particle denoting existence' and *dunda* 'so much' probably have *d* < *t*- in unstressed position. Cf. Psht. *de* encl. pron. 2 sg. < \**tai*, etc.

19. Ancient *č* regularly becomes *c*, just as in Y—M and Wkh. Thus: *ce* 'what'; *cəmənd* 'how many'; *ca'mōk* 'winking'; *carx* 'spinning wheel' (but *čarx* borrh. from, or influenced by Prs.). The majority of words in *č*- are lw.s. Thus, e.g.: *čel* 'forty'; *čišmē* 'a spring'; *čəł* 'small'; *čul* 'penis'; *čuvēl* 'apricot' (Gr. *cuēnd*); *čudan* 'cooking-pot'; *čōl Z* 'multicoloured' is prob. borrowed from Shgh. *čūž* (Sar. *čiēl*) with *č*- regularly from *k*-, cf. M *kaš*, Yazgh. *k'āw*. *čūt* 'she-goat' may be somehow connected with Werchikwar *čūt*, and also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Geiger, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> V. Wkh.



*čumōl* 'basket' appears to be a migratory word. The origin of *čōv* 'little' and *čos* 'fart' is unknown.

As there is no other certain instance of *č* in any other genuine Sgl. word than *čām* 'eye' (poss. with *č* from Prs.) it seems probable that also *čen*: *čid* 'to pick' is a Prs. lw. Reg. *čiš* 'urine' v. Voc. s.v.

### Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.

20. In the *-ka-* suffix, *-k-* is retained unchanged. Thus, e.g.: *ostok* *-k-* 'bone', *ust'ruk* 'star'; *wok* 'one'; *durk* 'wood', and reduplicated in *worokok* 'lamb'; *ākik* 'egg'. I heard *g* in *kīrūg* 'plough', and once in *gorōg* 'neck'. These are probably sandhi forms. Also *wulāki* 'first' and *wulyēka* 'alone' contain the *ka-* suffix.

Other instances of intervocalic *-k-* in genuine words are not available. *koḏos* 'eleven' < \**aivakadasa* has lost its initial syllables irregularly in unstressed position. In (*o*)*kōvō* 'boot' it is very doubtful whether the initial vowel is ancient. *vōkōlīn* 'the day before yesterday'; *lākin* 'belt', and *čukān* 'a kind of dye' are of unknown origin, and *pa'kōl* 'cap', *bakəl*, *bakēṇḍi* 'calf', and *čuk* 'to beat' are lw.s.

On the whole it seems probable that the retention of *-k-* is phonetically regular, cf. the parallel development in Orm.<sup>1</sup> and Y—M.<sup>2</sup> *šayor* 'hedgehog' is certainly a lw., and in *moyḏok* (*mokodok*) 'frog' and *nəmēyḏ* (*nəməḏk*) 'salt' *y* is due to assimilation with *ḏ*.

21. Intervocalic *-t-* regularly results in Sgl. *-ḏ-*, thus coalescing with original *-d-*. Examples of *-t-* are: *oyod* 'came'; *aḏ(a)*, *iḏ* 'that'; *dīḏ* 'smoke'; *dūḏ* 'gave'; *kuḏum* 'which'; *kuḏ* 'dog'; *kiskūḏ* 'roof'; *kōvīḏ* 'pigeon'; *numōḏ* 'felt'; *pīḏ* 'drank'; *spēḏ* 'white'; *šīḏ* 'went'; *xuḏāri* 'watermill'; *zəmūḏ* 'son-in-law'; *zənūḏ* 'washed'; *zōḏ* 'killed', etc. In *saḏ* '100'; *aštāḏ* '80'; *amēḏ* 'hope'; *māḏar* 'mother', etc., *ḏ* has been substituted for Prs. *d*. *Čatrāḏ* 'Chitral' has probably been borrowed from a form in *-ḏ*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IIFL, I, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> With *-t-*, *p-* > *-y-*, *-v-*, but *-k-* > *-g-*. Cf. Y—M §§ 45 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v.

In Ishk. we in most cases find *d* corresponding to Sgl. *ḍ*. Thus: *ōyad*; *dīd* (*dūd*)<sup>1</sup> 'smoke'; *dūd* 'gave'; *kudum*; *k'ud*, *kaskūd*; *kovid*; *vrūd* Zar.; *xədōri*; *zenūd*; *žad*. Cf. also *wēd* 'willow'; *dēd* 'fight', etc.

22. Ishk. *d* does not represent a stage of development intermediate between *t* and Sgl. *ḍ*, but is due to the influence of Prs., which is much stronger in Ishk. and Zeb. than in Sgl.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the possible Prs. influence on initial *d*-, cf. § 29.

Apart from the intrinsic probability of this explanation we also have evidence of the previous existence of *ḍ* in Ishk. Thus Wkh. *kowid* 'pigeon' must have been borrowed from Ishk. and not from the more remote Sgl.; *krič* Gr. 'hut' is derived from *\*k(a)ḍič* = Wkh. *ktič*.<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *pərnīč* 'threshold' < *\*pad(a)nīč*. (Orosh. *paḍin* < *\*padanī-*) and *prēšt* Gr. 'wrist' < *\*p(a)rḍēšt* (Sar. *parḍūst*). Also Ishk. *xōdm* 'dream': Sgl. *xōdm* proves a secondary change of *ḍ* to *d*.

In Sgl. *pəḍit* 'kindled', *wuḍit* (-*d* Zar.) 'span' the sequence *\*ḍ-ḍ* has been dissimilated into *ḍ-d* (-*t*).<sup>4</sup> But notice *pārdūd* 'sold' (*pārḍē-*), which has been influenced by the uncompounded form *dūd* and other preterites. *dūd* 'gave' shows that the initial voiced stop is at any rate older than the dissimilation *ḍ-ḍ* > *ḍ-d*. In Sgl. *wuḍəγḍ* 'daughter' (Ishk. *wudugḍ*) the intervening *γ* has prevented the dissimilation.

23. A further reduction of *-ḍ-* has taken place in the unstressed suffix pres. 3 sg. *-ū*, *-ō*<sup>5</sup> in *ko* = *kuḍ* 'did', and in *šān* < *šīdān* 'they became', *šūō* = *šūḍōk* (and *šīlōk* = *šīḍōk*). Cf. also *tə-vō* = *tə-ḍ/dō* 'thou art'. In Ishk. the reduction takes place even in some stressed words, e.g. in *vrū*, *wru* (and *vrūd*) 'brother', *xū(d)ōri* Sk. 'water-mill', cf. *pū* 'foot' < *pāda*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gr. *dīt*, with unvoicing of final *d*, not with retention of original *t* (Grierson § 22). Cf. also *pəḍit* 'kindled'; *wuḍit/d* 'span'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *kurič*, *kuriz*, etc. 'hut, protecting roof' might perhaps be a dialect form related to the Ishk. word. Cf. Prs. lex. *γol* 'ear', which is an Ishk. form.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Y-M, §§ 52, 136.

<sup>5</sup> Once I heard *isyūd* 'may he come'.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 14.



In *rēčik* Gr. 'entrails' *č* has been elided before *-čik*.

As is the case in other Ir. dialects the prefix *pati* has been reduced to *pə*, etc., e.g. in *pənec*, *pumec* 'to dress'; *pədin* 'to light a fire'; *pəzin* 'to recognize'; *pa* 'with, on'. Cf. *potūn* 'thigh' < \**pat-tōn*, or \**pat-tōn* < *paitištāna*.

Reg. p 3 *č* > *l* v. § 13.

24. The preservation common to most Ir. dialects, of *t* in *wišt* 'twenty' is due to early syncope. Cf. also *yōtuk*, *yetik* 'bridge'<sup>1</sup> < \**ētk*, or \**ēdk* < \**haituka*, and v. Voc. s.vv. *wōtuk* 'feast'; *pātik* 'eyelashes'.—*vəžduk* 'high' is derived from \**brzataka*.

*atīy*: *atuyd* Zar. 'to enter' (Sgl. *axtəδ*, with metathesis) may have got its *t* from a form corresponding to Sogd. *tys*: *tyt*. *it* 'arrived'<sup>2</sup> (*iδ*) goes back to a secondary past stem \**it-t*, cf. Or. *yat(t)* (from *yad*) and the numerous Wkh. preterites in *-tt*.

Regarding *zōt* 'son' and 'wuter' ashes, cf. § 37. Final *-t* is found in lw.s, corresponding to Prs. *-d/-t*.

25. Ancient *-p-* shares the fate of *-t-* and results in a voiced fricative. *-p-* As *-v-* is a sound which is not foreign to Prs., it remains also in Ishk.

Thus, e.g. *kōvīδ* 'pigeon'; *təv* 'to burn'; *tovōr* 'axe'; *vərvēs*, etc. 'fox'; *vīn* 'beard' (< \**upāna*); *vēk* 'water'; *va* a particle denoting the acc. (< *upa*); *rīv* (-*lav*) 'lip'; *yiv*, *yev* 'to spin'. Cf. also *ōvzui* 'heart' (v. Voc.) and *Izivūk* 'Zebak'. *šab* Gr. 'night' is a lw., but *fərsōn* may be derived from \**fra-xšapā*, with secondary change of *-ōv* > *-ōu*. The etymologies of *šōvōk* 'weeding'; *šoval*, *šāwal* 'road'; *šāvi* 'shirt', and *nīv* 'to bring' are unknown.

*ka'pāl* Gr. 'skull' is a lw. But *api* 'to be lost'; *apanis* 'to lose'; *apaxš* 'to hear'; *apčūn* 'winnowing fork' suggest the possibility of pretonic *-p-* remaining unweakened (cf. *atīy*, § 24), an unstressed vowel having less assimilation force than a stressed one.

26. The regular outcome of *-č-* is *-c-* as in Wkh.<sup>3</sup> The affricate *-č-*

<sup>1</sup> Yaghn. *itk*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 25.

<sup>3</sup> But note Sk. *pīz-* 'to boil'.

evidently had greater power of resistance than *t* and *p*.<sup>1</sup> Examples are: *pac* 'to cook'; *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole'; *cə* 'from';<sup>2</sup> *koci* 'anybody'; *pəneć*, *pumec* 'to dress'. The ancient suffix *-či* appears in *erīc* 'eyebrow'; *šec* 'female'; *nīc* 'nose'; *wōrc* 'quail'; *wānīc* 'female calf'; *žic* 'coal'; *fōc* 'mouth'(?). Cf. also *dēc(āk)* 'skin-bag': Wkh. *dāck*; *mārcik* 'ant': Orm. *marcōi*, etc.; *wəcərin* 'three days ago' (?) < \**upa-čadrūma*?. *wuc* Zar. 'to find room'; *vuc* Gr. 'uncle' and *koc* 'to copulate' are of unknown origin.

A differentiation has taken place in \**šton* 'needle' (< \**š(u)čən*) and in Ishk. *štok* 'girl', Sgl. *šcāk* (< \**šičak* < \**striči* + *akā*).

A suffix *-č*, which occurs in *ifč* 'spindle'; *krīč* 'hut'; *pərnīč* 'threshold'; *wuč* Gr. 'moth'; *walč* 'rafter'; *yarč* 'avalanche'; *yēča* 'nest', and, with sonorization, in *xinj* 'whey'; *jānč* 'woman' and possibly in *žānžok*, etc. 'entrails'. It might, of course, be borrowed from some unknown dialect, but a more probable derivation is from the genitive \**čyāh*, cf. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 25. Cf. also *mič*, *mōč* 'us', § 111.

Gauthiot, MSL, 20, p. 70, derives *kərčūn* (*kurčūn*) 'fowl' < \**kark'in*. More probably it contains a suffix *-čūn* (< \**čyāna*?) cf. *pəčūn* 'bullet'. Note Sgl. *pečuk*, but Ishk. *pučuk* 'worm'.

### Initial Voiced Stops and Affricates.

27. Ir. *g*- is represented by Sgl.—Ishk. *γ*. Thus, e.g. *γōl* 'ear'; *γōndəm* *g*- 'wheat'; *γenōk* 'hair'; *γōrm* 'hot', etc.—*γərđāv*, *g*<sup>o</sup> 'whirlpool' and *γort*- 'to wander about' are of Prs. origin, but have been adapted to Sgl. phonology. Reg. *uγūi* 'cow', cf. § 92. Before *i* ancient *g*- has become *y*- in *yrr*, *yər* 'stone'; *yiw*- 'to spin' (Y *γi(w)*-); *yivdōk* 'thread'. *yōz* 'firewood' is probably borrowed from Wkh. *γūz*, with substitution of *y*- for the foreign sound *γ*.
28. Also Ir. *b*- results in a voiced fricative. Thus, e.g.: *wəð* 'was'; *b-vānd*- 'to bind'; *vūr* 'burden'; *voš* 'rope'; *vəz* 'goat', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Parachi *-č*, IIFL, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> But Sk. *čpōšt* 'behind'.



Most words beginning with *b-* are borrowed, from Prs. or from IA., but some are of unknown origin.

29. Sgl.—Ishk. has no initial *ḍ*.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this sound has never existed in the language, but it seems more probable that Sgl.—Ishk. at one time had *ḍ* in accordance with other E.Ir. languages, and that the voiced stop has been substituted for the fricative through Prs. influence. Cf. Voc. s.v. *šōḍx* 'goat's hair' < \**ḍōḥx* (?).

Examples of *d-* are e.g.: *dōu* 'two'; *dānd* 'tooth'; *dīr* 'far'; *dūr* 'sickle', etc., etc. Sgl. *wuḍəyḍ* 'daughter' either goes back to \**hu-duyḍā*, or to a form with early prothetic vowel.<sup>2</sup>

*lēw* Sk. 'idiot', Gr. 'night-mare'; *leu*, *lēv* Gr. 'stupid' are of Mj. origin. Reg. *tēu* 'brother-in-law' v. Voc. s.v.

30. Ancient *j-* results in *ž*, *j*. Thus: *žan*-, *jan*- 'to kill'; *žōn*-, *jōn* *j-* 'woman';<sup>3</sup> *žəšt* 'big' (if = Skr. *jyestha*). *jih*- 'to flee' is probably a Prs. lw.—*ža* 'before'; *žūōk* 'male markhor' (*ž*-?); *žānžək* 'entrails'; *žwondok* 'hungry' are of unknown or uncertain origin.

The variant *j* for *ž* is probably due to Prs. influence. Ancient *j* became *ž* too early to be dentalized into *j*.<sup>4</sup> Gr. gives *j* in a few words, chiefly lw.s, corresponding to Zeb., Sgl. *j*. Thus, e.g. *jā* 'place', *jubār* 'canal'.

#### Intervocalic Voiced Stops and Affricates.

31. Ancient *-γ-* (*-g-*) is retained. Thus *oyod* 'came';<sup>5</sup> *yəγ*, *fəryəγ* 'yoke'; *-g-* *zūy* 'raven', and, possibly, *Pōroy* 'n. of a village'; *Parōy* 'Kafir'.

Palatalization takes place after \**ai* in *mōi* 'cloud' and after *r* (in secondary contact) in *fəryəm* 'kid'. In *fəryərt*- 'to wander about' the association with *γōrt*- has apparently prevented this development.

<sup>1</sup> Zar.'s *ḍec* = *dēc(āk)* 'goatskin' is scarcely correct.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *wužinjak* 'woman' with \**hu-*, or prothetic vowel.

<sup>4</sup> But Psht. *j* > *j*, *j* > *-ž-* (*-č* > *j*).

<sup>5</sup> But Sgl. *čyḍḍ*, Ishk. *āgad* 'brought' (*āīm*).

*arək* 'eructation' is borrowed from Prs. *ārōq* = *ārōy*.

32. We find Sgl. *-d-* in *mēd* 'waist'; *mōd* 'here'; *wōd* 'there'; *nīd-* 'to sit down'; *pūd* 'foot'; *kādi* 'when'; *koḏos* (*kolos*) 'eleven'; *wuḏid* 'span'; *ziḏ-* 'to flow'; *pəḏin-* 'to kindle'; *iḏ-* 'to arrive' (Orosh. *yad-*); *par-ḏē-* 'to sell'.

Ishk. has *-d-* in *mēd*, etc. Note *pū*, but Zeb., Zar. *pūd*. As to *ma* 'in', see § 107 a. *xair* 'perspiration', given by Gr., is not supported by other sources.

*uštīn* 'hay-stack' is derived from *\*wūš-dān* < *\*wāstra-dāna-*, and *wotuk* 'feast' possibly < *\*waduka-*.

As to the special treatment of *-d-* in *pərnīc* 'threshold'; *prēšt* 'wrist', cf. § 22.

33. Ancient *-b-* occurs as *-v-* in *pöv-* 'to drink'; *nav-* 'to rain'; *xav-* *-b-* 'to descend'; possibly also in *rūv* 'rhubarb'; *γōv* 'cornbin'. Reg. *āwīr-*, *avīr-* 'to find', v. Voc. s.v.

The obl. pl. in *-əf* is derived through *\*əv* from *\*abiš*.

We find *ž* < *-j-* in *žwondok* 'hungry', if < *\*ajwantaka-*.

34. The derivation of *ižim-* 'to bring (a thing)' is not certain, *-j-* but it is probable that the word contains ancient *j-*.—*γēž-* 'to say'; *pižīn* 'clay-pot for milk'; *rižuk* 'male kid', *wuži(r)žīr* 'partridge' are of more or less uncertain origin.—*b'rež* 'birch' is borr. from IA.

### Cerebrals.

35. In words of Ir. origin we find, at any rate with some speakers of Sgl.—Ishk., cerebrals developed from *-š-*, *-št-*, *-rt/d* and *-rn*.<sup>1</sup> As to *rd* for *rd* v. § 13.

Sgl. *čəṭ* 'small'; *kuṭ* 'short'; *māṇḍ-* 'to rub'; *bakeṇḍī* 'calf'; *naṭ* 'play'; *kuṇḍār* 'destroyed' are probably IA lw.s. In *həṭ* 'open' (cf. *haṭe* 'loosened'); *bētūk* 'sheep-skin coat'; *šōṭ-i-pəḏf* 'calf of the leg'; *xaməṇḍak* 'tick'; *paṭək* (Sk. *pātūk*) 'lentils' the origin of the cerebrals is unknown to me.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 41, 64, 70 and 73.



## Surd Fricatives.

36. Ancient *x*- occurs in: *xānd*- 'to laugh'; *xōr* 'ass'; *xāz*- 'to rise'; *xav*- 'to descend'; *xūr*- 'to scratch'. *xōf* 'scum, foam', and *xaš*- 'to pull' have *x*- instead of *k*- also in other Pamir dialects.

Intervocalic *-x-* remains. Thus: *amax* 'we'; *təmux* 'you'; *pēx* *-x-* 'span'; *wēx* 'root'; with an ancient suffix *-xā* also: *alax* 'hill'; *wolox* 'rib'; *sōrox* 'ear of corn'; *šōdax* 'goat's hair'. Other words with *-x-* are: *box*, *bok* 'vomiting'; *mēx* 'table' (?); *šōx* 'hard, locked'; *yarx* 'animal's droppings', and the lw. *malax* 'locust'.

37. It seems probable that the fricative *ð* existed in common Sgl.— *ð* Ishk., and resulted in Sgl. *t*, Ishk. *s*. Thus: Sgl. *təv*-, Ishk. *sav*- 'to burn' (Wkh., Shgh. *ðāw*-); Sgl. *wuter*, Ishk. *wusir* 'ashes' (Orosh. *aðir*, etc.); Sgl. *zōt*, Ishk. *zus* 'son' (NW Turf. *zhg* 'child').

In *yēča* 'nest' (Wkh. *yoð*, etc.); *pəčün* 'bullet' (Shgh. *pāð*) *ð* has been elided before a suffix.—*mēi* 'day' may be derived from *\*māðya*,<sup>1</sup> and the exact form from which *nəmēyð*, *nəmedk* 'salt' is derived, remains uncertain (*\*namadka*?). The relation between *γudārya* Gr. 'dung' and Av. *gūda-* is doubtful.

38. Ancient *f*- before a vowel occurs only in *fī* 'shovel' and *fūk* *f* 'shoulder-blade'. The derivation of *fōc* 'mouth'; *fusek* 'nose', etc. is uncertain.

In intervocalic position we find *īf*- 'to weave'; *kif* 'hump'; *rēf* 'broom';<sup>2</sup> *xof*- 'to cough'; *xōf* 'foam'; *tərūf*- 'to steal'; *puf*- (and *pəb*-, v. § 130 g) 'to blow'.—*kū<sup>h</sup>* 'mountain' is borrowed from Prs.

## Sibilants.

39. Ir. *s* remains unchanged in initial position before a vowel, and *s* between vowels. Thus, e.g.: *sūi* 'hare'; *sōr* 'head'; *səvd* 'shoulder', etc.; *apanis*- 'to lose'; *is*- 'to come'; *dos* 'ten'; *fərnis*- 'to forget'; *f<sup>2</sup>ras*- 'to ask'; *kas*- 'to see'; *nas*- 'to take'; *rus* '30'; *wərvēs* 'fox';

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 59, 91.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. *rūfo*.

*varvəs* 'barley'; *vəsīn* 'whetstone'; *wosōk* 'calf', etc.—*čos-* 'to break wind'; *dəsīn* 'oats'; *wusūk* 'elbow'; *wasē* 'wide'; *wūs-* 'to take away'; *wōsi* 'cotton thread' are of uncertain derivation.

Note the early syncope in *wīšt* '20', cf. § 24.

40. Examples of ancient (Av.) *š-* are *š-*: *šīd-* 'to go', and *šūrm* 'horse-dung'. *š-* also appears in a number of words—apart from Prs. lw.s—most of which are of unknown origin. Cf. Voc. s.vv., and v. also s.v. *xom*.
41. Intervocalic *-š-*, whether derived from IE *\*s* or *\*ks*, results in *l/l*, the intermediate stage no doubt having been *ṣ*. Cf. the parallel development in Sar.

I always heard *l* (< *-š-*) in Ishk. and Zeb., and the same sound is given by Grierson and Sk.<sup>1</sup> The rules determining the distribution of *l* and *l* < *-š-* in Sgl. and in the 'Ishk.' dialect recorded by Zar. are far from being clear. But at any rate the treatment of ancient *\*-š-* differs from that of ancient *\*rt/d*<sup>2</sup> in two respects:

1) In words with ancient *rt/d* Sk. in several cases gives *l*. 2) In such words Zar. and Sgl. always have *l*.<sup>3</sup> In Stein's and my own Ishk. and Zeb. records *rt/d* and *š* have coalesced into *l*.

It is at present impossible to give a satisfactory explanation of the curious fact that in Sgl. (including Zar.'s Ishk.) *l* < *\*š* is liable to change into *l*, while *l* < *\*rt/d* usually remains. Possibly the stage *\*r* was long retained in the case of ancient *\*rt/d*.<sup>4</sup>

Owing to the above-mentioned vacillation *l* has also penetrated into some Prs. lw.s in Sgl. Thus, e.g.: *kalī* 'key'; *šoyol* 'jackal'; *gol* 'dumb'; *čang-ī-l/riṅ* 'hamstring'. It is also heard as a variant of final *r* in *čəful* 'four', *angūl* 'grape', etc.

<sup>1</sup> But note Sk. *yoł* 'ear' besides *yoł*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 70.

<sup>3</sup> Written *r(h)* by Mulla Faiz Bakhsh in *ghār* 'throat'; *kīrh* 'knife'; *var* 'trousers'. But also *ghovar* 'ear'; *khoār* 'six' (*dulmik* 'moon'; *valvāsh* 'trouser-band').

<sup>4</sup> I once noted *mər* 'died'.



The presence of *l* in some of Sk.'s words with ancient *rt/d* is curious. Either Sk. has happened to get hold of a speaker of Ishk., whose pronunciation was more archaic than that of other informants; or his informant came from a village between Ishkashim and Sanglech.

Examples of *l/l* < *-š-* are: Sgl. *γōl* (Zar. *l*, Sk. *l/l*, Ishk. *l*) 'ear'; *xuāl* (Zar., Sk., Ishk. *l*) 'six'; *vrēl-* (Zar., Ishk. *l*) 'to break'; *γōlāk* 'plough-handle'; *āluzd* (Sk., Gr. *l*) 'to-morrow'; *kāl-* (Zar. *l*, Sk. *l*) 'to kill'; *mīlōst* (Zar. *l*, Gr. *l*) 'sat down'. With *l* in all dialects: *mēl* 'sheep';<sup>1</sup> *\*spōl* 'louse'; *tūl-* 'to shave'; *wuznēl* 'daughter-in-law'; *wulmēk* 'moon'.<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Zar. *čōl* 'multicoloured';<sup>3</sup> *numul-* 'to shut the eyes'; Gr. *ambol* 'moraine' (Mj. *ābūya*); *zōl* 'sleeve' (Shgh. *zuž*). If *šlōk* 'wet' is derived from *\*ašusaka-*, the sonorization of *-š-* is later than the loss of initial *a-*.

Words of unknown origin containing *-l-* are, e.g.: *wulo* 'before'; *wulākī* 'first'; *wulyēka* 'alone'; *flāvuk* 'breakfast'.

Internal *š* occurs in lws (*kašviš* 'armpit';<sup>4</sup> *kərvišik* 'lizard'; *nīšorm* 'shady side of a valley'), onomatopoeics (*tʳiš-* 'to sneeze'), and in words with original *\*(x)šy* (*dēš-* 'to milk').<sup>5</sup>

42. Ir. *z* remains unchanged. Thus, e.g.: *zəmūd* 'son-in-law'; *zāl z* 'yellow'; *zūng* 'knee', etc.; and *az* 'I'; *araz-* 'to fly'; *pəzin-* 'to understand'; *vəzōk* 'fat'; *vəraz* 'above'; *vəz* 'goat'; *waz-* 'to fall'; *xāz-* 'to rise'; *yōz* 'firewood'.

Reg. *zōl* Zar. 'sleeve' (< *\*zuša-* < *\*duša-*?), and *zenz-* 'to seize, lift', v. Voc. s.vv.

The etymologies of *jōz* 'mosquito', *vəzōk* 'branch' are unknown.

Reg. Sgl. s, p *wəniž-*, Sgl. is *wəniy-* 'to walk about', v. § 7.

<sup>1</sup> *mai* Zb., given as a side-form of *mēl*, is prob. a Wkh. word.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 55.

<sup>3</sup> Lw. from Shgh., with *l* < *ʃ*?

<sup>4</sup> But Wkh. *kalbun* from Ishk.?

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 55.

## Nasals.

43. Ir. antevocalic *m*-, *n*-, and intervocalic *-m*-, *-n*- remain unchanged. *m*, *n*

Examples of *m*-, *n*- are: *mōi* 'cloud'; *mēd* 'waist'; *māl* 'husband'; *mət* 'fist'; *nou* 'nine'; *nīc* 'nose'; *nīd*- 'to sit down', etc.

Examples of *-m*-, *-n*- are: *nīm* 'name'; *mōd* 'here' (\**imadā*); *fəryəm* 'kid'; *nān* 'mother'; *vīn* 'beard'; *ken*- 'to do'; *pədin*- 'to light a fire'; *potūn* 'thigh'; *pəzīn*- 'to understand'; *-en* suffix of the obl. sg. In Sgl. *pənec*- 'to dress' (Ishk. *pumec*-) *n* is probably due to dissimilation, cf. Shgh., etc. *penij*-. Final *-n* is occasionally dropped in *xā(n)* 'house'.—Note *n* in Sgl. *špōn/n* 'iron'; *əskoṇok* 'puppy'.

As for the verbal suffixes 1 sg. *-em*, *-en*, 1 pl. *-un*, *-um*, cf. § 132.

## Liquids.

44. Examples of initial *r*- are: *rēf* 'broom'; *rēṇ* 'ghee'; *rōsk* 'truth'; *r* *rūv* 'rhubarb'; *rīv*-(*lav*) 'lip'.

Intervocalic *r*- occurs in: *mur*- 'to die'; *mūr* 'centipede'; *vūr* 'rain'; *par-dē*- 'to sell'; *sōr* 'head'; *turkī* 'darkness'; *tar* 'into'; *worok* 'male lamb'; *xōr* 'ass'.

*š'nāi* 'fire' is derived through \**ršnāi* from *rəšnāi* (v. Voc.), with a metathesis of *ru*- similar to that found in *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole'; *v/wərvēs* 'fox'.

Apart from the cases mentioned §§ 41 and 70, *l* occurs only in *l* lw.s, or in words of uncertain origin. *vəlēl*- is dissimilated from *vrel*- 'to break'. As for *avzāl* 'headstall of a horse', v. Voc. s.v.

## Glottal.

45. Initial *h*- is lost as in most other E.Ir. dialects. Thus, e.g.: *ōvδ* *h*- 'seven'; *andərv*- 'to sew'; *ambol* 'moraine' (\**ham*-), and, possibly, *uyūi* 'cow'; *wudəyδ* 'daughter' (\**hu*-?).<sup>1</sup> In Prs. lw.s *h* is usually retained, but a glance at the Voc. will show that it is a very

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 92.



unstable sound. Cf., e.g.: *ammām* 'bath'; *aiwān* 'animal'; *amīn* 'this'. Evidently *h* in Sgl.—Ishk. is not a real phoneme, but a more or less foreign ornament devoid of any phonological significance.<sup>1</sup> In (*h*)ot 'eight' *h* has been introduced from Prs.

No trace of intervocalic *-h-* remains. Cf., e.g.: *ormōzd*, *rēmuz* *-h-* (anc. lw.?) 'sun'; *nīc* 'nose' (\**nāhačī*); *nīd-* 'to sit down'; *sūi* 'hare'; *vīn* 'beard' (\**upāhana-*, or \**upāna-*?); *wul-mēk* 'moon'; *wēn* 'blood'; *xūy-* 'to thresh'; *yəxōai* 'sister'; *ken-i* 'thou dost', etc. Cf. also *kō* 'whom' < *kahya*.

*jh-* 'to flee'; *kū<sup>h</sup>* 'mountain'; *rā<sup>h</sup>* 'road' are Prs. lw.s. *kū*, *rā*, *mā* 'month'; *pādšā* 'king', etc. may have lost their *h* already in the Prs. dialect from which Sgl. has borrowed these words.

#### Semivowels.

46. Initial *w-* is preserved as a sound closely resembling Engl. *w* in *w-* a great number of words, e.g.: *wēd* 'willow'; *wīn-* 'to see'; *wōrk*, *wurk* 'wolf', etc., v. Voc.—*īf-* 'to weave' is derived through \*(*w*)ūf- from \**wāf-*; cf. Sk., Gr. *urk* 'wolf'.

Ancient intervocalic *-w-* occurs in: *wa* (*ō*, *āū*) 'that'; *wōd* 'there'; *-w-* *wōk* 'one';<sup>2</sup> *nou*, *naw* 'nine'; *nowədos* 'nineteen'; *nəwōk*, *nōu* 'mill-race'; *nəwōk* 'new'; *you* 'grain'; *tēu* 'husband's brother'; *tēw-* 'to stir'. In unstressed position we find *tō* 'thy', etc.

Reg. *awīr-*, *avīr-* 'to bring', v. Voc.—The derivation of *sāw-* Zar. 'to chew' is unknown, and *ākik* 'egg' contains ancient \**āwya-*.

47. Ancient *y-* is retained in: *you* 'grain'; *yəy* 'yoke'; *yūd* 'husband's y brother's wife'. Reg. *y-* < *g-*, v. § 27.

Intervocalic *-y-* remains in present stems, such as *dāy-* 'to give'; *zenēy-* 'to wash'; *api-*, *apay-* 'to be lost'. It forms a diphthong together with the preceding vowel in *rōi* 'three'; *pōi* 'thick milk', cf. *-ou* < *-aw-*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 80.

<sup>2</sup> But *košos* 'eleven' with complete loss of \**aiwa-*.

*Prothetic y- and w-.*

48. Prothetic *y-* is found not only in *yōtuk* 'bridge',<sup>1</sup> but also in *y-  
yūn-* 'to grind'; *yūnek* 'marten'; *yəxōai* 'sister'; *yēča* 'nest', and,  
possibly, in *(y)ārē* 'avalanche'; *yarx* 'animal's droppings'.

Yet it is much less common than prothetic *w-*, of which numerous *w-*  
examples will be found in the Voc.

Prothetic *w-* appears chiefly before *u* (or *ə < u*), e.g. in: *wudəyδ*  
'daughter'; *wulōk* 'flour'; *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole'; *wuždān*, *ūždān* 'millet';  
(*w*)*usūk* 'elbow', etc. But note, on the one hand, Ishk. *wastuk*  
'bone' (Sgl. *ostōk*), and, on the other, *yūn-*, *yūnek* mentioned above,  
with prothesis of *y-* before the change of *\*ā*, *\*ō* to *u*.

The tendency is the same as in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh., but it has  
developed in an independent manner in each dialect. In some of  
the words mentioned above the initial *\*u-* is of secondary origin  
(e.g. in *wulōk*, *wurcūn*).

There are several words of uncertain origin beginning with *wu-*.  
Here *w-* may, or may not, be prothetic. Such words are, e.g.:  
*wudīl* 'dung' (*\*wi-?*); *wulo* 'before'; *wurmēk* 'poplar', etc.

*Groups of Consonants.**First Component an Affricate.*

49. If we are to judge from *fəris-* 'to remain'  $< *fra-ričya-$  and *mus čy*  
Gr. 'clothes'  $< *mučya-(?)$ , the affricate has lost its occlusion be-  
fore *y* in *cy < čy*. In that case *mōč*, *mič* 'us'<sup>2</sup> must be derived  
from *\*ahmačiya-*.

*First Component a Voiced Stop.*

50. We are not able to decide whether *yδ*, e.g. in *wudəyδ* 'daughter', *gd*  
goes back to *gd* (*yδ*), or to *xt* any more than in the case of the  
corresponding words in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grierson, § 19.

<sup>2</sup> Reduced to *məš*, *miš* before a consonant.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 87.



No example is available of ancient *gr* or initial *gn*, but we find *gn*-*gn*- in *rēy*<sup>(n)</sup> 'ghee'.

51. Ancient *dk* appears in *nāmedk* 'salt' < *nāmaḍka*-, with transposition *dk* into a more usual group in *nāmēyḍ/d*, and, with dissimilation of the first of two fricatives, in Sk. *namur/lyāk*.

Ancient *dr*- occurs in *derāy*- 'to reap'; *darnāk* 'bow-string', *dr* 'arrow' (?), and, possibly, in *daram* 'pine-tree'.

In *cām-mārdikig* 'pupil of the eye', which is probably an ancient lw., *rd* goes back to *-dr*.

52. In *vōr* 'door'; *vəzōk* 'fat, thick' we find a development of *dw*- *dw* corresponding to that of Psht, but differing from that of the surrounding dialects: Yd.—Mj. *p*v-, Wkh. *b*-, Shgh. *d*<sup>e</sup>v-. The common starting-point, however, must have been \**ḍv*-.<sup>1</sup>

*dəvīn*- 'to winnow' may have been borrowed from Shgh. *devīn*-. It is at any rate difficult to detect any reason for a different treatment of *dw*- in this word. *dōu* 'two' is derived from \**duwāu*-, cf. Y *lo*<sup>h</sup>, etc., Or. *ḍau*.

The development of *-dy*- is shown by *mēḍ* 'waist' and *zīḍ*- 'to *dy* flow' < \**γzadya*-.

53. Ir. *br*- results in *v*<sup>(2)</sup>*r*- in *v*<sup>(2)</sup>*rīc* 'eyebrow', *v*<sup>(2)</sup>*rūd* 'brother';<sup>2</sup> *vrēl*- *br* (and *v*<sup>l</sup>*lēl*-) 'to break', *v*<sup>r</sup>*rāz* 'above' < \**barz*-.—Sgl. *arvēšum* 'silk' is a lw., cf. Ishk. (*a*)*brēšum*.

#### First Component a Surd Fricative.

54. In Sgl. *xt* and *ft* develop into *γḍ*, *vḍ*,<sup>3</sup> and do not remain, through preventive differentiation, at the stage *-γd*, (*-id*) and *-vd* found in Yd.—Mj., Wkh. and Shgh.<sup>4</sup> Ishk. *γd*, *vd* are not more archaic forms, but are due to the general change of *ḍ* into *d* in this dialect.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding *woxs*, *vuxs* 'snake' v. Voc.

<sup>2</sup> Sk. and Gr. Zeb. give the scarcely correct form *wa*(*a*)*rūd*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj., § 90 sq.

<sup>4</sup> I heard, however, *ūvḍ* 'seven', etc., from one Shgh. informant.

Examples of ancient *xt* are: *tōyd* Gr. 'he went'; *atōyd* (Sgl., with *xt* metathesis *axtəd*) 'he entered'; *dəyd* 'milked'; *pənayd* 'dressed'; *vāyd* Gr. 'nightmare'; *zuyd* 'took' (*zənz-*); probably also *wudəyd* 'daughter'.<sup>1</sup>

Ancient *ft* > *vδ/d* occurs in: *ōvd* 'seven'; *səvd* 'shoulder'; *okovd* *ft* 'boot'; *yevd* 'spun'; *andərvd* 'sewed'; *nīvd* 'brought'; *xavd* 'descended'; *belavəd*, *belavd* 'said'; *pōvd* 'drank'. This last form is of secondary origin, and the same may be the case with some of the other preterites of verbs in *-v-*.

Reg. *ift* 'wove'; *təδ* 'burnt', etc., v. § 138, IV.

55. Ancient *xs* is retained in *apaxs-* 'to hear' (\**apa-uxs-*), with the *xs* secondary forms *apaxš-* and *apux-*. Cf. also Voc. s.vv. *šəxs-* 'to cross' and *wəxs* 'snake'.

*šīd-*, *šin* 'to weep' (: Yd. *xšī-*) is a fairly certain example of the *xš* transition of Ir. *xš* > *š-*. Cf. also *šuvīn* Gr. 'cradle', if connected with Av. *xšaob-*. In internal position we find *fərsōu* 'night' < \**fra-xšapā-*, and *dēš-* 'to milk' < \**dau-xšya-* (?).

*xuāl*, etc. 'six' goes back to \**xwaša* < \**xšwaša*. Possibly also *xum* 'milk' < \**x(š)waudman-* < *xšaodman-* + *xšvīpta-*.

The group *xšm* was reduced to *šm* at an early date, \**u(x)š-mahya-ka-* *xšm*, *xšn* resulting in *wulmēk* 'moon'. *šənāi*, *rəšnāi* 'fire' is an early lw.

56. The only possible, but very doubtful example of Ir. *-fs-* is *mis-fs* 'to sleep', if < \**ham-(h)ufsa-*.

In the group *fš* followed by another consonant *f* is lost: \**škōd fš* 'cattle-shed' < \**fšu-kata-*; *št'nōk* 'new-born kid' < \**fštanya-ka-* (?), and in *pēštən* 'udder' < \**paya-fštana-*. But it remains, or is transposed, in Sgl. *āfšūn*, Ishk. *šfūn*, etc. 'comb': Yd. *šfīn*.

57. Initial *xr-* occurs, with svarabhakti vowel, in *xərīd* 'bought' *xr* (pres. *xərn-*, with metathesis),<sup>2</sup> cf. also *xrēseg* n. of a mammal. Intervocalic *xr* is subject to metathesis. Thus: *carx* 'spinning wheel'; *sərx* 'red'; *narxōk* 'nail'.

<sup>1</sup> Reg. *apaxt* 'learned'; Ishk. *puməxt* 'dressed'; Zar. *dēšt* 'milked', etc., cf. § 138, V, b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Saka *ggāndā* < \**xṛnati*, Bailey, BSOS, IX, 71. (Corr. note).



Similarly *fr* in: *frī* 'good'; *fəryərt* 'to wander about'; *fʳōs* 'to ask'; *fərnīs* 'to forget' etc. (v. Voc.); but *warf* 'snow'.

In *fai* 'much, very' *r* appears to have been lost in unstressed position.

Ancient *θr*, however, has been reduced to *\*hr* and further to *r* *θr* in all positions. Thus: *rōi* 'three'<sup>1</sup> *rus* 'thirty'; *dūr* 'sickle'; *turkī* 'darkness'; *wə-cərin/m* 'three days ago'.

In *təraf*, *θriif* 'to steal' *tr* is due to a secondary development (v. Voc. s.v.); *θriš* 'to sneeze' is an onomatopoeitic; and *trās* 'to fear' is either transposed from *tars*-, or of IA origin.

58. Ir. *x* is sonorized before *m* in *θēym* 'seed', just as is the case in *xm*, *xn* the neighbouring dialects. But *xn* apparently resulted in *n* in *fʳīn-d* 'remained' < *\*fra-rizna*-.

The only certain example of Ir. *fn* is *xōdm* 'dream', regarding *fn* which cf. Benveniste, BSL, 30, 75 sq.—*mīn(d)* 'slept' (< *\*ham-(h)ufn*?) Ir. may have been influenced by *fʳīnd* 'tired'.

59. Ir. *xw* (< *hw* and Indo-Ir. *\*kw*) is retained in *xwār* 'to eat'; cf. *yəxōai* *xw* 'sister'; *xuāl* 'six'<sup>2</sup>. But *w* is lost before a rounded vowel: *xuḍāri* 'mill'; *xōdm* 'dream'; *x(w)ōl* 'ate'; Ishk. *xōl* 'six'; *xūy* 'to thresh'; cf. also *pux* 'cooked'. It is not clear why *w* should have been dropped in *xē* 'own' (unstressed?), and *xīr* Zar. 'sister's son'.

Ir. *θw* probably became *θf*, cf. the development of *θw* > *\*θv*. *θw* *θf* is retained in Sgl. is. *pəθf*, but Sgl. p. *pəθf*, Ishk. *putf*, *pudf* 'meat' < *\*piθw*-. *\*cəθfōr* 'four' was simplified into *c(ə)fūr*, and *\*θfak* 'thee' was differentiated into *θfak* in Sgl., but resulted in Ishk. *fak*. It is, however, also possible to assume that *θw* regularly became *f* (as in *cəfūr*, *fak*), that *θfak* has got its *t*-secondarily from *tu*, and that *pəθf*, etc. goes back to *\*piθ<sup>u</sup>f* < *\*pituθwa*-.

The only possible example of *θy* is *mēi* 'day' < *\*māhy* *θy* < *\*māθya*-.

<sup>1</sup> Mulla Faiz Bakhsh's *trāi* can scarcely be correct.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 55.

## First Component a Sibilant.

60. Initial *sk-* occurs only in *skoṇok*, *s'kōnūk* 'puppy', and in the *sk* place-name (*I*)*skitūl*. The tendency towards the development of a short vowel is shared also by the groups *st* and *sp*.

In *pāsk* 'cow-hide' and *rōsk* 'truth' *sk* goes back to *\*st(a)k*.

We find Sgl. *stīn*, Sk. *stīn*, Ishk. *ustun* (lw.?) 'post', but, with a *st* full vowel, Sgl. *ust'rūk*, *ast-*, *ist-*, Sk., Gr. *struk* 'star'; Sgl. *astar-*, Ishk. *sitar-*, *s'tar-* 'to sweep'.

Internal *st* is retained. Thus, e.g.: *ast* 'is'; *ast-*, *ust-* 'to stand up'; *ostōk* 'bone'; *āstay-* 'to send'; *dōst* 'hand'; *korost* 'skin'; *nilōst* 'sat down'; *pōstāk* 'bark'; *vōst* 'bound'; *zūst* 'flowed, ran'; *xēste* 'bread', etc. In the lw. *bīlis* 'span' the loss of the *t* may belong to the Prs. dialect from which the word has been borrowed.

*wīšt* 'twenty' is derived from *\*wīst'(i) < \*wīsatī*,<sup>1</sup> and *prēšt* Gr. 'wrist' possibly from *\*pr(ḍ)as't'(i) < \*pari-dastya*. It seems doubtful whether *pēštōn* 'udder' is derived, with palatalization, from *\*payah-stanya* (cf. Yd. *pistān*), or from *\*fētanya*—*š'tur* Gr. 'calf', which Gr. derives from *staora-*, must be a sandhi form.

61. Initial *sp-* appears with or without a vowel in Sgl. *spēd* 'white'; *sp* Sgl. *(s)spəl*, Ishk. *s(ʷ)pul* 'louse'; Sgl. *spār*, Ishk. *(w)uspīr* 'plough'; Sgl. *spār-* 'to entrust'. In the lw. *sīpārz* 'spleen' Sgl., too, has the vowel inserted between *s* and *p* in the Modern Prs. manner.

Sgl. *špōn*, Ishk. *špən*, etc. 'iron' goes back to *\*ispōn*, with palatalization of *s* after the unexplained *i*.

The fate of Ir *sč* is uncertain. *pasī*, *pāsā(d)* 'after(wards)' is probably borrowed from, or influenced by, Prs. But cf. *čə-pōšt* Sk 'backwards, behind' (< *\*pōčt*?), Sgl. *pōčwaxšt* 'last', and *wuč* Zar. 'high', which seem to indicate that in *sč* the palatal character of the *č* was retained through preventive differentiation, with subsequent loss of the *s*.<sup>2</sup> Just as in Yd.—Mj. and in Shgh. *sn* is sonorized

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Par. *γūšt*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 56.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *č > c*, § 19.



into *zn*: *zenē* 'to wash'; *wuznēl* 'daughter-in-law'; possibly also *wūznuk* Zar. 'inflated goat-skin'.

62. Ir. *sr* and *str* are assimilated into *š*, just as in the neighbouring *sr, str* languages. Thus, with *\*sr*: *āšik* 'tear'; *šōu* 'horn'; *šen* 'podex'; *xaš* 'mother-in-law'; *šud* Gr. 'heard'. With *\*str*: *šec* 'female' *əščāk* 'girl' (*\*stri-či + ākā*); *voš* 'rope'; *wūš* 'straw'; *uštīn* 'hay-stack'.

Palatalization of *sy* appears to have taken place in *təš* Sk (= Wkh.) *sy* 'empty'. But note *apanis* 'to lose'; *sūyūk* 'spleen' (*\*syāwaka-? ?*). *šūi* 'black' presents the same difficulties as Wkh. *šiu*, Khow. lw. *šā*.

63. *moyz* 'marrow' and *asta-mayzək* 'upper arm' are probably lw's, or *zg* influenced by Prs. *mayz*. *zīd* 'to flow' is derived through *\*zyīd* < *\*zyīd* < *\*zyādyā* with palatalization of *γ* before *i*.<sup>1</sup> The preterite *zūst* has been influenced by the present. The derivation of *zγōlog* 'humble bee' is unknown (*\*uz-gartaka-?*).

Ir. *zd* remains in Sgl. *ōrmōzd*, Ishk. *rēmuz(d)* 'sun'. But note the *zd* desonorization in *wōst* 'fat', cf. also Wkh. *wāst*. — The preterites *yuzd* and *kōzd* (*yuz* 'to run', *koc* 'to copulate') are secondary formations. — Sk. gives *zdār* 'to sweep' apparently with *st* > *zd* in unknown conditions, just as in Sar.

*āluzd* 'the day before yesterday' and *pāruzd* 'yesterday' contain *zn* a base *\*azna*, cf. Av. *azan*, *asn* 'day'. And *vōzd* Zar. 'pillow' must be derived from *\*vōzn* < *\*vōrzn* < *\*barzn*. But *zn* < *sn* did not share this development, and *rz + n* in secondary contact is subject to segmentation in *wuždān*, etc. 'millet' < *\*u(r)ždn* < *\*hārzana*.

The derivation of *rēž* Gr. 'platform for sleeping', and *rižuk* 'male *zy* kid, one year old' (cf. *rizyāk* 'small') from forms in *zy* is uncertain.

64. A characteristic feature of Sgl.—Ishk. is the change of *št* into *t*, *t*. *št* This development separates Sgl.—Ishk. both from Yd.—Mj. and from the Shgh. group.<sup>2</sup> Both Sgl.—Ishk. *t* and Yd.—Mj. *šč*, *šky* presuppose an earlier stage *\*št*, with 'cerebral' *t*.

<sup>1</sup> See § 27.

<sup>2</sup> Shgh. *mut* 'fist' is a lw. from Ishk.

On the other hand Sgl.—Ishk. *t*, *t* < *št* reminds us of Psht. *t* (< \**t*?), e.g. in *atə* 'eight'. But it is improbable that there is any direct connection between the developments in Sgl.—Ishk. and in Psht. It might be natural to think of IA influence being responsible for the change of *št* into a cerebral in an Ir. border dialect, but the neighbouring IA language, Khovar, retains *št* unchanged. An early adoption of lw's containing cerebrals may, however, have facilitated the development in Sgl.—Ishk., as well as in Psht.

It is a curious fact that Ishk., which is in most respect less archaic and more influenced by Prs. than Sgl., has retained the *t* in some words in which Sgl. has changed it further into *t*. Thus, Ishk. *ingit* 'finger'; *at* 'eight'; *mut* 'fist' *šet* 'dust'; *wat* 'fell', and Gr. Zeb. *ket* 'killed', but Sgl. *ingit*; (*hot*; *mət*; *wat*, *kut*).<sup>1</sup>

Other examples of *t*, *t* < *št* are: *put* 'parched grain'; *potūn* 'thigh', and the preterites *arūt* 'ran', etc., cf. § 138, III.

Some verbs have secondary preterites in *št* (cf. l.c.), and *št* appears also in lw's, e.g. in *navišt* 'wrote'; *angišt* 'coal'; *rašt* 'dawn'; *šter* 'camel', and through secondary development of other groups, cf. *št'nōk* 'new-born kid' (\**štanyaka*-); *štən* 'needle' (\**sučani*-); *uštīn* 'hay-stack' (\**vastra-dāna*), etc. The origin of *yušt* 'fur-coat' and *wəšt* 'juniper' is unknown.

It is possible that *fəryəšt* 'walked about' is developed regularly *ršt* from \**frayəršt* < \**fra-grsta*, but more probably *fəryərt* is an early lw.

65. The only example of *šp* (< *pš* < *fš*?) is *trišp* Sk. 'sour milk', cf. *šp* *terəš* 'sour', *awišp* 'ploughpole' (Wkh. *wəšp*, Y *āwusp*) is of unknown origin.

Ir. *šm* is assimilated into *m* as in Shgh., Yd.—Mj., etc. Thus: *šm* *cām* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool'; *təmux* 'you'.

No genuine word with ancient *šn* occurs. *pāšnē* 'heel' and *šənāi*, *šn* etc. 'fire'<sup>2</sup> are borrowed from Prs.

<sup>1</sup> In lw.s we find, however, cerebrals also in Sgl.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. under *xšn*.



*žd* occurs only in *dužd* Gr. 'thief' (Sgl. *dəzd* from Prs.), and in the secondary preterites *γēžd* 'said' and *pēžd* 'wrapped up'; cf. *wənižd* 'went round'.

*First Component a Nasal.*

66. Surd stops preceded by a nasal are sonorized, just as in intervocalic position.

We might expect *ŋk* to remain,<sup>1</sup> but there is no instance of ancient *ŋk* in a genuine Sgl.—Ishk. word. *Song* 'stone' and *angur* 'grape' are Prs. lw.s, and in *zūng* 'knee' the contact is secondary.

Examples of ancient *nt* are: *dānd* (-*nt*, -*n<sup>d</sup>*, -*n*) 'tooth'; *γōndəm* *nt* 'wheat'; *dunda* 'so much'; *žwondok* 'hungry' (an ancient pres. ptc. ?); *awand*, etc. 'they'<sup>2</sup>. *kandāk* 'thorn' may be an IA lw., and *vōnd* 'stick', *wōnt* 'calf of the leg' are of unknown origin.

We find *nd* also in secondary past stems of the type *wind/t* 'saw'; *kōnd* 'dug'; *f'rind* 'left behind'. Possibly *punuk* 'pass' < \**pun(t)k* < \**pantaka*.

In the unstressed ending 3 pl. -*ūn* final -*d* has been dropped.

Ishk. *ambol* 'moraine' probably contains ancient *mp*, v. Voc. s.v. *mp*

67. Ir. *ng* is preserved in *ingit* 'finger'; *ingitok* 'finger-ring'. With *rəg* reduction in final position we find *boŋ(g)* 'crowing'. The origin of *ingē* 'now, then' is unknown.

Ir. *nd* remains. Thus: *vānd-* 'to bind'; *xānd-* 'to laugh'; *andərv-* *nd* 'to sew'. Reg. *čuwēn(d)* 'apricot' and *mēnd* (*mēl*) 'apple' cf. § 73. Also *soyond* 'hair, curl' may have secondary *d*.

Reg. *nd* v. § 35.

Ir. *mb* remains. Thus: *dəmb-* 'to card'; *dəmb* 'tail'; *sumb* 'hoof' *bm* (lw. ?); *sumbók* 'hole'; *namb* 'wet'. *gāzdəmb*, *goždum* 'scorpion' is a lw. (borrowed twice). Ishk. *ambi* 'cave' is of unknown origin, and *sāmb-* 'to smear' has no exact parallel in other dialects. — The lw. *sambaka* 'tortoise' (< *sangbaqa*) has *mb* also in Tajiki.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 116.

68. The only certain example of Ir. *nč* is *pōnz*, *pōnj*, *pon's.*, etc. 'five'; *nč/j* *pōnzədos* 'fifteen'. The etymology of *zenz* 'seize' is uncertain. — In *jōnj*, etc. 'woman' there is secondary contact.

In lw.s we find *nj*. Thus: *borenj* 'rice', *Injigān* 'Lutkuh'. Reg. *Mandezān* 'Munjan' cf. BSOS, VI 439.

A possible example of Ir. *nm* is *šūrm* 'dung' < \**šānm* < *šām(a)n*.

#### First Component a Liquid.

69. We might expect *k* to remain after *r*, just as it does after a vowel. *rk* And in fact we find this to be the case in *wərk* 'wolf', and, with secondary contact, in *durk* 'stick'; *nārk* 'male'; *pōrk* 'mouse'; *park* 'ashes'; *turki* 'darkness'. The etymology of *karksang* 'handmill' is unknown.

On the other hand *k* has become voiced and palatalized in *ari* 'work' < \**ary* < \**arg*' < \**ark*; *koryos* 'vulture'; *xudāri* 'water-mill'; cf. *kurčūn* 'fowl' < \**kury* or \**kurk* + \**čūn*.

*wərk* can scarcely be a lw.<sup>1</sup> But it is possible that *k* remained after vocalic *r*, but not after *ar*. This would presuppose a very early date for the change of *ark* > *arg*'. On the other hand *-rak*, *-ruk* would regularly result in *-rk*, and *xudāri* might be borrowed from an early Shgh. \**x<sup>w</sup>adārg*' (from which Shgh. *xedārj*). It is very improbable that also *koryos* and *ari* are early lw.s from Shgh.

A similar difficulty arises with regard to the development of *rg*. *rg* *məryōk* 'sparrow' goes back to a form in *r*, cf. *wərk*, but *mēry* 'meadow' appears to be derived from \**margyā*. There is no example of ancient *rg* resulting in *ry/i*, but note *fəryəm* 'female kid' < \**faryim* (?) < \**frayamī*.

*čiryazek* 'spark' is not a genuine Sgl. word (v. Voc. s.v.), and *dargāv* 'valley' is also probably a lw.

70. In contradistinction to all other Pamir dialects, but in accordance *rt* with Psht., Par., etc., Sgl.—Ishk. has obliterated the difference between

<sup>1</sup> Wkh. has *šapt*. But Burnshaski *urk* may have been borrowed from early Wkh. \*(*w*)*urk*, and not from the more remote Ishk.



ancient *rt* and *rd*, both groups resulting in *l/l*.<sup>1</sup> There is evidently some connection between this development and the fact that both *-t-* and *-d-* result in Sgl.—Ishk. *ḍ/d*. Ir. *rt* and *rd* coalesced in *\*rḍ/d*, which changed further into *\*r*, from which ultimately *l/l*. Regarding the distinction between *l* and *l* see above § 41.<sup>2</sup>

Examples of Ir. *rt* are: Sgl., Sk. *γāl*, etc., MFB *γār*, Ishk., Zeb. Gr. *γōl*, etc. 'throat'; Sgl. *kīl*, MFB *kirh*, Ishk., Sk. Gr. *kīl*, etc. 'knife'; Sgl. *kuḷ*,<sup>3</sup> Ishk., Sk., Gr. *kuḷ*, etc. 'did'; Sgl., Sk. *māl(ōk)*, Ishk., Gr. *mōluk* 'husband'; Sgl., Zar. *māl*, Sk. *māld*, Gr. (Zb.) *mul* 'died'; Sgl., Zar. *wuḍil*, etc. 'dung' (< *\*drti-* ?); Sgl. Zar. *wāl*<sup>4</sup> 'trousers'; Sgl. *wāl* 'roof-beam';<sup>5</sup> Sgl. *wōlk*, Zeb. *wolk* 'kidney';<sup>6</sup> Sgl., Zar. *wūlōk*, etc., Sk., Gr. *wūlāk*, etc. 'flour'; Sgl. *wōl*, Gr. *avul*, etc., Ishk., Sk. *āwuld*, etc. 'found' (*āwir-*); Sgl., Zar. *x(w)ōl*, etc. Ishk., Sk. *xūl* 'ate'; Sgl. *zāl* (Wkh. lw. *zōl*) 'yellow', with secondary *rt*.

The etymology of Sgl. *čumōl* 'basket' is unknown, but it corresponds to Shgh.—Orosh. forms with ancient *rt*. Sgl. *gōl*, Gr. *gūl* 'collected', etc., is an ancient lw. from Prs., while Sk. *dar(d)* 'pain' and *jucān-maydī* 'courage' are recent borrowings.

In *wōrc* (Wkh. *wōlc*) 'quail' < *\*wartiçī* there was an early elision of *i*, and *\*wartc* resulted in *wōrc*. Reg. *spārd* 'entrusted' (*spār-*), kurt 'ploughed' (*kir-*), etc. cf. § 138, I, II a. *γort-*, and *foryort-* 'to walk about' appear to be very early lws from Middle Prs. *gart-*.

Examples of *rd* are: Sgl. *asāl* 'this year'; *pōrsāl*, Sk. *pōrsōl* 'last' *rd*

<sup>1</sup> Prs. *rd*: *l*; Shgh. group *d/g*: *rḍ*; Wkh. *rt*: *rḍ*; Yd.—Mj. *r/r*: *l*; but Paht., Par. *r*: *r*.

<sup>2</sup> As *-š-* and *-rt/d-* have not yet coalesced completely in Sgl.—Ishk., we are not entitled to assume that *rt/d* ever passed through the stage *\*ṛ*. Wkh. *kuḷ* 'knife' may have been borrowed from early Ishk. with substitution of *ṛ* for *r*.

<sup>3</sup> Sgl. p. also *kuḷ*, *kud*, pf. *kuḍ*, probably because this word was frequently unstressed. Cf. Yghn. *ikta*, Chr. Sogd. *qt*.

<sup>4</sup> Sgl. p. 1.2 *wāl*, probably in order to distinguish this word from *wāl* 'roof-beam'. Cf. also *wāl-wōš*, etc. 'trouser-string'.

<sup>5</sup> But diminutive *wālē* 'rafter', with *lē* > *lō*?

<sup>6</sup> Wkh. *wōlk* from an early Ishk. form?

year';<sup>1</sup> Sgl. *wołox* 'rib', Sk. *dlax*, Gr. *alax* 'hill' (< 'side, flank'?). A derivation of *al-* 'to stand', Sk. *āl-* 'to wait'<sup>2</sup> from *aradwa-* is improbable. — *gōla* 'bread' may be an ancient lw., cf. Shgh. *garḍa*.

71. Ir. *rp* occurs perhaps in Sgl. *vorvəs*, Sk. *urvəs*, etc. 'barley', and *rp* in *kərvišik* 'lizard', if this is not an early lw.

The only example of *rb* is *warv-* 'to boil' < *\*warb-* (Par. *yarw-*, *rb* etc.), with early metathesis from *\*barw-*.

72. There is no certain example of the development of Ir. *rs*, but *rs* there is a possibility of *šōḍx* 'goat's hair' being derived through *\*ḍōšx* < *\*dorsx*, cf. Sar. *dors*, etc.

Nor do we find ancient *rš* in any Sgl.—Ishk. word, except perhaps in *xāš-* 'to pul'.

*andarz-* 'to sew' (v. s.v. *anderv-*) is a doubtful form, and in *vorāz rz* 'above', etc. (< *\*βarz-*) an early metathesis has taken place. Regarding Zar. *vōzd* 'pillow' < *\*βarzn-* cf. § 63. The regular outcome of intervocalic *rz* appears to have been *ž*. Thus, Sgl. *vəžduk* (Sgl. is. *vəydūk*) 'long' < *\*brzataka-*; *wuždān* (Sgl. is. *woydān*) 'millet' < *\*ōžn* < *\*h(ā)rzana-*; Gr. *xažok* 'sweet' < *\*xwaržaka-*; *pēž-* 'to wrap up' < *\*pati-džz-* (?). The etymology of *wəniž-* 'to wander about' is unknown.

Ir. *rm* remains in *γōrm* 'hot'. The etymology of *wurmēk* 'poplar' *rm* is unknown, and *wur-* may go back to *rū-*.<sup>3</sup>

73. Ir. *rn* developed into *\*n*, from which Slg. *~l*, Ishk. *n*, *nd*. *rn* Thus: Sgl. *mēl*, etc., Zeb. *mēn*, Ishk. *mēnd* 'apple' < *\*marnyā-*, cf. *čuvēl*, *čuvēn(d)* 'apricot', of uncertain origin, but probably influenced by *mēl*; Ishk. *wanjī* 'coat' < *varənā-*. In Sgl. *yūn-*, *yūn-*, *yūl-*, Ishk. *yūln-*, Zar. *yurn-* 'to grind' the development has been troubled through the influence of the preterite.<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Sgl. *yūnək* 'pine-marten': Y. *wūn*, etc.—*ken-* 'to do' had lost its *r* at a very early date, cf. Anc. Pers. *kun-*, etc. It is possible that

<sup>1</sup> But *sāl* 'year' probably from Prs.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Wkh.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 88.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 130 g.



*žānžək*<sup>1</sup> 'entrails' contains the same word \**žarna-* which survives in Psht. *žāna-* 'catgut'.

In *xarn* 'raven' and *xərn-* 'to buy' *rn* is of secondary origin, v. s.vv.

Grierson (§ 30) considers *r* to be the regular outcome of *rn*. But, of the two examples given, *waruk* 'lamb' shows no trace of *n* in most Ir. dialects, and *dir* 'ravine' can not with any certainty be derived from \**darna-*.

Reg. *hy* (in *xē* 'own' < \**hwahya*) cf. § 89.

*hy*

### Assimilation.

74. A very great number of the sound-changes discussed in the preceding paragraphs are due to assimilation of some kind. Only a short recapitulation of the more important ones will be given here.

The surd stops *t* and *p* have been sonorized after a vowel, nasal, or *r*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly intervocalic *-š-* has passed through the stage \**-ž-*.<sup>3</sup> Also implosive, postvocalic *x* and *f* have been sonorized in the groups *xt*, *ft*.<sup>4</sup>

Intervocalic \**-b-*, \**-d-*, resulting from *-p-*, *-t-*, have been opened into *-v-*, *-ð-*, thus coalescing with ancient *-b-*, *-d-*, which had probably been opened at a very early date.<sup>5</sup>

Ir. *sn* was assimilated into *zn* while \**žm* (< *šm*) was reduced to simple *m* owing to the articulatory weakness of *ž*. Also \**rd/ð* (< *rt*) was assimilated further into *l*, *l*.

Complete assimilation of groups of consonants has also taken place in the case of *xš*, *rs*, *rz*, *sr*, *str* and *θr*.<sup>6</sup> Cf. also s.vv. *nəmēk*, *pčuk*, *pāsk*, *pēž*, *rēčik*, *žnāi*, *wōrc*. An assimilatory loss of nasality is entailed in the change of *zn* > *zd*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From *žān* + *žək* < *žarnačt* + *kā*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 21, 25, 66, 69 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 41.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 32 sq. Note the regression from *ð* > *d* in *lshk*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. §§ 55, 62, 72, 57.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. § 63.

Palatalization of consonants is comparatively rare, but occurs in  $yi > yī$  and  $rk/g > *ry$ ,<sup>1</sup> as well as in  $sy > š$ , cf. also  $wīšt < wisati$  '20'.<sup>2</sup>

Assimilation at a distance occurs sporadically. Thus, e.g.:  $v̥l̥l̥ < v̥r̥l̥$  'to break';  $jān̄j$  'woman'  $< žān̄j$ ;  $n̄sm$  'half'  $< *n̄sf$ ;  $w̄arw̄ēs$ ,  $v̄arv̄ēs$  'fox'  $< *w̄arv̄ēs$ ;  $š̄auž̄ī$ : Shgh.  $s̄ēv̄jē$ , etc.

### Dissimilation and Differentiation.

75. Examples of differentiation are: Ishk.  $štok < əṣcūk$  'girl';  $ʔšt̄on$  'needle'  $< *s̄c̄on$ ;  $šūrm$  'dung' (also Wkh.)  $< *šūnm$ ;  $šagnam$  'dew' has probably been borrowed in this form, cf. Mj.  $šaklam$ .

Dissimilation at a distance occurs in  $p̄anec < p̄umec$  'to dress';  $riḡlav < riṡlav$  'lip';  $wuzin̄jak < wužin̄jak$  (with assimilation  $wuḡin̄jak$ ) 'woman';  $čakmax < čaxmax(?)$  'fire-stone';  $doldorok$  'thunder'  $< *dor-dorok(?)$ ;  $F̄olaxmarig < F̄raxmarig$ . Cf. also  $p̄əḏit$ ,  $wuḏit$  for  $*p̄ə-ḏit$ , etc.<sup>3</sup>

### Metathesis.

76. The usual Ir. metathesis has taken place in the groups  $-fr-$ ,  $-xr-$ ,  $-br-$ ,  $-gr-$ .<sup>4</sup> Of a similar nature is the recent change of the lw.  $tifl$  'child'  $> telf$ . The development of  $fra > f̄ar$  may have passed through a stage  $*f̄ara$ , with subsequent loss of  $a$ . Cf. also  $d̄ernāk$  'bow' and  $x̄orn$  'to buy'.

Peculiar to Sgl.—Ishk is the metathesis of initial  $r̄ā-$  ( $< *rau-$ ) to  $(w)ur-$ ,  $w̄or-$ . Cf. § 88.

In  $n̄m̄ēȳḏ$  'salt'  $< n̄med̄k$  and  $b̄ālȳē$  'beans'  $< *b̄āyl̄ē$  easier sequences of consonants have been substituted for heavier ones.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 27, 69.

<sup>2</sup> §§ 62, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. §§ 51 sqq., 57. But note lw. Ishk.  $čabrū$  'fat'.



The remaining cases of metathesis can hardly be classified or arranged according to general principles. The following ones have been noted, sometimes only in one dialect:

*axteð* < *atayd* 'entered'.

*kiskūd* 'roof' < \**ask-kuð*.

*v̥rāz* 'hill', 'tall' < \**varz-* (?).

*amāsyē* 'neighbour' < \*(h)*amsāye*.

*šōðx* 'goat's hair' < \**ðōšx* (?).

*zič* < *žic* 'coal'.

### Vowels.

#### Ir. *a*.

77. When we try to trace the development of Ir. '*a*' in Sgl.—Ishk. we are faced with the same difficulties that we encounter in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh., viz. our ignorance of the phonetic value of the original Ir. sound, the extreme variability and complexity of the changes of '*a*', and the impossibility of deciding in all cases which words have been borrowed, and at what date.
78. The different developments of '*a*' may be arranged in the following groups:

a) In a great number of words Ir. '*a*' is represented by Sgl. *ō*, Ishk. usually *u*.

Thus, before a group of consonants, modern or ancient, we find *o/u* in: Sgl. *ōvd*: Gr., Sk., Zar. *ūvd* (but my Ishk., Zb. *ōvd*) 'seven'; Sgl. *okōvd*: Sk. *kūvd* (but Gr., Zar. *kōvd*) 'boot'; Sgl. *dōst*: Ishk., Zb. *dūst* 'hand'; Sgl. *korost*: Ishk. *kurust* 'skin'; Sgl. *γōndəm*: Sk., Gr. Zar. *γundum* (but my Ishk., Zb. *γondum*) 'wheat'; Sgl. *ōrmōzd*: Ishk. *rēmuz* 'sun'; Sgl. *moydōk*: Ishk. *mūkdūk*, etc. 'frog'; Sgl. *song*: Ishk. *sung* 'stone'; Sgl. *pōnz*: Ishk. *pūnz* 'five'. Cf. also Voc. s.vv. *pōrk* 'rat'; *vōš* 'rope'; *xoš* 'mother-in-law', and the preterites *f'rōt* 'asked' (*f'rōs-*); *kōnd* 'dug' (*kan-*); *kot* 'saw' (*kas-*); *nilōst* 'sat down' (*nīd-*); *vōst* 'bound' (*vānd-*); *xōt* 'rose' (*xāz-*).

The same narrowing of the vowel has apparently also taken place in unstressed syllables (e.g. in Sgl. *kōviḍ*: Sk., Gr. *kū/uvid*, but Zar. *koviḍ* 'pigeon'; Sgl. *toṽor*: Ishk. *tuw̄ur* 'axe'), and in the ancient masculine suffix *\*-akah* (e.g. in Sgl.) *v̄rōk*: Ishk. Sk. *wruk* 'horse'; Sgl. *worok*: Ishk. *waruk*, Sk. *wruk* 'lamb'.

But also Sgl. *\*špōn* 'iron'; *fōe* 'mouth'; *šōx* 'hard'; *xōr* 'donkey'; *zōt* 'son', and the preterite *noḍ* 'took' (*nas-*) have forms in *u* in Ishk.

Sgl. *yorōk* 'neck'; *yōrm* 'hot'; *koḍos* 'eleven'; *koryos* 'vulture'; *\*škōḍ* 'cattle-shed'; *wōst* 'fat', and *xōdm* 'dream' have no known equivalents in Ishk.

In several words Gr. (Zb.) has *ā*, corresponding to Sgl. *ō*. Thus, e.g., *dāst*, *ferāt*, *tewār*, *wāš*, but *xūr*. I heard *o/u* in Zb. *pōnz*, *pōrk*, *sūng*, *sur*, *toṽor*, *worok*, *xār*, etc., and it seems doubtful whether Gr. (Zb.) *ā* represents the correct Zb. sound.

b) Before a single consonant we find Sgl. *o*, Ishk. *a*, in Sgl. *oṛoḍ* 'came'; *dos* 'ten'; *mōḍ(ak)* 'here'; *numōḍ* 'felt'; *vōr* 'door'; *xōf* 'foam'; *wōtuk* 'feast'; *wo/asōk* 'calf'; *žōḍ* 'killed': Ishk. *ōyad*; *das*; *madak*; *namad* (lw. ?); *var*; *xaf(uk)*; *watik*; *wasuk*; *žad*. Besides Sgl. *is. f̄rōs-* 'to ask' we find *ā* not only in Ishk., but also in Sgl. s. p.<sup>1</sup> Ishk. *mayz* 'marrow' (Sgl. *moyz*) may easily be a lw. from Prs., and in Ishk. *wastuk* 'rib' (Sk. *wāstuk*, Sgl. *ostōk* 'bone') the initial *w-* may have had a differentiating effect.

c) A number of present stems have *ā* in all dialects before a single consonant. Thus, e.g. *araz-* 'to jump'; *astar-* 'to sweep'; *kan-* 'to dig'; *kas-* 'to see'; *pac-* 'to cook'; *waz-* 'too fall'; *xas-* 'to pull'; *xaz-* 'to rise'; *žan-* 'to kill'. Known only from Sgl. are: *nas-* 'to take'; *nav-* 'to rain'; *xav-* 'to descend'.

I suspect this development to have been caused by the influence of the following *a* in *-āmi*, *\*kanāmi* resulting in *kanən*, cf. Shgh. *xārum* 'I eat', but 3 sg. *xīrd*, etc.,<sup>2</sup> and the *-a-* (not *-ō-*) of Parachi present stems, e.g. *astar-* 'to rub'; *bar-* 'to carry'; *xar-* 'to eat', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below sub c.

<sup>2</sup> See NTS, I, p. 84.



Cf. also *warf* 'snow' = Par. *γarp* < \**wafrā(h)*.<sup>1</sup> *tar* 'into' might be derived from \**tarā*,<sup>2</sup> and *mak* 'me' has original long *ā*, while Zar. *park* 'ashes' might go back to a form in *-ā*; but I am unable to explain the *a* in *nārē* 'male' (infl. by Prs. ?) and *narxōk* 'nail'.

d) In initial position we find *a-* in *ari* 'work'; *apanis-* 'to lose'; *az* 'I', etc.<sup>3</sup> Note, however, Sgl. *ostōk* 'bone', etc., and, with vowel harmony, *ingit* 'finger'.

e) Before certain original groups of consonants, some of which have been simplified, the vowel has been lengthened into Sgl. *ā*, Ishk. *ā*, *ō*.

This development is, I believe, regular before a group of consonants originally followed by *ā*.<sup>4</sup> Thus, we find the verbal stems Sgl. *vānd-* 'to bind'; *xānd-* 'to laugh'; *wārv-* 'to boil': Ishk. *vōnd-*, *xōnd-*, *wōrv-*.<sup>5</sup> Ancient stems in *-an*, with nominatives in *-ā*,<sup>6</sup> are: Sgl. *cām* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool'; *dānd* 'tooth' and *māl* 'husband' (Av. *marətan-*): Ishk. *cām*, *pām*, *dōnd*, *mōl*, etc. Sgl. *wāl*: Ishk. *wōl* 'trousers' goes back to \**wartā* (Y *woṛo*) and also Sgl. *γāl* 'throat'; *pāsk* 'hide', and Ishk. *vōed* 'pillow' may be derived from forms in *-ā*.<sup>7</sup>

Cf. also Sgl. *asāl* 'this year', *parsāl* 'last year' < \**sardā* (cf. Par. *sār* 'year') and Sgl. *jān* (but also *jōn*): Ishk. *žōn* 'woman' < \**janā* + *čī*, or influenced by *māl*. The vocalism of Sgl. *zāl*: Ishk. *zōl* 'yellow', of Sgl. *xuāl*: Ishk. *xōl* 'six', and of Sgl., Sk., Gr. *āšik* etc.: Zar. *ošik* 'tear' must be due to special conditions which I am not able to detect.

It is not probable that *āš(ik)* goes back to a n. pl. \**asrwā*, nor that *xuāl* represents an Ir. form \**xšwaššā*, with *-ā* in contradistinction to *ovd* < *haftā* and Psht. *špaž* < \**xšwaša*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 178, and see IIFL, I, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. *tar* 'before' < \**tarā*.

<sup>3</sup> See Voc. s. vv. Cf. Y *zo* 'I' < \**azā* ?.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above sub. c.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Par. *khan-*, *γario-*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Reg. nom. in *-ā* from neutral stems in *-an* cf. Psht. *lūma* 'snare'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Par. *bān(apāi)* < \**barznā*.

A few lws with *ä* have been included in this series. Thus, e.g. Sgl. *xān* 'house'; *tāt* 'father'; *xudāri* (lw. ?) 'water-mill': Ishk. *xōn*, *tōt*, *xudōri*.

The same development is found also in the fem. suffix *\*-akā*, and in Sgl. pl. *\*-akāh*, e.g., in Sgl. *əścāk*: Ishk. *štok*, etc. 'girl'; *wērāk* 'female lamb' (m. *worok*), etc.;<sup>1</sup> and *oyodā* 'they have come'; *nīlōstag* 'they have sat down'; *zəmōnak* 'boys'; *verūdār* 'brothers'.<sup>2</sup> Cf. sub c). Cf. also Parachi *nērōk* 'male': *šičak* 'female'; *phōr* 'grain': pl. *phar*.<sup>3</sup>

f) Quite irregular developments of *a* occur in Sgl. (h)ot: Ishk. *ōt*, *ūt*, *at*, *āt* 'eight', and in Sgl. *wok*: Ishk. *wök*, *wūk*, *wak* 'one'.

g) In unstressed syllables *a* is reduced to *ə* in Sgl. *cə* 'from'; *cəfür* 'four'; *zəmūd* 'son-in-law'; *verōk* 'horse'; *pəzin* 'to know'; *nəwōk* 'mill-race' etc. Cf. also *pa*, *pə* 'on'.

h) In Sgl. *kudum*, Ishk. *kudum* 'which' < *\*kədūm* the *u* is due to vowel harmony. Cf. *inglīt* 'finger' sub d). In am unable to explain the *u* in *zust* 'flowed' (*ziḍ*), and in *γuz* 'to run'. Cf. also *-uk* for *ōk* and *-ū(i)* for *-ō(i)* after narrow vowels.<sup>4</sup>

i) An early contraction has taken place in *sūi* 'hare' < *\*sa(h)a-*.

#### Ir. *ā*.

79. Ir. long *ā* was a less labile sound than short *a*, and its development has been more regular and untroubled.

It regularly results in Sgl.—Ishk. *ū*.<sup>5</sup> The examples are numerous. Thus, e.g.: *āstūd* 'sent' (*āstay-*); *ust'rūk* 'star' (< *\*starāka* < *\*stā-raka* ?); *cəfür* 'four'; *dūd* 'gave'; *dūr* 'sickle'; *fərmūd* 'ordered'; *mūr* 'centipede' *pūd* 'foot'; *rūv* 'rhubarb' (Yd. *rīv*); *sūi* 'hare';<sup>6</sup> *šūž* 'eagle' (Y *šiz*); *šūi* 'black' (?); *tūl* 'to shave'; *vūr* 'burden'; *v'rūd*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 94, 99. — Cf. Shgh. *sad* m. and f. 'they went' < *\*c(y)utah*.

<sup>3</sup> See IIFL, I, p. 23 sq., and cf. Yd.—Mj. § 195.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. §§ 96, 5; 132.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the parallel developments in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh.

<sup>6</sup> With secondary *ā*, cf. § 78? Cf., e.g. Psht. *sōc*.



'brother'; *wüş* 'straw'; *xūr* 'to scratch'; *xūy* 'to thresh' (v. Voc. s.v.); *yūd* 'husband's brother's wife'; *zūy* 'raven'; *zəmūd* 'son-in-law'; *zənūd* 'washed'; *zevūk* 'tongue'; *Izivūk* 'Zēbāk'.

Other possible examples are *šurm* 'dung' (cf. Av. *šāman*-?); *kiskūd* 'roof' (\**uska-kātā*-?); *ālūzd* 'day before yesterday'; *pārūzd* 'yesterday' (\**āzna*-?); *wūždān*, *ūždān*, etc. 'millet' (\**hārzana*-?); *wūs*, *uss* 'to take'; *wūlōk* 'flour' (\**ārtaka*-); *yūz* 'fire-wood'.

A secondary shortening has taken place in some of the words mentioned above, and also in *durk* 'stick'; *turki* 'darkness'; *kudum* 'which'.

80. Before a nasal we find *ū* in *afšūn* 'comb'; *dūnik* 'grain'; *frūn* 'plank' (\**frāna*-?); Sgl. *potūn* (but Wkh. *patin* from Ishk.?) 'thigh'; *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole' (\**raučāna*-?); *yūn* 'to grind'; *zūng* (Sk. *zṅg*, etc.) 'knee'; possibly also in *kurcūn* (Ishk. *kərčīn*) 'fowl', etc.; *pəcūn* 'bullet'.

But in several cases we find *īn*, *īm*. Thus: *uštīn* 'haystack' (\**wāstradāna*-); *nīm* 'name'; *vīn* 'beard' (\**upān(y)a*-?); *vəsīn* 'whetstone'; *dəvīn* 'to winnow'; *pəzīn* 'to know'. It is scarcely possible to attribute the *ī* in all these words to the influence of a following *y*.

The prefix *ā*- has been shortened and appears, probably with vowel harmony, as *ā*-, *o*- in *araz*- 'to jump'; *āstay*- 'to send'; *oyōd* 'came'. Also in the pronouns *mak* 'me'; *təfak* 'thee', Sgl. *amax*, *aməx*, Ishk. *mux* 'we' ancient *ā* has been shortened.

Initial *ā*- (or *a*-?) has been lost in *vēk* 'water'. I am unable to explain the vocalism of Ishk. (*w*)*uspīr* 'plough-share' (Sgl. *spər*), and of Gr. *usīd* 'baking pan'.

81. Sgl. *nāf*, Ishk. *nāf* 'navel'; *rōsk* 'truth'; *xudāri*, *xudōri* 'water-mill' are probably lw.s. Cf. the more recent lw.s from Prs., such as Sgl. *čəpān* 'shepherd'; *čārda* '14'; *čirāy* 'lamp'; *čārvā* 'horned cattle'; *digdān* 'fireplace'; *šaftōlū* (NB *ō*!) 'peach': Ishk. *čūpōn*; *čārda*; *čirōy*; *čōrvō*; *digdōn*; *šaftōlū*. Sgl. *xušdāuman* 'wife's brother's wife' is irregular.

#### Ir. *i*.

82. As in other Pamir languages, *i* is unstable, and is only retained in favourable circumstances, cf. e.g. *fəris*- 'to be left behind'; Sgl. *nīlōst*, but Ishk. *nulust* 'sat down' (*nīd*-).

In most cases Ir. *i* has been relaxed, and moved towards a lower and more central articulation. Thus: *yir*, *gīr*, *yər* 'stone'; *let* 'licked' (*lēs*); *ce* 'what'; *čen* 'to pick' (lw. ?); *šac*, etc. 'female'; *xərn* 'to buy' (\**xrin*).

After a labial we find *ə*, *u*, etc. in: *pədf*, *puḍf* 'meat'; *put* Gr. 'parched grain' < \**pišta*; *pöv*, *pəv*, *pav* 'to drink'; *numul* Zar. 'to shut the eye'; \**spəl*, *spul*, etc. 'louse'; *ambol* Gr. 'moraine' (\**ham-piša* ?); *wuḍl* 'dung'; *wuḍit* 'span'. But why *rus*, *rəs* 'thirty' (\**θrisas*)?

A lengthening has taken place in *fri* 'good' (< \**friya*), and, before an ancient group of consonants, in *fərin-d* 'left behind, tired', if < \**fra-rixna*. In *žwondok* 'hungry' (< \**a-j(i)wantaka*), the loss of *i* may be very early, cf. Av. *jvant*.

#### Ir. *i*.

83. Ancient *i* remains in *pīḍ* 'drank' (*pəv*); *xəriḍ* 'bought' (*xərn*); *wišt* 'twenty'; *nīḍ* 'to sit down' (< \**ni(h)id*); with shortening in *čid* 'picked'.

*šin* 'to weep'; *nīv* 'to bring'; *nīḍuk*, *nuduk* (< \**nitaka* ?) are of uncertain derivation.

#### Ir. *u*.

84. Short *u* shows the same tendency as short *i* to move towards a more central articulation, and it frequently results in *ə*.

Thus, e.g.: *dəmb*, *dumb*, *dəmb*, etc. 'tail' (lw. ?); *dəmb* 'to card wool'; *dəyd* 'milked' (*dēš*); *dəzd* 'thief' (lw. ?); *dərəšt* 'rough' (prob. lw.); *yōndəm*, *yondum* 'wheat'; *kuḍ*, *kəḍ* 'dog'; *kul*, *kəl*, etc. 'to kill'; *mət*, *mut*, *mət*, etc. 'fist'; *pəf*, *puḍ* 'to blow'; *pənayḍ*, *puməxt* 'dressed'; *pu/ə/əšk* 'dung'; *su/əmb* 'hoof'; *sə/ərb* 'lead' (lw.); *sərx*, etc. 'red'; *səvḍ*, etc. 'shoulder'; *tu/ə* 'thou'; *və/uz*, *vz* 'goat'; *wuḍə/uyḍ*, etc. 'daughter'; *wuznə/ə/ul* 'daughter-in-law', etc.

Initial *u*- has been delabialized and lowered in Sgl. *ast*- (but Ishk. *ust*-) 'to stand up', and in the lw. *amēḍ* 'hope'. But cf. also *rašt* 'morning' (lw. ?).



*ingūt* 'finger' is derived through *\*əngūt* (cf. Wkh. lw. *ingūt*) < *angušta-*. Sgl. *šid* (but Ishk. *šud*, *šəd*) 'went, became' must also be derived from a form with lengthened vowel (*\*šūt* < *\*šiyuta-?*); cf. Par. *čhi*.

Ir. *u* has been elided in *\*šten*, etc. 'needle' < *\*sučani-* and in the suffix *-uka-*, cf. *zūng* 'knee'; *pōrk* 'rat'; *durk* 'stick'; *yōtuk*, *yetik* 'bridge' (< *\*ētk* < *\*haituka-*).<sup>1</sup>

#### Ir. *ū*.

85. Ir. *ū* results in *i* as in Wkh. Thus: *dið* 'smoke'; *dir* 'distant'; *vric* 'eyebrow'; *\*stin* 'pillow'. Possibly also from secondary *ū* in *diðus* 'twelve' < *\*duw(a)dasa*, and in *ingūt*, *šid* (v. above § 84).

*angūr* 'grape' and other words with *ū* are evidently l.w.s, and also *pū-* Zar. 'to be rotten', *pūduk* 'rotten' may have been influenced by Prs. It is, however, possible that *ū* was retained after a labial, cf. *vəd*, *vud* 'was' < *būta-*, with shortening, as in Psht. *wə* and elsewhere.

Sgl. *nēr* 'to-day' cannot be derived direct from *nūram*.

#### Ir. *ɾ*.

86. Ir. *ɾ* results in *ur*, *ər*, etc. in *wərək*, *wurk*, *urk* 'wolf'; *məryōk*, *murɣuk* 'sparrow'; *andərv-* 'to sew'; *məl*, *mul* 'died'; *kuł*, *kul*, *kəð* 'did'; *kurčūn*, etc. 'fowl'; *vəždūk*, etc. 'long'; *wolk*, *wułk*, *wəłk* 'kidney', and possibly in *wūlok* 'flour', if from *\*ɾtaka-* and not, as seems more probable, from *\*ūlok* < *\*ārtaka-*; *al-* 'standing' is scarcely derived from *ərəðwa-*, with *u* > *a*, cf. above § 78, d.

In some preterites the vowel has been lengthened. Thus: *xōł*, *x(w)ol*, *xūł* 'ate'; Sgl. *\*stōł* (Ishk. *s'tuł*, etc.) 'swept'; Sgl. *wōł* (Ishk. *āvuld*, etc.) 'found' (*āwir-*).

*kīł* 'knife' is a mutated form (< *\*kɾtyā-*), and so is possibly *wudıl* 'dung' (< *\*wi-dr̥ti-?*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96, 1.

## Ir. ai.

87. Ir. *ai* regularly results in *ē*. Thus: *\*spēd* 'white'; *mēl* 'sheep'; *wēd* 'willow'; *wēd* Sk. 'to put'; *wēx* 'root'; *tēu* 'husband's brother'; *lēš* 'to lick' (lw. ?); *wīn*-, *wēn*- 'to see'; *yēv*-, *yiv*- 'to spin'; *apēd* 'was lost' (*\*apa-ita*). In *mōi* 'cloud' < *\*mēi*(?) < *mēy* the *ō* is strange, but may, perhaps, be due to differentiation.

Initially the development is troubled. Besides complete loss of *ai*- in special conditions (*wok* 'one'), we find *iđ* 'iste' (< *\*aita*-),<sup>1</sup> and *īs* 'to come' (< *\*ā-isa*-?), but Sgl. *yōtuk*, Ishk. *yetik*, Zar. *yatik* 'bridge'.

## Ir. au.

88. Ir. *au* generally results in *ē*, probably through an intermediate stage *\*ō*. Thus: *rēyn* 'clarified butter'; *tēym*, *t'ēy<sup>m</sup>* 'grain'; *yēnok*, *yēnōk* 'hair'; *dēš*- 'to milk'; *rēf* 'broom'; *rēcik* 'entrails'; *xrēseg* 'n. of an animal' (M *xurūso*); *šēn* 'podex'; *pānec*-, *pumec*-, *pomuc*- 'to dress' (< *paiti-maoč*-); *wēn* 'blood' < *\*wa(h)uni*-. We find, however, *i* in *kōvid* 'pigeon'; *kif* (and *k'ēf*) 'hump', cf. the ancient lw. *Kivī* (Chinese *K'o-wei*) 'Chitrali'.

This development can scarcely be due to the neighbouring *v* and *f*, cf. *rēf* above.

A special development of initial *\*rau*- appears in *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole' and *wərvēs*, *wərvēs* 'fox'. In these words *rau*- has apparently become *\*rā*-, from which *\*ur*-, before *au* > *ē*.

Also *γōl* 'ear' is irregular, and is possibly a lw. (from Shgh.?). *dōu* 'two' may go back to *\*dīwāu* and Ishk. *γōu* to *\*gāuš*.

## Ir. aya.

89. Examples of Ir. final *-aya(h)* are *rōi*, etc. 'three' and *pōi* 'sour milk'. Internal *aya* results in *ē* in *pē-štān* 'udder'. Ancient present stems in *-āya* have generally Sgl. *ē(y)*, but Ishk. *ay*. Cf., e.g. Sgl.

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Wkh. *yet*-, *yət*- < *\*ita*-.



*deräy-*, *derē-*: Ishk. *deray-* 'to reap'; Sgl. *däy-*: Ishk. *day-*, *dey-* 'to give'; Sgl. *astē-*: Ishk. *astay*, etc. 'to send'; Sgl. *zənē(y)-*: Ishk. *zeney-*, *zenay-* 'to wash', etc., cf. § 130.

#### *Ir. awa.*

90. Ir. final *-awa-* occurs in *nou*, etc. 'nine'; *you* 'grain'; *šou* 'horn'; *ō*, *au*, pl. *awand* 'that'; Sgl. *tō* 'thine'. Internal *-awa-* occurs in *nowədos* 'nineteen'; *nəwōk* 'millrace'; *nuwōk* 'new'. Sgl. *uyūi* 'cow' may perhaps be derived from *\*(hu)-gāwyā*.

#### *Umlaut.*

91. *I-* and *y-* mutation appears in *mēd* 'waist' < *maidya-*; *mēry* 'meadow' < *\*margyā-*; *nəmēdy* 'salt' < *\*namaḍkī-* (?); *mēl* 'apple' < *\*marnyā-* (?); *wulmēk* 'moon' < *\*uxš-māhyaka-*; *mei* 'day' < *\*mādyā-*; *pēšten* 'udder' < *\*payah-fštanya-*; *dēr-* 'to hold' < *\*dāraya-*; *wērak* 'she-lamb' < *\*warī + -akā* (?); *vēk* 'water' < *\*pākiya*; *vərvēs* 'fox' < *\*raupāsī-*.

Without any apparent cause we find, however, *i* in *wuḍit* 'span' < *\*wi-dāti-*; *xīr* 'sister's son' < *\*hwahrya-*; *zīd-* 'to flow' < *\*zyadya-*; *čīš* 'urine' < *\*čāšya-* (?); *nīc* 'nose' < *\*nāh-čī*, or *\*nahya-čī*. Cf. also *i* < *i'* in *kīl* 'knife', if < *\*krtyā*, and *wuḍl* 'dung' < *\*wi-dyti-*.

The only certain example of *u-* mutation is *pux*, *pəx* 'boiled' < *\*paxwa-*.

Regarding vowel harmony cf. §§ 78, c, h, 96, 5, 132.

#### *Prothetic Vowels.*

92. A prothetic vowel is developed before an ancient or secondary initial group of consonants, e.g. in *ust'rūk* 'star'; *astar-* 'to sweep'; *afšūn* 'comb'; *ašcāk* 'girl'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

Characteristic of Sgl.—Ishk. is the prothetic (w)u- which appears before an initial voiced consonant followed by *ä*.<sup>1</sup> Thus: *wudəγd* 'daughter'; *wuznəl* 'daughter-in-law'; *uyūi* 'cow'; *wüznuḡ* 'inflated goat skin'.

In spite of the difficulty of explaining *wuzinjak* 'woman' and *usid* Gr. 'baking pan' (cf. Wkh. *sdt*) I am inclined to believe that this prothesis is of a phonetic nature, and that *w(u)-* does not go back to a prefix *hu-*.

Regarding the word for 'sister' (*yəxōai*, *ixō*, etc. < \*(h)ahwā < \*hawah(w)ā), cf. Voc. s.v.

Note also the *o-* in *okovd* 'boot': Prs. *kafš*.<sup>2</sup>

### Loss of Initial and Final Vowels.

93. There is possibly some connection between the Sgl.—Ishk. tendency to develop prothetic vowels and the comparative rarity of elision of initial vowels.

Cf. e.g. *am(a)* 'this': Yd. *mo*; *aḡa* 'that': Yd. *yō*; *az* 'I': Yd. *zo*; *amaz* 'we': Yd. *max*; *andərv-* (Sk. *d'rav-*) 'to sew': Yd. *diz-* 'to bury', etc.; *āstay-* 'to send': Wkh. *s'tiy-*; *ōvzui* 'heart': Wkh. *p'zöv*; *apanis-* 'to lose': Shgh. *benes-*.

We find, however, loss of initial *u-* in *vin* 'beard' < \**upāna-*; *va* < *upa*, and possibly in *šlōk* 'wet' < \**a-šušaka-*; *šwondok* 'hungry' < \**a-šiwantaka-*; of *ä-* in *vēk* 'water'; *wa* 'him'; Sgl. *špōn*, Ishk. *špən* 'iron'; and of *ai-*, or even of *aiwa-*, in the unstressed numerals *wok* 'one'; *kodos* 'eleven'. Cf. also *wöl* 'found' from *āwir-*.

Regarding the doubtful derivation of *mis-* 'to sleep', v. Voc. s.v.

Except in monosyllables, final vowels are elided.<sup>3</sup> Regarding *am(a)* 'this', *aḡ(a)* 'that', cf. Grammar, § 116. Regarding possible traces of the obl. ending *-ahya*, v. §§ 96, 2 a, 5; 94.

<sup>1</sup> From which in some cases modern *z*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sogd. c. 'krty < krty 'deed', etc.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. traces of final *-ā(h)*, cf. §§ 78 e, 96, 3, 101.



## Accent.

94. The accent which lies at the base of the development in Sgl.—Ishk., appears to have been of the ordinary, late Old Ir. type.

Thus: ˘ ˘, e.g. in *dos* 'ten'; *az* 'I'; ˘ ˘ in *cəfūr* 'four'; *po'tūn* 'thigh'; *kō'vīd* 'pigeon', etc.; ˘ ˘ ˘ in *zāl* 'yellow'; *pōrk* 'mouse'; *nārk* 'male'; *jōn* 'woman', etc.; ˘ ˘ ˘ in *wīšt* 'twenty'; *zūng* 'knee'; *γōndum* 'wheat'; possibly ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ in *diðus* 'twelve' (< \**duwadasa*?).<sup>1</sup>

Words in *-ōk* are probably derived from the oblique form, thus *γē'nōk* 'hair' < \**gau'nakahya*.<sup>2</sup>

Elision of a short vowel before the accent has taken place in *krīč* 'hut' (< \**katīči*?), possibly in *cəfūr* 'four',<sup>3</sup> and before a secondary suffix in *əščāk* 'girl' < *šac* + *āk*. I am unable to explain the loss of *u* in *ʔštən*, etc. 'needle' < *sučani*.

The loss of the vowel in an unstressed first syllable occurs also in lw.s (e.g. Sk. *bēdk* 'he-goat'; *bland* = *bīland* 'high'; *brūt* = *b'rūt* 'moustache', etc.), and may be of recent date.

<sup>1</sup> But note *ko'ðos* 'eleven' < \**aiwaka'dasa*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 96, 2 a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 59.

## MORPHOLOGY

### Nouns.

#### *Primary Stems.*

95. No distinction is made in Sgl.—Ishk. between words belonging to the various ancient Ir. groups of nominal stems.<sup>1</sup>

Only on etymological grounds, or in some cases from a comparison with Yd.—Mj., are we able to distinguish between ancient stems in *-a-* (e.g. *ingit* 'finger'; *dið* 'smoke'; *dūr* 'sickle'; *γōl* 'ear'; *potūn* 'leg'; *wāl* 'roof-beam', etc.); stems in *-ā-* (e.g. *uštīn* 'hay-stack'; *γāl* 'neck'; *kīl* 'knife'; *wuznel* 'daughter-in-law'; *wāl* 'trousers'); stems in *-ī-* (e.g. *fəryəm* 'female kid'; *met* 'fist'; *səvd* 'shoulder'; *wēd* 'willow'; *yer* 'stone'; *šec* 'female'; *jän* 'woman'<sup>2</sup>); stems in *-ū-* (*xoš* 'mother-in-law'); stems in *-au-* (*uyūi*, *γōu* 'cow'; *šōu* 'horn'(?)); stems in *-r-* (*vərūd* 'brother'; *wuðəγd* 'daughter'; *yūd* 'husband's brother's wife'; *yəxōai* 'sister'; *zəmūd* 'son-in-law'); stems in *-n-* (*cām* 'eye'; *dānd* 'tooth'; *māl* 'husband'; *nīm* 'name'; *pām* 'wool'; *šūrm* 'dung'(?); cf. also *pār-uzd* 'yesterday'); stems in *-s-* (*sōr* 'head', and, ultimately, *ormōzd* 'sun'), and nouns which may go back to ancient plurals (e.g. *pōi* 'milk'; *you* 'corn'; *warf* 'snow'; *wolk* 'kidney', etc.).<sup>3</sup>

#### *Suffixes in k.*

96. Various types of suffixes containing a *k* are found in Sgl.—Ishk., and some of them are still productive. The forms in *g* are mere variants, due to sandhi, or to the influence of a preceding nasal.

<sup>1</sup> The only exception known being the 'irregular' pl. of *vərūd* 'brother', see § 102.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 26.

<sup>3</sup> As for traces of ancient *-ā(h)*, cf. § 78, c, e.



1. A simple *-k*, derived from *\*-ka-*, appears in *wolk* 'kidney', cf. *nəməðy/k*, etc. 'salt'. Also nom. msc. *\*-akah*, *-ukah* probably result in *-k*, cf. *nārk* 'male'; *park* 'ashes'; *pāsk* 'hide'; *rōsk* 'truth'; *durk* 'stick'; *pōrk* 'rat'; *zūng* 'knee'.<sup>1</sup> Reg. *yōtuk*, etc. 'bridge' and *wotuk* 'feast' cf. § 24.—*ginjišk* 'sparrow'; *pušk* 'dung' etc. are lw.s.

2. A suffix Sgl. *-ōk* (Ishk. regularly *-uk*, cf. § 78 a) appears in several categories of nouns.

a. In names of animals. Thus: *moy'dōk*, etc. 'frog'; *mər'yōk* 'sparrow'; *jila'yōk* 'spider'; *skōnōk* 'puppy'; *šp'nōk* 'kid'; *vōrōk* 'horse'; *wo'rok* 'male lamb' (Mj. *wəray*); *wo'sōk* 'calf' (Par. *ya'sō*); *zūwōk* 'male markhor'; *zə'yōlog* 'bumble bee', etc. It will be noted that this suffix is used by preference about male animals, and it goes back to *\*-akah*, or, perhaps, *\*-akahya*.<sup>2</sup>

b. In names of parts of the body and other nouns: *ostōk* 'bone' (Y *yastē*); *yē'nōk* 'hair' (M *yūnəy*); *yo'rōk* 'neck' (Psht. *yarai*); *narzōk* 'nail'; *mālōk* 'husband' (Y *maṛa*); *wulōk* 'flour' (Y *yārē*, etc.); *yivdōk* 'thread' (pf. ptc.), etc.

c. In many cases *-ōk* is evidently a secondary suffix. Thus, e.g., in: *parwinekog* 'moth' (*parwinek* 'butterfly'); *worokok* 'small lamb'; *ingitōk* 'finger-ring' (*ingit*); *mā'l(ōk)* 'husband'; *vōrok* 'window' (*vōr*); *nə'wōk* 'mill-race' (*nōu*); *zəma'nōk* 'boy' (*zōman*); *nī'yōk* 'reed' (< Prs. *nai*).

d. In adjectives: *nu'wōk* 'new'; *š'lōk* 'wet'; *vōzōk* 'fat';<sup>3</sup> *zūwondok* 'hungry'; *xažok* Gr. 'sweet'.

e. In the Perfect. Thus, e.g.: *nīlōstog* 'having sat down'; *no'dōk* (*nas-*) 'has been seized'; Sgl. *ku'ōk*, Ishk. *kuluk* 'has done' (Par. *ku'rō*); *dūdūk* Sk. 'has given', etc. Cf. *p(ə)xōk* 'cooked', and also the verbal nouns of the type *dəryōk* 'reaping'; *vī-diōk* 'watering'; *deyuk* Sk. 'to give'; *no'rōk* 'rain', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 84.

<sup>2</sup> See § 94.

<sup>3</sup> And also *vōzōk* 'branch'; but not *\*vōzōk* 'male goat'.

3. Sgl. *-āk* occurs in words denoting female beings in *əšcāk* (Ishk. *štok*) 'girl'; *wērāk*, etc. 'she-lamb'. Other examples are: Sgl. *kyēvžāk*, etc.: Gr. *kēvžuk*, Zar. *kevžōq* 'magpie'; *dər'nāk* 'bow-string'; *γə'lāk* 'plough-handle'; *pəstāk* 'bark'.<sup>1</sup> Besides, as a secondary suffix, in *rēf(āk)* 'broom'; *dēc(āk)* 'goat-skin'; *čōv(āk)* 'little'; *xušk(āk)* 'dry'; *kə'lāk* 'knife' (*kil*); *ta'yāk* (*tāy*) 'colt'. *-āk* probably goes back to *-akā*, cf. § 78 e.

4. In some cases *-ak* appears to be an unstressed variant of *-āk*, cf. Sgl. p. 2 *wērak*: p. 3 *wērāk*; Gr. *kāndak*: Sgl. is. p. 1, 2 *kan'dāk*, Zb. *kondok* 'thorn'; Sgl. p. 2 *γulak*: is. *γōlāk* (but Sk. *γū'lak* 'pellet-bow').

In other words *-ak* has been borrowed from Prs., cf., e.g. *das'tak* 'rafter'; *gilimbōfak* 'spider' (*gilambōf*). In *gar'dak* 'neck'; *kamak* 'spine'; *parak*, *parīk* 'rib'; *dānd(ak)* 'tooth'; *γuržak* 'violin'; *tiyaxarak* 'donkey's foal'; *wužinjak* 'woman' the suffix may be genuine < *\*akā*. Cf. also *mak* 'me'; (*tə*)*fak* 'thee', and *mōd(ak)* 'here', *wōd(ak)*, etc. 'there'.

5. The suffix *-ūk* goes back to *-ākā* in *zəvūk* 'tongue'; *Izi'vuk* 'Zebak'. With *-ūk* < *-aka-* after a narrow vowel (cf. § 78 h): *fi'ūk* 'shoulder-blade'; *ust'rūk* 'star' (< *\*stūrūk* < *\*stāraka* ?); *vəždūk* 'long'. Cf. also Ishk. *avzūk* (Sgl. *ōvzuī*) 'heart'; *γurūk* 'lucerne'; *ku'žūk* 'bull'; *nīdūk* 'buttermilk'; *sū'yūk* 'spleen'; *wu'sūk* 'elbow'.

Verbal nouns in *-ūk* are: *kīrūg* 'plough'; *minduk* 'asleep'; *yūnūk* 'grinding'; *xōfuk* 'coughing'. From the past base are formed *misūk* 'sleep'; *jistuk* Gr. 'swift', and *žāduk* Sk. 'murderer'. The same may be the case with *batuk* Gr. 'beetle'. Cf. also *flāvuk* Gr. 'breakfast'; Sgl. *p'čuk* 'worm'; *ri'žuk* 'male kid', etc.

*tanuk* Gr., *tan'k* Sk. 'thin' may possibly go back to *\*tanukahya*. From *\*tanukah* we should expect *\*tuŋk*.

6. The suffix *-ik* appears in a number of words, most of which are lw.s. Thus, e.g. *būr'k* Sk. 'thin'; *čūčik* Sk. 'chicken'; *tōrik*

<sup>1</sup> All of which have shortened stem-vowel before *-āk*.



'darkness'; *kauležik* 'tadpole'; *pātik* 'eyelashes'. I have noted both *ākik* and *ākik* 'egg'; *āšik* and *āšik* 'tear'.

Other examples are: *bāndik* 'elbow, joint'; *cām-mārdikig* 'pupil of the eye'; *curik* Gr. 'a shed'; *dūnik* 'grain'; *kərvišik* 'lizard'; *māčik* 'she-dog'; *mārcik* 'ant'; *mužik* 'pea' (Bad. Prs. *mužuk*); *rēcik* 'entrails'; *sodik* Sk. 'porridge'.

Several ancient suffixes appear to have been merged in Sgl.—Ishk. -ik.

7. The suffixes -ek and -ək appear mainly in lw.s from Prs. with original -ak. Examples are: *ainek* 'mirror'; *ātašek* 'lightning'; *šauparek* 'bat'; *parwīnek* 'butterfly'; *damfāžek* 'yawn'; *gazək* 'tamarisk'; *xənək* 'cold'; *gulbād(ək)* Sk. 'whirlwind'; *xōlək* 'maternal uncle'; *zardək* 'carrot'. Also some words of probably non-Prs. origin have got these suffixes added. Thus, e.g. *astamāyzek* 'upper arm'; *sārek* 'cream'; *xrēseg* 'n. of an animal'; *fušek*, *fə'sēk* 'nose'; *žānžək* 'entrails', etc.

8. A few words end in -ək. Thus: *wul'mēk* 'moon'; *vēk* 'water'; *wur'mēk* 'poplar', cf. *wu'lyēka* 'alone'.

9. In *ari* 'work' and *xodāri* 'water-mill' *r + k* has developed in a special way. Cf. § 69.

### Other Suffixes.

97. Prs. -ī and -iš have been borrowed and occur, e.g., in *žondokī* 'hunger'; *kiriš* 'ploughing'; *yūniš* 'grinding'.

The ancient suffix -xa- occurs in *wolox* 'rib', etc.; *sōrox* 'ear of corn'; *šōdx* 'goat's hair' (< \*dōšx?).

Regarding the ancient fem. suffix -či cf. s.vv. *šac* 'female'; *jōn* 'woman'; *wānīc* 'female calf', and possibly *krič* 'hut'; *pārnič* 'thresh-old'. Cf. also *wužinjak* 'woman'; *oščāk* 'girl', and, possibly, *žānžək* 'entrails' (< \*žān-jak?), and see § 26.

## Gender.

98. As far as my material goes, there is no trace of any distinction of gender in Sgl.—Ishk.<sup>1</sup> Names of males and females of the same species of animals are often expressed by different words. Thus *ku'zūk* 'bull': *ō'yūi* 'cow'; *ta'ke* 'male kid': *fəryəm* 'female kid'; *juwānē* 'male calf': *bakēṇḍī*, *waṇic* 'female calf', etc. Note, however, *wo'rōk* 'male lamb': *wērāk* 'female lamb', and cf. §§ 78 e, 96, 3 about the suffixes *-ōk* and *-āk*.

## Number.

99. Traces of ancient plural forms are preserved in Sgl. *vrūdār* 'brothers' = Shgh. *virōdār* < \**brātarā(h)*,<sup>2</sup> and *zəma'nāk* 'boys', from *zəma'nōk*, etc.; cf. the Pf. and Plupf. pl. forms, §§ 144, 147. Examples are: *m-amīc tāt xān hōvō vrūdār-ān* Sgl. p. 2 'there are seven brothers in my father's house'; *am xān mēs v'rūdār-en* Sgl. is. 'these houses belong to my brothers'; *mən xān hōvō zəma'nāk-ō* Sgl. p. 1 'there are seven boys in my house'.
100. A more recent formation is the pl. in *-ən*, *-ān*.<sup>3</sup> Thus, e.g.: *amānd ādamən rōsk yēžān* Sgl. p. 1, 2 'these men speak the truth'; *amand ādamān* p. 1; *ādamān xwōran* p. 2 'the men ate'; *ada āda'mā* (= *-ān*?) 'arī kenan' p. 1 'those men are working'; *wa'ziren yēždan* p. 3 'the ministers said'; *gōl ken xē wa'ziren* 'assemble your ministers'; *xaržgiren nəs la-kuān* p. 2 'the custom-officials did not let me go'; *mə Kāf'ren itin* p. 2 'they arrived among the Kafirs'; *maxlu'kān guḍōm xaštān* p. 2 'the people(?) plundered the storehouses'. In *bə'tā f'rēd* p. 3 'he broke the idols', and in *vəza xa'sān* p. 2 'they drag the goats', *-ā* may have been borrowed from Prs. *-(h)ā*. Also Sk. observes that Ishk. *āla'xā* 'hills', *rēmuz'dā* 'suns' are recent forms,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Gr. § 42.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of a parallel pl. \**wuḍuydār* was denied.—Cf. "Wkh." *v'rūdār-kuc* = Sgl. *vrūdākuč* 'brother's wife'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gr. § 43.



corresponding to more archaic *rēmuz'dən* 'suns'; *tātən* 'fathers'; *nā'nən* 'mothers'; *tātā'kən* 'ancestors'.

It is even possible that also *-ān*, Gr. *-an* may be of Prs. origin, while *-ən*, *-en* is genuine and corresponds to Shgh. *-ēn*, *-īn*.<sup>1</sup>

101. I never heard the Zb. pl. forms in *-e*, *-ai*, which appear to be used in the LSI about inanimate things, animals, and collectives (*naukar*, *muzdur*, *kančani*), while *-an*, *-en* is reserved for human beings considered as individuals. The difference of use prevents us from identifying this ending with *-en*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is impossible to derive *-e*, *-ai* from *-āh*, as proposed by Tedesco, i.e. All final syllables are lost in Sgl.—Ishk., and a development *-āh* > *-ai* is in any case most unlikely. Reg. traces of *-ā(h)* cf. above.

102. After numerals, *fai* 'many', *cəmənd* 'how many', *kull* 'all', etc., the sg. is regularly used. Thus, e.g., *fai muluk ari k'enū* Ishk. 'many men are working'; *fai wuḍuyḍ-ō* Sgl. p. 2 'there are many daughters'; *azəm fai (wok) wəz wəndo wəḍ* p. 2 'I had seen many goats (one goat)'; *cəmənd ādam ōsto?* p. 2 'how many men are there?' *də zōt* 'two sons'; *cəfur za'min-ō*, *cəfur zōt-ō mənən*, *va cəfur baxš kenen* p. 2 'I have four fields and four sons, and I divide the four (fields among them)'; *rōi xwāi mənən-ē* p. 2 'I have three sisters'; *ma mič xān rōi tan-ān* 'there are three persons in my house'; *wog, dō, rōi mēi* p. 2 'one, two, three days'; *čel dar'wāza wəḍ* p. 3 'there were 40 gates'; *čel haf'sar . . . nīdəf* p. 3 'you forty officers shall sit down'. Sometimes we also find the substantive put in the sg. after a pl. demonstrative: *a'wand ādam žwondok-ān* Sgl. p. 2 'those men are hungry', and even—if correct—*ō* (sg.!) *ādam xēsta xwāran* p. 2 'those men eat bread'.

The examples given above show that the verb is frequently in the sg. even with an animate pl. subject.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Tedesco, ZII, IV, 156.

<sup>2</sup> With loss of *-n*, cf. Grierson l.c.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. Grierson l.c.

## Case.

103. Regarding traces of ancient, oblique cases in *-ahya* and *-yāh*, cf. §§ 96, 2 and 26.

## Agent Case.

103. In *čuṭ zōlī xē tā-vē yēžəḍ* Sgl. p. 2 'the younger son said to his father', and *tāte xē māl taxsīm kuḍ* p. 2 'the father divided his property' we apparently find an agent case in *-ī*, *-e*. But it is possible that *-ī*, *-e* is the possessive enclitic suffix 3 sg.

In other cases the nominative is used as an agent, thus, e.g., *pādšā formūd* 'the king commanded', etc. Note also that *tə* is used as an agent.<sup>1</sup> I have noted no instance of obl. pl. in *-əf* of nouns. Nor are such forms found in Sk.'s material. But Gr. gives *ca wazīrāw* 'from the ministers', etc.

## Accusative.

104. The indefinite object does not differ in form from the subject, and I never came across the form in *-i* mentioned by Gr.<sup>2</sup> from Ishk.—Zeb.

Thus, e.g.: Ishk., Sgl. p. 1, 2 *ari kenum, kenen* 'I work'; Ishk. *vēk pəvum* 'I drink water'; Sgl. p. 1 *puḍf-um pu'xəm*; Ishk. *puṭf-um puxṭ* 'I cooked meat', etc.

With determinative pronoun: Sgl. p. 1 *xē dōst zenēyen* 'I wash my hand(s)'; *tāte xē māl taxsīm kuḍ* 'the father divided his property'; *ama ādam-əm wēnt* 'I saw this man'; p. 2 *ma kitāv kō-ve dē* 'give this book to somebody'.

In Sgl. a definite object not preceded by a pronoun is indicated by the prefix *va*.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 2 *va šenāi žan* 'extinguish the fire' (but also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 112, and see Gauthiot, MSL, 20, 64.

<sup>2</sup> § 44.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the derivation of *va* cf. Yd.—Mj. § 220.



*šənāy-əm žōd*); *va uyū dēš-əm, va uyū-m dəyđ-əm* 'I milk(ed) the cow'; *va kitāb dūđin mum bē* 'they gave me the book'; *va cafūr baxš kenen* 'I divide the four (fields)'; *nēr-əm kuđ v-āri đak* 'imrūz hamū kār kardam'; p. 1 *va māl taxsīm ke* 'divide the property'; p. 3 *va koryos vōst* 'he bound the eagle' (but *cfūr koryos nas* 'catch four eagles', etc.).

With a pronominal object: Sgl. p. 1 *a'max va tfak wēndan* 'we saw thee'; p. 2 *wēnd-əm va tfak*; *az-əm va tfak wēndo vōđ*; *az va tfak yēžen* 'I tell thee' (but also *təfak bəšān-əm* 'I make thee sit down'; *az tfak kasen-i* 'do I see thee?'); is. *va tō gap-am apəxt* 'I heard thy word'.

In Ishk. I never heard *va* used. Thus, e.g.: *γundum derāyen* 'I cut the wheat' (cf. Sgl. p. 2 *va γōndum γalbēl kenen*); *azi fak wēnduk* 'I saw thee'; *mak dēd* 'he beat me'.

### Genitive.

105. The attributive genitive is expressed, just as in Ishk.,<sup>1</sup> by prefixing the governed to the governing noun. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *ma mič tāt xān* 'in our father's house'; *ma xān mi'yāne-mō* 'I am in the middle of the house'; *vērō yāl* 'the horse's mane'; p. 3 *Ōzar zōt* 'Azar's son'.

In some fixed formulas of Prs. origin the izafat is used, but it is impossible to tell whether such constructions really belong to everyday speech. Examples are, e.g.: Sgl. p. 3 *mā rām-i mādar* 'in his mother's womb'; *beyār-i mak* 'except me'; Sgl. is. *har qism-i ciziā-i xūb* 'every kind of good things'.

The predicative genitive is formed with the suffix *-en* (< *\*.aina-ʔ*). Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *am xān (vērō) mām vrūden-ē* 'this house (horse) is my brother's'; *am xān am ādamen-ē*; p. 3 *āhūin wok šāx da vōđ* 'the stag had one horn'; is. *am xān mās vrūdaren-ē* 'this house belongs to my brothers'. But note: Sgl. p. 2 *wok ādam dā zōt vōđ* 'a man had two sons'.

<sup>1</sup> Grierson § 44.

In Ishk. we find a possessive suffix *-nā*, *-na*, cf. Sk. *rēmuzd-nā-i* 'nūr 'the light of the sun'; *dlax-nā-i warf* 'the snow of the mountain'; *tāt-nā-i ki'tāb* 'father's book'; Gr. *pādsā-na wak udōyd* 'a daughter of the king'. The derivation proposed by Gr. § 44 from *-āna* is phonetically uncertain.

Note also the use of the oblique pl. in Gr. *xē wazirāw dur* 'the house of his viziers'.

### Dative.

106. The dative is expressed by means of the postposition *-bē* 'to'. Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 2 *rōi rōpē ākum-be dūdīn* 'they gave the governor three rupees'; *xē tā-vē* (= *tāt bē*) *yēžəð* 'he said to his father'. But the original local sense of *-bē* is evident in Sgl. p. 2 *cə wōð šīð Mandežān-be* 'from there it went to M.'; *o'yoð Gazkestān-bē* 'it arrived at G.'.

The Ishk. form is *bō*, *bā*. Thus: I *mum bō* 'to me'; Sk. *rēmuzd-bā* 'to the sun'; *nān-bā*, *tā(!)-bā* 'to the mother, father'; pl. *nā'nām-bā*, *tātām-bā* (with *ən* < *\*-anām*?).

*bē*, *bā* is probably derived from *\*upai*.

### Other Local 'Cases'.

107. Local relations are sometimes expressed without the aid of any preposition or postposition. Thus: Sgl. *mən xān hōvd zəmanāk-ō* 'there are seven boys in my house'; p. 3 *ō'yoðam pe'nuk* 'we arrived at the pass'; *ō'yoðan Kōe'stān* 'they arrived in Chitral'.

In other cases prepositions are used:

a) *ma*, *mə* 'in': Sgl. p. 2 *cəmənd tanān ma təməx xān?* 'how many people are there in your house?'; *psāt mə Skitūl fāuž* 'now the army is in S.'; p. 3 *mə šār čel darwāza wəð* 'there were forty gates in the town'; is. *mə waxt-i qadīm* 'in olden times'; *mo xōdm wēnd* 'he saw in a dream'; *a'rāz mə vyek* 'jump into the water'; p. 2 *mə Kāfirən i'tin* 'they arrived among the Kafirs'.



*ma* is probably a shortened, unstressed form of \**mað* < *maidyoī*, *maidim*. Cf. also Parachi *ma yus* 'in the house', etc., but the origin of the Par. particle is at least partly of different origin.<sup>1</sup>

b) *cə* 'from' < *hačā*. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *cə kū yuzə xašəm* 'we fetch fire-wood from the hills'; *cə har xōri-dak də rōpē nōð* 'he took two rupees from each donkey'; p. 3 *cə ās'mān paše xavd* 'mosquitoes came down from the sky'; *cə pəšt-i pədar* 'from his father's loins'.

c) *pə* 'to, into' < *paiti*. Thus: Sgl. p. 3 *šid pa (nəsm-i) asmān kafas* 'the cage rose into (the middle of) the sky'; *pə wāda hit* 'he arrived at the time of marriage'; *rō p-xē xədā kəð* 'he turned towards his God, *rū ba xudā kat*'.

d) *tar* 'through, between, to, in', < *tarō*. Thus: Sgl. p. 3 *tar asmān šext* 'he passed through the sky'. Cf. Voc. s.v.

Regarding *sōr* (*mə sōr*) 'on'; *viš* (*cə . . . viš*, *mə . . . viš*) 'under, below'; *gōl* 'together with'; *ža* 'before'; *pəš-i*, v. Voc. s.vv.

### Adjectives.

108. No distinction of gender or of number has been noted in the adjectives of Sgl.<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g.: *az žwondok-mō*, *aməx ž.-ān*, *amənd ādam ž.-ān*, *təməx ž.-ān-i?* 'I am, we are, these men are, are you hungry'; *janj amēdvār-ō* 'the woman is pregnant'; *am xān žəšt*, *həd xān riziāk* 'this house is big, that house is small'.

The *izāfat* is occasionally used in idioms of Prs. origin.

I have come across no comparative or superlative forms. Cf. the sentence quoted just above, and also Sgl. p. 2 *čārvā cə vəz žəšt-ō* 'cattle is bigger than goats'; *mič tāt xān wokiak kalān-ū* 'our father's house is a little larger (*yak-taš kalāntar a*)'; Sgl. is. *am ādam cə mak (tfak, məčəf) jəšt* 'this man is bigger than I (thou, we)'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IIFL. I, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> But note the ptc. *nilostog*, pl. *nilostag*, etc. § 146.

## Numerals.

109. The main forms of the numerals<sup>1</sup> are:

1. Sgl., Ishk., Zeb. *wok*, Sk. *wōk* < \**aiwakah*, cf. § 87.
2. » *dōu*, *dāu*, Ishk. *dō<sup>u</sup>*, Zeb. *dū*, Sk. *dau* < \**duwā(u)*.
3. » *rōš*, Ishk. *rōi*, Zeb. *rū*, Sk. *rūi* < *ōrāyō*.
4. » Zeb., Sk. *c(ʰ)fūr*, Ishk. (lw.) *čōr*.
5. » *p(ʰ)ōnz*, -s, Zeb. *p'ōnš*, Ishk. *ponj*, Sk. *pūnz*.
6. » *xuāl*, etc., Ishk. *xol*, Zeb., Sk. *xōl*.
7. » (h)*ōvd*, Ishk., Zeb. *ōvd*, Sk. *uvd*.
8. » (h)*ōt*, Ishk. *ať*, Zeb., Sk. *ōt*.
9. » Sk. *nōu*, Ishk. *nao*, Zeb. *nāu*.
10. » *dōs*, Ishk. *das*, Zeb. (lw.) *dāu*, Sk. *dah*.
11. » *ko'dos*, etc. < \**aiwakadasa*; Ishk., Sk. (lw.) *yōzda*, Zeb. *yōzdāu*.
12. » *di'dus* < \**duwadasa*; Ishk. (lw.) *dwāzda*, Zeb. *dwōzdāu*.
13. » Ishk. (lw.) *sēzda*, Zeb. *sīzdāu*.
14. » (lw.) *čārda*, Zeb. *čōrdāu*.
15. » *pōnzəđōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *pōnzdaū*.
16. » *xuāl(ə)đōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *sōnzdaū*.
17. » *ōvdəđōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *habdaū*.
18. » *hōtəđōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *haždaū*.
19. » *nōwəđōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *nuzdaū*.
20. » *wīšt*; Zeb., Ishk., Sk. (lw.) *bīst*.
30. » *rus*, *rəs* < \**ōrisat*.
40. » (lw.) *črl*, *čēl*.
50. » » *pan'jā*.
60. » » *šāš/st*.
70. » » (h)*af'tāđ*.
80. » » *aš'tāđ*.
90. » » *na'wāđ*. (NB *ā*!).
100. » » *sāđ*.
1000. » » *ha'zār*.
- <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. » » *nīm*.

<sup>1</sup> For phonetic details v. Voc. s.vv.



## Personal Pronouns.

		1st Prs. Sg.		2nd Prs. Sg.	
Nom.	Ag.	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sgl.	Ishk.
		az(ə)	azi	tə/u	tə
Acc.	Abl.	az-əm	azi	tə-δ/və	təδ
		(va-)mak	mak	(va-)pʰak	fak
Loc.	Gen.	ca-mak		cə-pʰak	
		pə-mak	pə-mak	pə-pʰak	pə-fak
Pred.Gen.	'Iness.'	mən	mən	tō	ʔind
		mə-nən	mən	tōnen	ʔind
Dat.	Comit.	ma-mən			
		'mə/um-bə	'mum-bō	tō-b/vē	tə-bā
'Anteess.'		'mən-göl	'mən-göl	tō ʔöl	
		'mən-ʔē		tū-ʔa/i	

		1st Prs. Pl.		2nd Prs. Pl.	
Nom.	Ag.	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sgl.	Ishk.
		ama/əx	mux	tə mu/əx	tumux
Acc.	Abl.	—		—	
		(va-)mičəf	mux	(va)teməx(əf)	teməxəv
Loc.	Gen.	cə-məčəf		cə-teməx(əf)	teməx(əv)
		pə-məčəf	pə-məčəv	pə-teməx(əf)	pə-tə-məx
Pred.Gen.	'Iness.'	(a)mič	miš	teməx	teməxnd
		məčən		teməxən	
Dat.	Comit.	mič-bē			
		miš göl	'məš-bā		teməx-bā
			'məš-göl		

111. The various forms which, for the sake of convenience, have been included in the preceding paradigm, are of diverse nature, and it is doubtful whether all of them ought really to be called "cases". They are all derived from a limited number of bases, viz. in Sgl.:

	1st Sg.	2nd Sg.	1st Pl.	2nd Pl.
Nom.	<i>azə</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>amax</i>	<i>təməx</i>
Obl.	<i>mak</i>	<i>tʃak</i>	<i>mičəf</i>	<i>təməx(əf)</i>
Gen.	<i>mən</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>mič</i>	<i>təməx.</i>

It will be observed that the differentiation is less marked in the Pl.—especially in the 2nd prs.—than in the Sg.

*azə* and *tə* go back to ancient nominatives, *azə* perhaps to a form \**azām*, cf. Sogd. b. 'zū and Yd. *zo*, etc.

*mak* and *tʃak*, *fak* represent ancient accusatives and ablatives, and *mən* and *tō* ancient genitives. Ishk. (and Zeb. Gr.) *tī* corresponds to Wkh. *tī*, and may go back to \**tai*. Regarding this system of cases cf. Gauthiot MSL, 20, p. 69.

In the pl. the nominatives have been lost, as elsewhere in Ir. —*amax* goes back to \**amāxam* as proposed by Gauthiot l.c.; *mič*, however, must be derived from \**ahmāčiya-* (cf. Shgh. *māš* and possibly Psht. *mūnž*), not from \**mak'ēβ* (Gauthiot, l.c.). The oblique base has been differentiated from the genitive by the addition of the oblique case suffix *-əf* < \**-aiβiš* (Gauthiot, l.c.).

The 2nd pl. has been differentiated from the 1st pl. by the addition of *t-* from the sg., just as is the case in Sar. and Yazgh.

Regarding the use of the Agent case, cf. § 103.

112. The oblique base is used:

a) Without any addition as an accusative: Sgl. p. 1 *tu mak kasī* 'thou seest me'; *tʃak dehēm* 'we beat thee'; *azə tumuxuv kasen* 'I see you'; p. 2 *təfak wëndəm* 'I saw thee'; Ishk. *azi tumux yēžum* 'I say to you'; *azi fak wënduk* 'I have seen thee'.

b) With *va* as a definite or emphatic accusative: Sgl. p. 1 *az tʃak kasen*, *kull va tʃak kasem* 'I see thee, we all see thee'; *tə va mičəf kasī*; *azə va tumuxəv kasen*; *azəm va tumux wënt* (*va tumuxəfəm*



wēnt); *az-əm va tfag wēnt* 'I saw thee'; *tō-u va mak wēnt*, p. 2 *az-əm va tfak wēnd*; *tā-vō va-mak wēnd*.

c) With the izafat: Sgl. p. 3 *bēyār-i mak* 'except me'.

d) With *cə* as an ablative: Sgl. p. 2 *tə cə-mak<sup>1</sup> piān-dō* 'thou art below me'; *cə tɔfak vərāz-mō* 'I am above thee'; Sgl. is. *am ādam cə-mak* (*cə-tfak*, *ce-mācəf*, *ce-təmāxəf*) *jəšt* 'this man is bigger than I' (etc.).

e) With *pə* as a locative.

The genitive base is used:

113. a) As an attributive genitive: Sgl. p. 1 *am mən xān, ō tō xān* 'this is my house, that one is thy house'; p. 2 *am xān məm vərūden-ē* 'this house is my brother's'; *ma mič* (*təmāx*) *xān* 'in our (your) house'; p. 3 *ma mən xōdm* 'in my sleep'; *tō lavz* 'thy word'; Ishk. *tī zəvūk* 'thy tongue'; *wadak tī* (*mīš*) *xān* 'there is thy (our) house'.

b) With the suffix *-(n)ēn*, Ishk. *-nō* as a Predicative Gen.<sup>2</sup>: Sgl. p. 1 *am xān kull mənēn-ē* 'all these houses are mine'; *cəfūr zōt-ō mənēn* 'I have four sons'; p. 2 *mənēn wok kitāv-ō* 'I have a book'; *ō xān-da tōnen-ē* 'this house is thine'; Sgl. is. *am xān mənēn* (*mācēn*, *təmāxēn*) *ē* 'this house is mine (ours, yours)'; Ishk. *amūn xān munō*, *wadak xān tīnō* 'this house is mine, that house there is thine'; *mənō wok kitōb vəd* 'I had a book'. Note Sgl. p. 3 *mənī zi Xudāi nēst* 'az mā itari Xudd nēst'.—Cf. § 105.

c) With the preposition *ma* as a locative.

d) With the postpositions Sgl. *bē*, Ishk. *bo* 'to' as a dative, and with *jē* 'in front of', *gōl*, *gul* 'with'. Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 1 *mum-bē tu wok ropēē dē* 'give me one rupee'; *az tō-bē wok ropēē dāyēn*; p. 2 *miž-be pūl dē* 'give us money'; *va kitāb dūdīn mum-bē* 'they gave me the book'; Ishk. *azi tu-bo deyum* 'I give thee'; *tə mum-bo čiz yāži?* 'what dost thou say to me?'—Sgl. p. 2 *az tū-žā-mō*, *tə mən-žā-dō* 'I am before thee, and thou art before me'; p. 3 *mən-jē*; p. 2 *tō-yōl* 'hamrā-i-tu'.

Note Sgl. p. 2 *aze-i tfak(?) xēsta xwārem* 'I and thou(?) eat bread'; but Ishk. *azi tə maduk ari kenon* 'I and thou are working here'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sogd. *c'm'k*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grierson § 52.

## Enclitic Personal Pronouns.

114. I have come across no genuine Sgl. enclitic pronouns, and I have heard no sentence corresponding in its construction to Ishk. *dēdāk-am-a* 'I have beaten him'.<sup>1</sup>

In some cases, however, the Prs. pronominal suffixes are being used. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *mə šēn kenen-et* 'mā tura mēgāyam-et'; p. 1 *nīrō-et* 'he brought it to thee'.—Sgl. p. 2 *belarzānu-š* 'he makes him tremble'; *belišmānu-š* 'he makes him slip'; *čukō-š* 'he beats him'; *dā-š ambār* 'they put it into the granary'; *nə wīnō-š* 'he doesn't see him'.<sup>2</sup>—Sgl. p. 1 *kull-mōn-dag nīlōstag-an* 'we are all sitting'; *kull-mōn dag va tʃak kasem* 'we are all of us looking at thee'; *am xān-dag kull-mōnin-dag-ē* 'this very house belongs to all of us';<sup>3</sup> Sgl. is. *wīndō-mōn* 'he has seen us'.—*kull-šōn-dak sār xwārān* 'all of them will eat to-morrow'; *kull-šōm-bē taxsīm kenen* 'I shall distribute it to all of them'; *zamān kull-šōm baxš kenen* 'I divide the fields amongst all of them'; *hōr kull-šōm<sup>4</sup> de šuān xē xān* 'they shall all go to their homes (*hama-išān buran xōna-i xud*)'.—The enclitic pronoun 1st sg. is possibly contained in Sgl. p. 2 *šənāy-əm mārōk* 'the fire has died for me(?)'.

## Demonstrative Pronouns.

115. Sgl.—Ishk. possesses three demonstrative pronouns corresponding etymologically and functionally to those of Yd.—Mj.

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Grierson, § 62. But cf. Sgl. is. *wīndom-ōn* 'I saw them (?)'. Cf. also Voc. s.v. -i.

<sup>2</sup> But why Sgl. p. 2 *trāsen be apiō(-š)* 'I fear that he will become lost'?

<sup>3</sup> Note the addition of the Sgl. suffix of the predic. gen. to the Prs. enclitic pronoun.

<sup>4</sup> Read *-šōn*?



"HIC"			"ISTE"			"ILLE, IS"		
	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sgl.	Sköld	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sköld	Ishk.(Gr.) Zeb.(Gr.)
Nom.	<i>am(a)</i>	<i>ma-dak</i>	<i>ad(a)</i>		<i>ō (ar)</i>	<i>wa-dak</i>	<i>a'wī, au</i>	<i>wa</i>
Acc.	<i>ma</i>	<i>man(Gr.)</i>	<i>adē</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>wa'o</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>ao, wō</i>
Ag.	<i>amē</i>		<i>iđ</i>		<i>awō, ō</i>			
Gen.	<i>im</i>		<i>iđen</i>		<i>yō</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>(w)i</i>	<i>yū</i>
Pred. Gen.	<i>imen</i>		<i>iđ-bē</i>		<i>yōnen</i>	<i>iñd</i>		<i>yūnen</i>
Dat.					<i>yō-vē</i>	<i>im-bd (?)</i>	<i>wan-ba</i>	<i>yū-bā</i>
					<i>(awai bē)</i>			
Loc.		<i>Zeb.(Gr.)</i>				<i>pə-wan</i>		<i>c-ū</i>
Abl.		<i>c-i(em)</i>			<i>ca-wo</i>			
Pl.								
Nom.	<i>amānd(e)</i>		<i>adānd(e)</i>		<i>awānd</i>		<i>a'w(āndān)<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>āwend</i>
Ag.		<i>miv (Gr.)</i>					<i>a'wāndān</i>	
Pred. Gen.	<i>amānden</i>		<i>adānden</i>				<i>iwend</i>	
Dat.	<i>amām-bē</i>		<i>adām-bē</i>		<i>awām-bē</i>		<i>iw-bd</i>	<i>wēv</i>
Loc.							<i>pə-a'wāndān</i>	

<sup>1</sup> This is said to be the correct form, but also *aw* is used.

116. The Sgl. bases are:

<i>am</i>	<i>að</i>	( <i>a</i> ) <i>ō</i>
<i>īm</i>	<i>ið</i>	<i>yō</i> (< * <i>iō</i> ).

Cf. also Ishk.:

<i>man</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>wan</i> (< * <i>ōan</i> )
<i>miv</i>		<i>wēv</i> .

In the modern Sgl. system the nom. sg. is formed by prefixing *a* to *m*, *ð*, *u/o*; gen. by prefixing *ī* to the same consonants; acc. by adding *-a* to them, etc.

The connection with the Av. pronominal stems *ima-*, *aēta-* and *ava-* is obvious, but the origin of the differentiation between the nom. *am* and the gen. *īm*, etc. cannot be traced with certainty. *ið* can scarcely be derived from the acc. *aētəm* (from which we should expect \**ēð*). It is possible that *am(a)* goes back to *imā-* and *īm* to *ima-*, but the reason for this distribution of the forms is unknown. *īw* might perhaps be derived from *aēibyō*, *aēibiš*, cf. *wēv*. *yōnen* is formed on the same principle as *tōnen*, which in its turn has got its *-n* from *mən-en*. With *amē*, *awē* cf. Sogd. 'wy, 'my.<sup>1</sup> As for the pl. forms cf. Yd.—Mj. § 206. In Sköld's paradigm two different stems appear to have been mixed up.

*Examples of the use of the demonstratives.*

117. 1. *ama*: Sgl. p. 1 *am mən xān*, *ō tō xān* 'this house is mine, that house is thine'; *am xān žōšt*, *hað xān riziāk* 'this house is big, (but) that house is small'; *ama ādam karīb-ū*, *ada ādam dīr-ūi* 'this man is near, (but) that man is far off'; *ama ādam-əm wēnt* 'I saw this man'; *hama ādam (amand ādamen) minduk-ū* 'these men are asleep'. p. 2 *am xān am ādamen-ē* 'this house belongs to this man'; *am(a) xān īmen-ē*, *am xān yōnen-ē*; *amē hēči nes xorok* 'he has not eaten anything'; *īm-be-dak wok miēl-əm dūdū vəd* 'I had given this man

<sup>1</sup> Benveniste, Gramm. Sogd. II, p. 124 sq.



an apple'; *amānd ādamən rōšk yēžan* 'these men speak the truth'; *am xān-da amānden-ē* 'this house belongs to these people'; is. *am xān mēnen-ē*; p. 3 *wa-yim* (= \**va im*) *Xudā žanen* 'I shall kill his god'.

2. *āda*: Sgl. p. 1 *āda 'ādam 'arī kenō* 'that man is working'; *āda āda'mā 'arī kenan*; *adand ādamen* 'those men'; *āda yēžō*; *adānda yēžān* 'they say'; *az-əm ið-bē wok rōpēē dūð* 'I gave him one rupee'. p. 2 *āda xān-da iðen-ē* 'that house is his'; *ið-be wok rōpē dēyen* 'I give him one rupee'; *āda yēžōð* 'he said'; *adē-o hēči nes xorok* 'he has not eaten anything'; is. *ad xān dir-ūi* 'that house is far off'; *Sköld dan vrūk vünd* 'bind that horse'.

3. *ō*, *āu*: Sgl. p. 1 *āu arī kenō* 'he is working'; *ō tō xān* 'that is thy house'; *awand ādamen (a'wande) kenan* 'they are working'; *az-əm yō-be wok rōpēē dūð*. p. 2 *ō ādam xiwārōi (xiwāran)* 'that man eats (those men eat)'; *ō yēžōð*; *ō xān-da yōnen(-dak)*; *am xān yōnen-ē* 'that (this) house is his'; *awand ādam žiwondok-ān* 'those men are hungry'; *yo (gen.) žondokī šīð* 'he became hungry'; *yō-vē wok miēl dāyem be, wok miēl-əm yō-vē dūðū vōð* 'I shall give (I have given) him an apple'; *awē hēči nes xorok* 'he has not eaten anything'; *cə wo čuť-ān* 'they are smaller than he'. Note *awai be wok rōpē dēyen* 'I shall give him one rupee'. Sgl. p. 2 *az-əm wa žōð* 'I killed him'; p. 3 *wo žanen 'ura bukušan*'; *tō-ðo wa gaxlog* 'thou hast done it'; *yō-va dāya šīð* 'she became his nurse'. Sgl. is. *ō xān dir-ūi* 'that house is far off'. Ishk. *azi wan dēdum* 'I beat him'. *Sköld in nīm čiz, čiz nīm ind?* 'what is his (corr. 'this person's'?) name?'. *ō*, etc. is also used as a personal pronoun 3 sg.

An emphatic particle *-dak* is frequently added to demonstrative pronouns. Thus, e.g.: *am-dak* 'hamin'; *adak* (< \**ad-ðak*) 'hamū'; *im-be-dak*, *imen-dak*, etc. Cf. also the use of *-dak* after enclitic pronouns (§ 114) and in *am xān-dag* 'this very house'. Cf. Wkh. *ham-dak* 'hami'.

In Ishk. I once heard a Prs. demonstrative in *amīn xōn munō* 'this house is mine'. Sgl. p. 2 *i ādam mər* 'this man died' was

probably a slip of the tongue on the part of my informant. Also Sk. has *in*.

Reg. *dunda* 'so much, thus', v. Voc. s.v. I am unable to analyze Sgl. s. *pasi vənəf*, *pasi vədānəf* 'after those things(?) (*bāqi bi ū*)'.

### Reflexive Pronoun.

118. The reflexive pronoun is *xē* 'own' < \**xwahaya*. V. Voc. s.v. Note: Sgl. *gōl ken xē wazirēn* 'assemble my ministers'; *wa xē kūc* 'O, my wife'.

### Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

119. *kō(i)?* 'who?' < *kahyā*.—Sgl. p. 2, is. *am xān kōinen-ē?* 'whose is this house?' *ma kitāv kō-ve dē?* 'to whom wilt thou give this book'; Sgl. p. 3 *kōi gaxtog?* 'who has done it?'. *kudum?* 'which?'.—Sgl. p. 2 *kudum ādam-ē?* 'which man is it?'. Sgl. p. 3 *ma kudəm mah-ō?* 'in which month is it?' < *katāma*.

*cē?* (adj.), *ceci?* (subst.) 'what?'.—Sgl. p. 1 *tu ce arī keni*, p. 2 *ce/i (h)arī kē* 'what art thou doing (*ēi mēkunī*)?'; p. 2 *tə cə nīm do* 'what is thy name? (litt. thou what name art?)'; *təməx cīe yēžəf?* 'what do you say?'; *ceci (cicə) yēž?* 'what dost thou say?'; *ēiz* Ishk., Sk., Gr. 'what?'.—Ishk. *tə mum bo ēiz yēž?* 'what dost thou say to me?'.—Cf. Voc. s.v.

*cəmənd?* 'how many?'—Sgl. p. 2 *cəmənd ādam ōstō?* *cəmənd tan-ān?* 'how many men (persons) are there?'.—From \**čumanta* < *č(u)want*? *kōci* 'any(body)'.—Sgl. p. 3 *kōci digar Xudā* 'any other God'.—Cf. Av. *kas-ēt*.

*iško* 'anybody' (< \**hič kō*).—Sgl. p. 3 *iško nes ferind* 'nobody remained (*hēckas na mānd*)'.

*hēci* 'anything' (< \**hēc-ci*).—Sgl. p. 2 *nēr-mō hēci nes xorōk* 'to-day I have not eaten anything'.

*čand* 'some' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 *čand rōz pasi* 'some days afterwards'.



*čizi* 'something' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 *čizi-m nūšod* 'I drank something'.—V. Voc. s.v.

*har* 'every' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 *ce har xōri-dak* 'from every ass'; Sgl. is. *har qism* 'every kind'. Cf. Sgl. p. 2 *hōr kull-šōn* 'all of them'.

*kull* 'all' (< Ar. Prs.).—Cf. § 114, and v. Voc. s.v.

Cf. also the interrogative adverbs *cē-ba* 'why?', *cā'nā* 'how?', *kāōi* 'when?', *kunjā* 'where?', and *kirā* 'why?' (adapted from Prs.).

I have come across no relative pronoun in Sgl.

## Verbs.

### Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

#### "To Be".

##### Present.

120.	Sg. 1 Prs. -mō, Ishk. -m	Pl. 1 -ān
	» 2 » -dō	» 2 -ān
	» 3 » -ō(i), -ū(i), -ē, Ishk. -ō	» 3 -ān.

#### 121. Examples are:

Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1, 2 *az-mō nilōstog* 'I am sitting'; *az ma xān darūn-mō* 'I am in the house'; *az zinda (wulyēka)-mō* 'I am alive (alone)'; Ishk. *azī-m bēdōr (ferīnd)* 'I am awake (tired)'; Sk. *az-im ōst* 'I am'. Cf. LSI, X, p. 491 -ma.

Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *tu ma xān darūn-dō* 'thou art in the house'; *tō sust (šilax, durōygū)-dō* 'thou art lazy (naked, a liar)'; *tō žwondok-dō-i?* 'art thou hungry?'; *tō ce nīm-dō?* 'what is thy name?'. With *-vō* < *-dō*<sup>1</sup>: *tō-vo va mak wēndo vōd* 'thou hadst seen me'; p. 1 *tō-vō nilosto-do* (= p. 2 *tō-dō nilōstog*) 'thou didst sit down'.

A doubtful case, probably a mere Persianism, is Sgl. p. 2 *cānā-i oyođ* 'čitūr āmadi'. Cf. Gr., Zeb. -ai.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 23.

Sg. 3: The final *-i* of *-ō/ūi* (LSI *-ai*) is probably originally a slightly emphatic particle. Examples are: Sgl. p. 1 *ada ādam dir-ūi* 'this man is far off'; p. 2 *vōr šōx-ōi* 'the door is closed'; Sgl. is. *am xān qarib-ūi* 'this house is near'.

The distinction between *-ō* and *-ū* (LSI *-a*) seems to be due to vowel harmony, *-ū* being used after a preceding narrow vowel. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *xūb rōst durk-ū* 'it is a quite straight stick'; *kitāv cāpšūr-ū* 'the book is above'; but *mēx sōr-ō* 'it is on the table'. There are, however, several cases of *-ō* being used also after *i* and *u* (e.g. *vēk xēmuk-ō* 'the water is cold'), and in one case I heard *kalān-ū* 'it is big'.

The sg. *-ō/ū* is used after numerals and adjectives denoting quantity, e.g. *hōvd zəmanāk-ō* 'there are seven sons'; *fai wudūd-ō* 'there are many daughters', etc.

In Ishk. I never heard any other form than *-ō* (e.g. *wadak xōn tīn-ō* 'that house is thine'). But in Sgl. a special form *-ē* is employed after an abs. gen. Thus, Sgl. p. 1, 2 *ama (ada) xān imen (iden)-ē* 'this (that) house belongs to this (that) person'; *rōi xwāi mēnen-ē* 'I have three sisters'; *kōinen-ē?* 'whose is it?' *mēnen nest-ē* 'it is not mine'. Note *kudum ādam-ē?* 'which man is it?' (?), which may, however, have been misheard.

The nominal construction, without any auxiliary, is frequent in the 3rd sg. Thus, Sgl. p. 1 *am mēn xān* 'this is my house'; *am xān šōšt* 'this house is big'.

122. Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 *kull-mōn day nīlōstāy-ān* 'we are all of us sitting'; *amēx šwondok-ān* 'we are hungry'.

Pl. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *tēmux fay-ān* 'you are many'; *tēmux sust-ān* 'you are lazy'; *tēmux šwondok-ān-i?* 'are you hungry?'.

Pl. 3: Sgl. p. 2 *hōvd vrūdār-ān* 'there are seven brothers'; *cāmēnd tan-ān ma tēmux xān?* 'how many people are there in your house?'.

Sgl. *ōsto*, Ishk. *ūst* correspond to Prs. *hast* 'exists, is'. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *mēn wō kitāv ō(sto)* 'I possess a book'; *cāmēnd ādam ōstō?* 'how many people are there?' Ishk. *mēnō wōk ēzī ūst* 'I have a certain thing'. Cf. Gr. Ishk. *āst*, Zb. *āst*, inflected Gr. Zeb. *āst-im*,



*üst-ai*, Sk. *az im ōst*, *tu-t ōst*, *ōst* (e.g. *muna ōst* 'I have'), etc. Cf. Sk. *as'tū kūnā gap* 'is there an ancient word?'. I never came across such forms.

The interpretation of Sgl. p. 2 *wog*, *dō*, *rōi mēi mā Mandažā-st*; *psūd wōda ast*, *wok mā wōda hast*<sup>1</sup> is not certain, but *ast* here seems to mean 'was', cf. Par. *hōst* 'was'.<sup>2</sup>

123. The negative form of the verb substantive is Sgl. 1 sg. *nesimō*, 3rd sg. *nēs(t)* 'nēs'. Thus, Sgl. p. 3 *az pə 'tō Xu'dāi ka'būl nēsimo* 'I am not satisfied with thy god'; p. 2 *kirā nēsť ōyōd?* 'why has he not come?'. But note also, e.g., *nəs kəđ 'na kard*'; *iško nes ferind* 'nobody remained', where *nes* is used as a simple negation. Cf. Voc. s.v.

124. The derivation of some of the forms given above is uncertain, but Ishk. *üst*, Sgl. *\*ōst* probably goes back to accentuated *as'ti*, while *-ō/ū* represents the unstressed form, and *ōstō* is a cross between the two forms. But *-ō* may also go back to *-ati*.<sup>3</sup>

In Sgl. *ahmi* and the enclitic pronoun 1 sg. *-mai* would coalesce in (*ə*)*m*. Therefore the auxiliary has been reinforced by adding the verbal ending *-ō*. This has led to the employment of the ancient encl. pron. 2nd sg. Sk. *-t*, *-đ*, Sgl. *-d/đō* (with secondary *ō*) both as a verb and as an encl. pronoun.

2nd sg. *\*ē < ahi* has disappeared in Sgl., probably on account of the collision with 3 sg. *ē*. But cf. Gr., Ishk. *ai*.

While 3rd pl. *ān* may be derived from *\*hanti*, and 1 pl. *ān* has been influenced by the encl. pron., the 2 pl. in *ān* is an unexpected form (< *-adana?*).<sup>4</sup>

125. The preterite is *vəđəm*, *-əm vəđ*, or *az(-əm) vəđ* 'I was'; *vəđ* 'he was', e.g., *wok telf vəđ* 'there was one child'; *adim frī wəđ* Sk. 'that would be good'. Sk. *'na-w'duk*, transl. 'he isn't', is probably a pf. form.

<sup>1</sup> Texts, II.

<sup>2</sup> IIFL, I, Par. Gramm. §§ 175 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gr., LSI.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Prs. dial. *-ēn*.

## "To Become".

126. The same root *š-* is used both in the meaning of 'going' and of 'becoming'.

## Present (Aorist).

	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.		Sgl.	Sk.
Sg. 1 Prs.	<i>šan</i>	<i>šum</i>	<i>šo(wu)m</i>	Pl. 1	<i>šam</i>	<i>šawōn</i>
» 2 »		<i>šwi</i>		» 2		<i>šawof</i>
» 3 »	<i>šuwō(i)</i>	<i>šwū</i>		» 3	<i>šuan</i>	

Thus, *warfā vē šuwōi* 'the snow melts'; *šuan xē xān* 'let them go home'; *az šān* 'I become, I go'; *šuan* 'buran'; *šam* 'let us go'.

## Imperative.

Sgl. *šā biavān* 'go into the desert'; Sk. 2nd sg. *šau*, 1 pl. *šudn*.

## Preterite.

	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.		Sgl.
Sg. 1 Prs. ( <i>az-əm</i> )	<i>šid-əm, -əm šid</i>	<i>šudum</i>	<i>šodəm</i>	Pl. 1	<i>šiān</i>
» 2 »	<i>šio(i)</i>			» 2	
» 3 »	<i>šid</i>			» 3	<i>šiān</i>

Thus, *bēdār-em šid* 'I awoke'; *šidum biavān* 'I went into the desert'; *tə šiwondok šio-i?* 'gušna šudi?' *wok šēr paidā šid* 'a lion was born'; *šid Izivū bē* 'he went to Zebak'; *psāt šēr šiān* 'now we became satisfied'; *rərsat šiān* 'they took farewell'.—*šiān* < \**šid-ān*.

## Perfect.

	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.
Sg. 1 Prs.	<i>-mō šiok</i>		
» 3 »	<i>šidōk, -o šyuk</i>	<i>šeduk</i>	<i>šedūk</i>

Thus, *az-mō zaxmī šiok*, *zax(m)-mō šiok* 'I have become wounded'; *kar-mō šyuk* 'I have become deaf'; *kōr-o šyuk* 'he has become blind'; *balawān šidōk* 'jaṅg šuda ast'. Cf. Pluperfect: *šidō vedem* 'I had become'. See §§ 144, 147.



*The Present Stem.*

129. In Sgl.—Ishk., as in other Modern Ir. languages, the verbal system is based upon two stems—the Present Stem and the Past Stem.

All Present Stems are inflected alike, the only exception being the Verb Substantive. A causative in *-ān-* has been borrowed from Prs. Thus, *be-čārānem* 'I herd cattle'; *belarzānu* 'he makes it tremble'; *be-lišmānu-š* 'he makes him slip'. Reg. *pīz-*: *paz-*, *sīw-*: *saw-*, v. below § 130, c.

130. From the historical point of view we can still distinguish between Present Stems in *-a-*, *-ya-*, *-āya-*, *-na-* and *-sa-*. But these distinctions have no significance whatever in the verbal system of modern Sgl.—Ishk. Examples of the various ancient stems are:

a) Stems in *-a-*: Sgl. *araz-* 'to fly'; *vānd-* 'to bind'; *pac-* 'to boil' (intr.); *xwār-* 'to eat'.

b) Stems in *-ya-*: *if-* 'to weave' (\**ufya-*); *mur-* 'to die' (\**mrya-*?); *zīd-* 'to flow' (\**zgadya-*); *dēš-* 'to milk' (\**daušya-*).

c) Stems in *-āya-*: Sgl. *api-*, Ishk. *apay-* 'to be lost' (\**apāya-*); *āstay-* 'to send'; *dāy-* 'to give'; *derāy-* 'to reap'; *fōrmē-* 'to command'; *nōmay-* 'to show'; *pār-dē-* 'to sell'; *zēnē-* 'to wash'.—Of roots ending in consonants: *awīr-* 'to find'; *pōzin-* 'to recognize'; *kīr-* 'to plough'; *nēnd-* 'to plant'; *ižīm-* 'to bring'; Sk. *pīz-* 'to cook' (intr. *paz-*); *sīw-* 'to burn' (intr. *saw-*).<sup>1</sup>

d) Stems in *-sa-*: *is-* 'to come'; *fērōs-* 'to ask'; *wērōfs-* 'to stand up'; *mis-* 'to sleep' (?); *trās-* 'to fear'.

e) Stems in *-na-*: *čen-* 'to pick'; *ken-* 'to do'; *xōrn-* 'to buy'; *yūn-*, etc. 'to grind'; Ishk. *šin-* 'to weep'; possibly also *peđin-* 'to kindle'.

f) Irregular formations are *pōv-* 'to drink', from the ancient reduplicated stem \**piba-*, and *iđ-* 'to arrive', which recalls Slav. *ido* 'I go' and the Av. presents in *-dā-*,<sup>2</sup> but has more probably been abstracted from the 3rd sg. Av. *āiti*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Tedesco, ZII, II, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Reichelt, Av. Elementarbuch, § 219.

g) Some of the Ishk. present stems given by Sk. have been adapted to the past stems. Thus, *apux-* 'to hear' (pret. *apuxt*), for *apaxš-*; *jis-* 'to flee' (pret. *jist*) for *jih-*; *məl-* 'to die' for *mṛ-*; *šid-* 'to weep'; cf. Ishk. *yūln-* (pret. *yūld*) 'to grind' for *yūn-*. Also Zar. *prūf-* 'to steal' has got its *f* from the past stem, but at a very early date.

## Present.

131. *ken-* 'to do'; *γē/až-* 'to speak'; *xwār-* 'to eat'; *pzin-* 'to know'.

		Sgl. p. 1	Sgl. p. 1	Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. is.
Sg. 1	Prs.	<i>ke'nen</i>	<i>γē'žen</i>	<i>xwārən</i>	<i>kenen</i>
» 2 »		<i>ke'nī</i>	<i>γē'zi, γē'z (?)</i>	<i>xwāri</i>	<i>kenī</i>
» 3 »		<i>ke'nō<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>γē'zō<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>xwōrōi</i>	<i>kenō(i)</i>
Pl. 1	»	<i>ke'num</i>	<i>γē'žen</i>	<i>xwārəm</i>	<i>kenun</i>
» 2 »		<i>ke'nəf</i>	<i>γē'zəf</i>	<i>xwāraf</i>	<i>kenəf</i>
» 3 »		<i>ke'nan</i>	<i>γē'žān</i>	<i>xwārān</i>	
		Sgl. s.	Ishk.	Sk.	Gr. (Zeb.)
Sg. 1	Prs.	<i>kenem</i>	<i>kenum</i>	<i>γāžm<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>-i/em</i>
» 2 »			<i>kənī</i>	<i>γāži</i>	<i>-ē</i>
» 3 »		<i>ziđū</i>	<i>kənū</i>	<i>γāžu</i>	<i>-ī, -ai</i>
Pl. 1	»		<i>kenon</i>	<i>γāžān</i>	<i>-en</i>
» 2 »			<i>kenū (?)</i>	<i>γāžəv</i>	<i>-ev</i>
» 3 »				<i>γāžān</i>	<i>-en</i>

Gauthiot's Ishk. paradigm <sup>2</sup> (*ava'rəm, a'var, a'vard, avarān, avarəv, avarān*) differs from that of other sources. But on the whole the Ishk. terminations closely resemble those of W. Wakhan (*-əm, -ī, -t, -an, -əv, -an*).

132. 1st Sg. and Pl.—It is characteristic of the extreme variability of some of the Pamir dialects spoken by the scanty population of a few scattered villages, that in the hamlet of Porogh the dis-

<sup>1</sup> And *pzinəm, pzinī, etc.*—Reg. *wūnəm/əm, wūnē, wūnu, etc.*, v. Voc.

<sup>2</sup> MSL, 20, p. 14.



tribution of *-n* and *-m* in the 1st Sg. and Pl. should be the opposite of that found in the village of Zebak below, and probably also in Sanglech proper (at the head of the valley), the intervening village of Iskutul presenting *-n* in both cases.

The 1st Sg. in *-n* probably originally belongs to the subjunctive,<sup>1</sup> while the 1st Pl. has got its *-n* from the enclitic pronoun. Apparently 'Common Sgl.—Ishk.' at a not too remote period possessed both an indicative 1st Sg. in *-m* and a subjunctive in *-n*, possibly also a present 1st Pl. in *-m* and a preterite in *-n*. But now these forms have everywhere been levelled out.

Ishk. *-um* may be derived from *-ami*, while Sgl. p. *-en* (more rarely *-ən*) would seem to go back to *\*-ayani*.<sup>2</sup> If this is the case we must assume that *-en* was transferred secondarily to *zenēyen* (*zenēn*) 'I wash', *dāyen* 'I give', etc.

2nd Sg.—Sgl. *-ī* (Gr. Zeb. *-ē*) < *-ahi*, or *-ayahi*. If *-ī* is derived from *-ayahi*, the irregular forms Sgl. p. 2 *kē*, *kē̄*, *ken* 'thou dost'; *apanis* 'thou lovest (*gum mēkinī*)'; *cicə yē'z?* 'what dost thou say?' are derived from *-ahi*, cf. also Gauthiot's *avar* 'thou bringest'. But I only heard such forms used in questions, and the loss of the ending is most probably a recent and local phenomenon.

3rd Sg.—Regarding the distribution of *-ū* and *-ō* and the particle *-ī*, cf. above § 121.

From *-ati* we should expect *\*-ōd*, but the final consonant has been dropped in the termination, cf. the 3rd Pl. *-ān*. It is possible that a last trace of the fricative remains in the form *-ō<sup>u</sup>* (< *\*-ōv* < *-ōd?*) which was heard occasionally. But *-ō<sup>u</sup>* may equally well be a recent diphthongization of *-ō*.

Twice I heard Sgl. p. 3 *isyūd* 'he shall, may come', which may be the older form. Gauthiot's *avard* is probably a Wkh. form, since the syncope in the 3rd Sg. appears to be foreign to Sgl.—Ishk.

Gr. (Zb.) *-ī*, *-ai* probably goes back to *-ayati*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the corresponding forms in Oss., Bal., Kashan diall., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Pace Tedesco, ZII, 2, p. 284 sq.

2nd Pl.—Sgl.—Ishk. *-əf*, *-əv* corresponds to the forms found in Yd.—Mj. and W. Wakhi.<sup>1</sup> The derivation from the enclitic pronoun *\*wah*<sup>2</sup> is phonetically improbable, and irreconcilable with its employment in the Pres., but not in the Preterite. I would prefer to derive these terminations in *v/f* from Av. imper. and opt. medium *-adwəm*.<sup>3</sup> Phonetically such a development appears to be possible as well in Sgl. as in Wkh. and Yd.—Mj., and the need for a distinctive ending for the 2nd pl. would explain the perseverance of the middle form. *-ān* of the Pret. and Auxiliary would then have to be derived from *\*-adana*, cf. the survival of *-athana* in Dardic, Kafiri, etc.

3rd Pl.—Ancient *-anti* (and *-antai*, *-anta*?) resulted in *\*-ant*, from which *-ān* with the special phonetic reduction which is so frequent in grammatical terminations.

133. Grierson gives Zb. *az-īm deh* as an equivalent of *az dehem* 'I beat', but I have never come across this analytical form in Sgl. It has, however, an exact parallel in Par. *ān-em dhē*.<sup>4</sup>
134. The Sgl.—Ishk. 'Present' is used both as a real present and as a prospective aorist. Acc. to Gr.<sup>5</sup> the particle *bi* is added in Zb. to emphasize the future sense, or also, in one instance, to express the definite present.

In the material at my disposal the definite present force of *be* (*bə*, *ba*) appears in several cases. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *be nasō* 'mēgīrad', *xāndem bu-š* 'mē-xāndem'; *šakem bē-š* 'mēšakam'; *wēn be ziđū* 'blood is flowing'; Sgl. p. 3 *kasəf ke mən dāšman bə kunjaj-ō* 'look where my enemy is'; Ishk. *fai bu bōru* 'bisyār mēlārad'; Sk. *īm-bā be-fāru* 'he wants'.

A future or subjunctive sense is probable in Sgl. p. 1 *trāsen ki fərnisen be* 'I fear that I may forget it'; p. 2 *trāsen be apiō(š)* 'I fear that it may be lost'; *nēr be šān āri kenūk* 'to-day I shall go and work'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. now also—according to Henning—Khwarizmian *-βi*.

<sup>2</sup> Gr.Ir.Ph., I, 2, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Par. *-ēr*, *-ōr*, cf. HFL, I, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> HFL, I, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> LSI, X, p. 494 sq.



In a number of cases I am unable to decide the exact meaning of *be*. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *psād ba xēsta xwārī? nā xwārēm be* 'art thou eating (shalt thou eat) bread? I am not eating (shall not eat)'; *yō-vē wok miēl dāyem-be* 'I (shall) give him an apple'; *am ādam murō be*, or *be murō* 'this man is dying (going to die)'.

135. Very frequently, but not in all cases, a Prs. definite present was rendered by a form with the enclitic *be*. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *apaxsēm, dāyem, yuzēm, šixsēm be* 'mēšhawcam', etc.; Sgl. p. 3 *īzimēm, vrēlum, šām, wunižēm bē*; Sgl. s. *dēem, kulēm, šām, nā xwārēm be*, etc. Cf. also Sgl. p. 2 *boh be kenem* 'I kiss'; p. 3 *awezān be kenen* 'I hang up'; *pār be dēn* 'I sell'.

In some causatives in *-ān-, -ān-*, borrowed from Prs., *be* is regularly prefixed.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv. *bečārān-, bēdūwōn-, belarzān-, belismān-*, v. above § 129.

A form *bəš, buš* is also frequently used, not only with transitive verbs, although *-š* is probably borrowed from the Prs. enclitic. Thus, Sgl. p. 1 *az ni šām bəš*, p. 2 *ifən, xūrum bəš*, Sgl. is. *yarten, nasem bəš*; *az im bē wok rūpūyē dāyem bəš* 'I (shall?) give him a rupee'.

In a few cases I heard *be, ba* used with the preterite. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *sāar ba xō'an* 'we rose in the morning'; . . . *də rōpē nōd, ba ər kuđ* 'he took two rupees and let them go'; *dīr watan ba šid* 'he went to a distant country'; *guzar-em be šixtēm* 'I passed over'; *pārūzd wok čizi to bē be spārđovē* 'he entrusted a thing to thee yesterday'. I am unable to determine the meaning of *be* in these sentences. At any rate it does not correspond to that of Psht. *ba*, which forms the Habitual Past.

Reg. the use of the particle *da*, v. Voc. s.v.

### Imperative.

136. Imper. 2nd Sg. is identical with the present base. Thus, Sgl. p. 2, 3, Ishk. *is*, Sgl. p. 1, *is*, s. *is* 'come'; Sgl. p. *dē(i)* 'give'; p. 1, 2 *dē* 'beat'; Ishk. *īžēm*, Sgl. p. *īžim* 'bring'; Ishk. *nīd* 'sit

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj.

down'; Sgl. p. 2, 3 *ke(n)* 'do'; Sgl. p. 2 *žan* 'kill'; *zəne*, Ishk. *zenai* 'wash'; p. 2 *šā* (*šo*) 'go', etc.

Imper. 2nd Pl. is identical in form with Present 2nd Pl. Thus, Sgl. p. 3 *dehef* 'beat'; *nīdef* 'sit down'; *kenef* 'do'; *kasef* 'see'; *ye'žef* 'tell'.

Note Sgl. p. 2 *hōr-kull-šōn de šuān xē xān* 'let all of them go home (*hama-išān buran xōna-i xud*)', where *de* is used to form an Imper. 3rd Pers., just as the corresponding Psht. enclitic *dē*, *dī*.

### The Past Stem.

137. From a historical point of view the Past Stems of Sgl.—Ishk. can be divided into the following groups.<sup>1</sup>

A. I. Ir. *\*-ata-*: *žōd* 'killed' (*žan-*); *oγōd* 'came' (*is-*); *nođ* 'took' (*nas-*). The derivation of *oγōd* 'brought' (*ižim-*) is uncertain.<sup>2</sup>

In some cases preterites in *-a/əd* may go back to ancient Ir. forms in unstressed *-ata-*, *-ita-*,<sup>3</sup> but the majority of such preterites are no doubt recent formations. Thus, *xašəd* 'pulled'; *māḡad* 'rubbed'; Zar. *lišūd* 'licked'; *kirōd* 'ploughed', etc.

II. Ir. *\*-āta-*: *dūd* 'gave' (*dāy-*); *par-dūd* 'sold'; *āstud* 'sent' (*āstay-*); *fərmūd* 'ordered' (prob. lw.); *zənūd* 'washed' (*zə'nē-*); *wūd* 'took away' (*wus-*).

III. Ir. *\*-ūta-*: *šīd*, *šud* 'went, became' (*š-*); *vəd* 'was'; cf. Zar. *pūduk* 'rotten'.

IV. Ir. *\*-ita-*: Sgl. s. *pīd* 'drank' (*pəv-*); *xəriđ* 'bought' (*xərm-*); *čīd* 'picked' (*čīn-*, lw.?). *šīd* 'wept' (*šīd-*). *pəđil* 'lighted' (*pəđīn-*); *xūīd* 'threshed' (*xūy-*), and *xəriđ* 'scratched' (*xūr-*) may be secondary formations. Cf. also *d(ēh)əd* 'beat' (*deh-*); *dəṛād* 'reaped' (*derāy-*); *apēđ* 'lost' (*api-*); *nəmayd* Sk. 'showed' (*nəmay-*).

138. B I. Ir. *\*-rta-*: *stōl* 'swept' (*astar-*); *wōl* 'found' (*āwīr-*); *məl*

<sup>1</sup> Ishk. forms are given only when they are morphologically different from the Sgl. ones.

<sup>2</sup> Sk. has a secondary pret. *ižmd*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. *əlai*, etc., Yd.—Mj. lat < *\*dārta-*.



'died' (*mur-*); *škūl-* 'sought' (*škār-*); *xwəl* 'ate' (*xwār-*); *kul*, *kud* 'did'<sup>1</sup> (*ken-*).

Secondary formations from the present base are: *spārδ* 'entrusted'; *torδ* 'pedicavit'; *dērd* Sk. 'had'; *yūrδ* 'ground'<sup>2</sup> (*yūn-*, etc.), and, of more recent origin, *kurt* (Zar. *kirūd*) 'ploughed' (*kir-*). A secondary *d* has been added to the ancient preterite in Ishk. *s<sup>st</sup>tuld* 'swept'; *awuld* (Sk. *avūld*, *avūd*) 'found'; *yūld* 'ground'; Sk. *məld* 'died' (from which a new pres. stem. *məl-* has been formed).

The present stems of Gr. Zb. *kel* 'consumed' and the preterite of *nucar-* 'to draw water' are unknown. Sk. *zdūd* 'swept' (*zdār-*) and *avūd* 'found' are suspect of Shgh. influence.

II a) Ir. *\*asta-*: *vōst* 'bound' (*vānd-*); *nīlōst*<sup>3</sup> 'sat down' (*nīδ-*); *zūst* 'ran' (*zīδ-*). *jīst* 'fled' is a Prs. lw.<sup>4</sup>—Also *čarāst* 'grazed' (*čārān-*), and *bəlxāst* 'made to slip' (*\*bə-laxcān-?*) are lw.s, and the preterites may have their origin in some local Prs. dialect. Cf., however, *belišmānd*.—Acc. to Sk. the preterite of *xōnd-* 'to laugh' is *xūnd*.

b) Ir. *\*ista-*: No example is known.

c) Ir. *\*rsta-*: *fəryəst* 'wandered' (*fəryərt-*); *yošt* 'walked about', both of which are probably early lw.s.

Sk. gives a number of Past Stems in *tt* from roots in *-d/t*. Thus, *wōtt* 'put' (*wēd-*); *att* 'fell' (*at-*); *dett* 'entered' (*dēd-*); *nitt* 'sat down' (*nīd-*); *šitt* 'wept' (*šīd-*).<sup>5</sup> Cf. the corresponding Wkh. forms.

III a) Ir. *\*ašta-*: *kot* 'saw' (*kas-*); *f<sup>r</sup>rōt* 'asked' (*f<sup>r</sup>rōs-*); *arat* 'flew' (*araz-*); *wāt*, *waš* 'fell' (*waz-*); *xōt* 'rose' (*xāz-*). With *i* from the Pres. Stem: *apanit* 'lost' (*apanis-*); *fərnit* 'forgot' (*fərnis-*).

b) Ir. *\*išta-*, *-ušta-*: *let* 'licked' (*lēs-*); *v<sup>r</sup>rēt* 'broke' (*v<sup>r</sup>rēl-*); *kut* 'slaughtered' (*kul-*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 13, 70.

<sup>2</sup> But *wufoḳ* 'flour' from the original past stem.

<sup>3</sup> Sk. only in *rēmuz* 'nālūt', elsewhere *nitt*.

<sup>4</sup> Sk. *jās*: *jəst*.

<sup>5</sup> Ishk. *šin*: *šīd*, but Sgl., quite irregularly, *šīδ*: *šīδ*.

Secondary formations from the present stem are: *γuzd* 'ran'; *pēzd* 'wrapped up'; Sk. *arazd* 'flew'; *forast* 'asked'; *kəld* 'slaughtered'; Ishk. *vēlēd* 'broke'; Zar. *lisūd* 'licked' (Ishk. *lišt* from Prs.); *tūld* 'shaved'.

Cf. also *xašəd*, Sk. *xašt* 'pulled'; *nūšəd* (Gr. *nešt*) 'threw, put'; *nəvišt* 'wrote'; Sk. *nəšt* (Gr. *nušt*, *našet*) 'went out' (*nēz*-); *wunīžd*, *wəništ* 'went round' (*wəniy*-); *γēzd* 'said'.

Note Gr. Zb. *γēd*, *tūd* < *γēzd*, *tūld*.

IV a) Ir. *\*afta*-: *xavd* 'descended' (*xav*-);<sup>1</sup> *škōvd* 'was cold', which may be a secondary formation.

b) Ir. *\*īfta*-: *yēvd*, *ivd* 'span'.—*nivd* 'brought'; *pəvd* 'blew' (*pəb*-); *pōrd* 'drank' (*pōv*-); Gr. *qivd* 'called' are all secondary forms.

c) Ir. *\*γfta*- (*-γbda*-): *andərvd* 'sewed'.

Roots in *f*, *p*, *b* have secondary preterites: *īft* 'wove'; Sk. *təraft* 'stole'; Gr. *kift* 'pierced';<sup>2</sup> Sk. *talapt* 'wanted'; *āēbt* 'beat'.

Note Sgl. *təđ*, Ishk. *səd* 'burnt' (*təv*-, *sav*-) with the same irregular development (*\*θata* < *\*tafta*-) as is found in Sar. *θūd*, Wkh. *θett* (*θau*-).

V a) Ir. *\*axta*-: Gr. *tōyd* 'walked'; *atōyd*, *axtəd* 'entered' (*atīy*-).

b) Ir. *\*uxta*-: *dəγd* 'milked' (*dēš*-); *pənayd* 'dressed' (*pənec*-). The derivation of *zuyd* 'seized' (*zenz*-) is uncertain.

From verbs in *x* are formed the secondary preterites: *šəxt* 'passed' (*šəxs*-); *apəxt* 'heard' (*apəxs*-);<sup>3</sup> *gāxəd*, Gr. Zb. *gaxt* 'made' (*gax*-). Similarly Zar. *dēšt* 'milked' (*dēš*-); Sk. *čəkt* 'threshed' (*čək*-); *kozđ* 'copulated' (*koc*-). Note Ishk. *puməxt* 'dressed' (*pumec*-).

c) Ir. *\*axwa*-: *pux* 'cooked' (*pac*-), Ishk. with secondary *-t*: *puxt*. Sk. distinguishes between *piz*-: *puxt* 'to boil' and *paz*-: *pazd* 'to cook'.

VI. Ir. *\*ixna*- is possibly preserved in Gr. *frin* 'he remained' (< *\*fra-rixna*-?), regularized into Sgl. and Sk. *fərinđ*. The old present is *fəris*- (cf. Voc. s.v.), but Sk. *fərin*- has been remade from

<sup>1</sup> Prob. adapted to the Past Stem.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Sk. *pələftuk* '(sun)rise'.

<sup>3</sup> Sk. *apux*- has been adapted to the Past Stem.



the preterite. *mis-* (Sk. *mīn-*): *mīnd* 'to sleep' has been formed on the pattern of *fōris-*.

VII. Roots in *-n* and *-m* usually form their Past Stems by adding *-d*. Thus, *wīnd* 'saw'; *pəzīnd* 'knew'; *vrōnd* 'scolded'; *dəvīnd* 'winnowed'; *kōnd* 'dug'; *belīsmānd* 'made to slip'; Sk. *pəḍend* 'kindled'; Zb. *kind* 'wished'; Sk. *īḷəmd* 'brought'; Gr. *sāmd* 'smeared'. For exceptions v. A, I.

139. The above list will serve to establish that, although a number of ancient forms have been retained, in spite of their being irregular in the modern language, a nivellation has been carried through in all dialects of Sgl.—Ishk. (thus, *wēnd*, *yūrō*, *γuzd*, etc.), or at least in some of them. Sgl. has on the whole preserved more irregular forms than Ishk, and within this latter dialect the variety described by Sk. is especially inclined to regularize, not only the Past, but also the Present Stems. Note, e.g., the Preterites *īḷəmd*, *pəḍend*, *məld*, *forast*, *arazd*, *kəld*, *nəst*, *pəzd*, *nītt*, and the Presents *apux-*, *fərin-*, *jəs-*, *məl-*, *mīn-*.

140. From the point of view of the modern Sgl.—Ishk. dialects the formation of the Past Stem may be briefly described in the following way.

The most common way of forming the Past Stem consists in adding *d/ḍ*, or, after surds and plosives, *t* to the Present Stem. These Stems in *rḍ*, *vḍ/d*, *īḍ*, *zḍ*, *ḷḍ*, *ld*, *nd*, *md*, *st*, *št*, *ft*, *xt*, *pt*, *kt*, *tt*, *bt*, number, however, less than half of the actually occurring forms. In some cases the addition of *ḍ* is accompanied by a change in the root-vowel,<sup>1</sup> in others the *ḍ* is preceded by a short vowel *ə/a*.<sup>2</sup>

About a fourth of the verbs available form Past Stems which are irregular from the point of view of the modern Sgl.—Ishk. phonological and morphological system, but which may nevertheless be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A, II, IV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A, I.

arranged into groups. Thus, -*ḍ* (-*n*-); -*ḷ* (-*r*-); -*st* (-*nd*-, -*ḍ*-, -*n*-, -*h*-); -*t* (-*z*-, -*s*-, -*ḷ*-); -*xt* (-*xṣ*-, -*c*-, -*z*-).

Less than a fourth of the verbs have wholly irregular or suppletive Past Stems. Thus, e.g. *yūn*:-*yūld*; *pəv*:-*pīḍ*; *dēš*:-*dəyd*; *zenz*:-*zuyd*; *pac*:-*pux*; *fəris*:-*fərin(d)*; *atīy*:-*alōyd*, *axtəḍ*; *wus*:-*wūḍ*; *nēnd*:-*nēḍ*; *xōnd*:-*xōnd*; *təv*:-*təḍ*; *ižim*:-*oyod*; *zdār*:-*zdūd*.

### Preterite.

141. *Oyodəm* 'I came'; *xwōrəm* 'I ate'; *frōtəm* 'I asked'; *žōḍ* 'killed'; *wēndəm* 'I saw'; *dūdəm* 'I gave'; *az-əm pzind* 'I knew'.

	Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. s.
Sg. 1 Prs.	{ <i>oyod-əm</i> - <i>əm oyod</i>	<i>xwōr-əm</i> <i>az-əm xwōr</i>	<i>frōt-əm</i>
» 2 »	- <i>ī oyod</i>	( <i>tə-vō</i> ) <i>xwōrī</i>	<i>frōt-ī</i>
» 3 »	<i>oyod</i>	<i>xwōr</i>	<i>žōḍ</i>
Pl. 1 »	<i>oyod-ān</i>	<i>xwōr-ān</i>	
» 2 »	<i>oyod-ān</i>	<i>xwōr-ān</i>	
» 3 »	<i>oyod-ān</i>	<i>xwōr-ān</i>	

	Sgl. p. 1	Sgl. s.	Sk.
Sg. 1 Prs.	{ <i>wēnd-əm</i> ( <i>az-əm wēnd</i> )	<i>dūd-əm</i> <i>az-əm dūd</i>	<i>az-um pzind</i>
» 2 »	<i>tə-vō wēnd</i>		<i>tə-ḍ</i> —
» 3 »		<i>dūd</i>	<i>aw</i> —
Pl. 1 »	<i>amax wēnd-an</i>	<i>dūd-in</i>	<i>məx-ān</i> —
» 2 »			<i>təməx-aw</i> —
» 3 »		<i>dūd-in</i>	<i>awānd-ān</i> —

142. In Sg. 1 -*əm*, Ishk., Zb. -*im* the transitive \*-*mai* and the intrans. \*-*ahmi* have coalesced. Sg. 2 -*ī*, which originally belongs to the intrans., is used also with trans. verbs in Sgl., alone or combined with the trans. -*ḍō*.<sup>1</sup> Ishk. has the old trans. suffix -*ḍ*, Gr. -*at* <

<sup>1</sup> V. § 124.



\**tai*, in both groups of verbs, thus Gr. Ishk. *wudat*, but Gr. Zb. *wodī* 'thou wast'. Likewise Sgl. has 2nd Pl. *-ān*, while Ishk., and also Zb., have *-aw*, *-av*. 1st Pl. *-ān*, Zb. *-en* is based upon the enclitic, trans. form, but 3rd Pl. *-ān* is an originally intrans. form. Besides the usual form in *-ān* (*oyodan* 'they brought'; *γēddān* 'they said'; *xāštān* 'they pulled'; *apaxlan* 'they heard'; *xoten* 'they rose'; *kuān* 'we, they did'), we find *-in* in *dūdīn* (*kitāv dūdīn mum-bē* 'dādan ba mā'; *rōpē* . . . *dūdīn*, *ōyodan*) and *itīn* 'we arrived'.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that the difference of inflexion of trans. and intrans. preterites has for the most part been obliterated.

143. There is great freedom in the use of the various possible constructions in the Preterite.

The most common ones in Sgl. are the types *-əm kud* and *az-əm kud*. Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 1 *va tumuxəf-əm wēnt* 'I saw you'; *bēdār-əm šid*; *fər-əm γəšt* 'I wandered about'; p. 2 *āri-m kud* 'I worked'; *Caṅlēš-əm ōyod* 'I came from Sanglech'; *cənā-i ōyod* 'čitur āmadi'; Sgl. is. *va tō gap-an apəxt* 'they understood thy word'; *-əm šixt* 'I passed'; Ishk. *-um šid* 'I wept'; *putf-um puxt* 'I boiled the meat'.

Sgl. p. 1, 3 *az-əm ari kul* 'I worked'; *az-əm wēnt* 'I saw'; *az-əm γēžəd* 'I said'; p. 3 *az-əm va tō lavz pezind* 'I understood thy word'. Perhaps also Sgl. p. 1 *tō-u* (for *-vo*) *va mak wēnt* 'thou sawest me'.

Also the pleonastic types *-əm kud-əm* and *az-əm kud-əm* are in use, but are less frequent.

Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *guzār-əm be šixt-əm* 'I crossed the ford'; *zamīn-əm kōnd-əm* 'I dug in the field'; *puḍf-um pux-əm* 'I cooked meat'. It is possible that also *adam-an* . . . *xwōr-an* 'the men ate' is of this type.<sup>2</sup>

Sgl. p. 1 *az-əm frōt-əm* 'I asked'; *az-əm vək pōvd-əm* 'I drank water'; *az-əm šid(-əm)* 'I went'.

A type *\*az kud(-əm)* does not seem to exist, *az-əm* being the regular form of the pronoun as the subject of a Preterite. But note, e.g., *təməx xēsta xwōrān-i?* 'have you eaten bread?'. In Ishk. the most frequent type is *azi wulo γəzd* 'I ran in front'; *azi xē dust zenūd* 'I washed my hand'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *frindīn*, p. 374, note 2? <sup>2</sup> But cf. § 100.

## Perfect.

144. The Perfect Stem is formed by adding Sgl. *-ōk*, *-uk*,<sup>1</sup> Zb. *-āk*, Ishk. *-uk* to the Past Stem, and thus corresponds to the Pf. of most other Ir. dialects. In the Pl. we find *-ak*.<sup>2</sup> In some cases the final *-k* (*-g*) has been dropped.<sup>3</sup> Thus, *nīlosto-mō* 'I have sat down'; *ōyodo-mō* 'I have come', etc.
145. In Ishk. the perf. is constructed in the same manner as the past tense. Thus, *azi fak wīnduk* 'I have seen thee'; *a'zī eā mīnduk xōtuk* 'I have risen from sleep'; *azi ari kuluk* 'I have worked'; *azi madak minduk-um* 'I have been asleep here'; *nīduk-um* 'I have sat down (= I am sitting)'; *madak-um ustūk* 'I have risen here (= I am standing)'; *šedūk* 'šuda ast'; *apēduk* 'gum šuda ast'; Sk. *'az-im*, *tə-ḍ*, *au*, *mə'x-ān*, *təməx-əv*, *a'wānd-ān* *'yažduk* 'I, etc., have said'; *mī'suk mag* *'naduk* 'sleep has seized me (= I will sleep)'; *šedūk* 'he has gone', etc.
146. In Sgl. the present forms of the verb substantive are used in inflecting the perfect.

Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1, 2 *az-mō* (*mo mōd*) *nīlostok*, p. 3 *nīlosto-mō* 'I am sitting (here)'; p. 3 *ōyodo-mō*, p. 2 (*hari*)-*mo* *ōyodok* 'I have come (to work)'; p. 2 *astōo-mo*, is. *psā-mō astōk* '(now) I have risen'; p. 3 *nēr-mō hēcī nes xorōk* 'I haven't eaten anything to-day'; *nyēr-mō xōdm wīnduk* 'I have seen a dream to-night';<sup>4</sup> *la-ku'lo-mō-i* 'I have left behind'; *šidu-mo* 'I have wept'.

Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 1 *tə-ḍō nīlostog*, *tə-vō nīlosto-do* (< \**tə-ḍō nīlostok-ḍō*); p. 2 *tə-ḍō xōdm wīnduk*; *tə nēr-ḍō hēcī nes xorok*; p. 1 *tə-ḍō* . . . *gaxtog* 'thou hast done'.

Sg. 3: Sgl. p. 2 *aḍē-o hēcī nes xorok*, *nēr hēcī am-ō nes xorok* 'to-day he (this man) has not eaten anything'; *xōfuk-o noḍōk* 'he has

<sup>1</sup> We find *-uk* after *ī* and *e* in the preceding syllable. Thus, *minduk*, *wīnduk*, *kenuk*, but note *štok*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 100.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 14.

<sup>4</sup> But once *xōdm-əm wīnduk*.



got a cough (*silfa giriftast*); *daryā-o yəx-o kuōk* 'the river has frozen'; *apēdōk-o* 'it has been lost'; *šak-o ni'lōstok* 'dew has fallen'; p. 1 *am ādam minduk-ūi* 'this man has fallen asleep'. But without the verb substantive: p. 2 *awē hēci nes xorok*; *hari kenuk oγōdōk* 'he has come to work'; *arazōk* 'he has flown'; p. 3 *šidōk* 'he has gone'. Note p. 2 *kirā nēst oγōd* 'why has he not come?'.

Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 *kull-mōn-dag ni'lōstog-an* 'we have sat down all of us'.

Pl. 2: *Ishk. tumux mak wēnduk, yā ne?* 'have you seen me, or not?'.

### Pluperfect.

147. The Pluperfect is formed by adding the preterite of the verb substantive to the perfect stem, with loss of its final *-k*. Examples are:

Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1 *az-əm šidō vedem* 'I had gone'; p. 2 (*az-əm*) *ari-m kuō vəd*, *parūzd ari-m kuō vəd* 'I had worked (yesterday)'; *az-əm wok vəz (va tfak) wēndo vəd* 'I had seen a goat (thee)'; *wok miēl-əm yō-vē dūdū-ved(əm)* 'I had given him an apple'. Note *az pārūzd oγōdō vəd* 'I had come yesterday'.

Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *to-və āri kuō vəd-i?* 'hadst thou done the work?'; *tə-vo va mak wēndo vəd?* 'hadst thou seen me?'.

Sg. 3: Sgl. p. 2 *parūzd wok ēizi to-bē be spārdō ve* 'yesterday he had entrusted something to thee'; p. 3 *ni'lōsto vəd* 'he had sat down (i.e. was sitting)'.

Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 *aməx (h)āri kuā vəd* 'we had done the work'; *aməx pārūzd oγōdā vəd* 'we had come yesterday'.

Pl. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *təməx āri kuā-vəd-i? təməx kādī oγōdā vəd?*

### Compound Verbs.

148. Like other Ir. dialects Sgl.—*Ishk.* employs a great number of compound verbs.

V. Voc. s.vv. *yalbēl ken-*, *kai ken-*, *kō ken-*, *la ken-*, *puf ken-*, *pōk*

*ken-*, *šōše ken-*, *šat kən-*, *təš kən-*, etc. Cf. also *isāb dē-* 'to calculate'; *pātik dē-* 'to wink' (and v. Voc. s.v. *deh-*), and *γalt-əm šid* 'I rolled, fell'.

#### Interrogative Particle.

149. The interrogative particle is *-ī*, which it is, of course, possible to derive from an ancient optative 3 sg. But it must be borne in mind that particles similarly employed (*-a*, *-ə*, *-e*) are found in all neighbouring Ir. and IA. languages, and besides in Burushaski.

Examples are: *to-və āri kuō vδ-ī?* *təməx āri kuā vδ-ī?* 'hadst thou (had you) worked?' *təməx xwōrān-ī* 'did you eat?' *tə žwondok-dō-ī?* *təməx žwondok-ān-ī?* 'art thou (are you) hungry?' *az tʃak kasen-ī* (*tʃak-ī kasen*)? 'do I see thee?'

#### Nominal Forms of the Verb.

##### Participles.

150. No present participle has been noted in Sgl., but Sk. gives *fai pʹzīnuk(ō)š* 'he who knows much'. *žwondok* 'hungry' probably goes back to an ancient pres. ptc.

Regarding the perfect. ptc. cf. 145.

##### Infinitive.

151. The infinitive is formed by adding *-ōk*, *-ūk* to the present stem.<sup>1</sup> Examples of the use of the infinitive are: Sgl. p. 2 *šā(n) naq kenuk* 'I go to play (*mērim bāzī mēkim*)'; *hari kenuk oyodok* 'he has come to work'; *nēr be šān āri kenūk* 'to-day I am going to work'; *pasi vənəf dəryōk isu*, *xōrmō xūyūk*, *pasi va dəvīnuk*, *xōdāri yūnuk* (= *yūniš*) 'after that comes the reaping, (and) the threshing, then the winnowing (and) the grinding in the water-mill'; *ari kenūk kō-kenen* 'I can work'; *pāruzd-im šowāri kenūk nəst-əm kō-kuδ* 'yesterday

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grierson, § 82.



I could not travel'; *andərzōk-em kuō* 'I have sewn(?)'. Cf. Sk. *dēyuk* 'to beat'; *škarruk* 'to seek'; *kənuḱ* 'to do'; *šəwuk* 'to become, to go'; *fərnūtuk* 'to forget' (but perf. ptc. *fərnūtuk*), etc.<sup>1</sup>

The Sgl.—Ishk. infinitive corresponds to that of Wkh. in *-āk, -g* (*vand-āk* 'to bind', *wiṅ-g* 'to see'), of Bal. (*kan-ag* 'to do', *band-ag* 'to bind'), and partially to that of Yaghn. (*wīnak* 'to see', but *kar-ak* 'to do' from the root). In Yd.<sup>2</sup> and in most cases in Par.<sup>3</sup> the infinitive in *\*-aka-* is based on the past stem, while in Orm.,<sup>4</sup> and apparently in Talish, both the present and the past stems are used.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 99, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 260.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. IIFL, I, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> IIFL, I, p. 358.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Benveniste (*Les infinitifs avestiques*, p. 111) who does not distinguish clearly between formations based upon the present stem and those based upon the preterite.—I do not believe with B. that the Shgh., etc., infinitives in *-tao* can be derived from *\*-taka-*. "*cirao*" (*cərdaw*, etc.) 'lamp' is an ancient lw. with substitution of *ie* for *γ*, and no instance of intervocalic *-k > -w-* is known from the Shgh.-group. Note Shgh. *-j < -aka-* in past participles (e.g. *sudj* 'gone, become'). There is no reason why *-tao* should not go back to *-tawai*.

## TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Sgl. p. 2.

### I.

*Wok 'ādam dā zōt vəð. Čuť zōtī xē tū-vē*  
 One man-to two sons were. Small(er) son-by his-own father-to  
*'yēžəð: Ō tāt, va 'māl tax'sim ke, mən a'sē məm-bē dē.*  
 said: O father, (acc.) property divided make, my share me-to give.  
*'Tāte xē 'māl tax'sim kuð. Čand 'rōz pa'si diga*  
 Father-by his-own property dividing made. Some days after however  
*xē 'māl gōr kuð (= kə), dīr wa'tan ba 'šīð. Ma 'wōð*  
 his-own property collected he made, far country to he-went. There  
*'šīð, xē 'māl 'āpanit, yo žondokī šīð.*  
 he-went, his-own property he-lost, for-him hunger became.

### II.

1. Yak sāl 'fauž o'γoð Gazke'stān bē. 2. Maxlu'kān gu'dōm xaštān  
 ce 'ūšə, cə 'yūzə, cə 'yowə, 'rēyn°. 3. Pəs 'dēdam Gazke'stān. 4. 'Psāt

### II.

1. One year an army<sup>1</sup> came to Gazikistan. 2. They robbed the  
 storehouse(s) of the people for grass, fire-wood, grain and ghee. 3.  
 Then we(?) enter(ed) Gazikistan. 4. Then the army (was) in Iskitul.

<sup>1</sup> A troop of Afghan soldiers.



mə Ski'tul 'fauz 5. Cə 'wōd Gazke'stān be, cə 'wōd šid Mande'žān bē. 6. 'Wog, 'dō, rōi mēi mə Manda'žā-st.<sup>1</sup> 7. Cə 'wōd wə'nīšt, o'γōd Gazke'stān be. 8. 'Psād 'wōda ast, marduma xarš 'xāstan. 9. 'Wōda xwōr, 'wōdak o'γōd ast. 10. Wok 'mā 'wōda hast. 11. Bād cə wōd xōt, šid Izi'vū bē.

## III.

1. Tira'mā k-šid cə 'kū yūz<sup>2</sup> 'xašəm. 2. 'Dē(še)m vənə šu'wō. 3. Pasi vənəf 'warfə d'hō. 4. 'Wətukə gāxān. 5. Kə 'bārə šu'wō, nau'rōze ke'nān, pasi nau'rōzə wu'diļ xa'sān. 6. Pasi šə'gārə ke'nān. 7. Pasi vənəf 'kiriš ke'nān, 'tēym dān, vī-di'ōk ke'nān. 8. Pasi vədānəf 'vėki di'ān, dəvə šō'vōk šu'ān. 9. Kə šō'wōk xalāšān,<sup>2</sup> vərvəs sōr 'xašō. 10. Pasi vənəf dəryōk isu, xōr'mō xū'yūk, pasiva də'vinuk, xō'dāri 'yūpuk,<sup>3</sup> dāš am'bār.

5. From there it went to G., and from there to Munjan. 6. It stayed one, two, three days in Munjan. 7. From there it returned, and came to G. 8. Then it stayed there, they took custom-duties (from) people. 9. It (the army) ate there, and came there. 10. It (remained) there for one month. 11. Afterwards it rose from there and went to Zebak.

## III.

1. When autumn came, we fetch fire-wood from the hills. 2. We enter (?), it becomes full (?). 3. After that (?) the snow falls. 4. (Then) they prepare weddings. 5. When spring comes, they celebrate the Nauroz, after the Nauroz they spread the dung. 6. Then they plaster (the walls). 7. After that they plough, sow, and make the first watering (of the fields). 8. After that they irrigate, and they weed. 9. When they have finished the weeding, the barley raises its head. 10. After that comes the reaping, the threshing (on) the threshing-ground, then the winnowing, the grinding in the watermill, (and) putting (?) (the flour) in the store-room.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 122.

<sup>2</sup> For *xalās šān*.

<sup>3</sup> Var. *yūniš*.

*Grammophone Text.*

1. . . , ce 'kū yūzə 'xašān, ce xē mic<sup>1</sup> xašam. 2. Dēdām vənə kuḏ. və'nok ši'o(k). 3. Pasi vənəf 'warfə de'hōi. 4. Wə'tukə šuwoi. 5. Bārə šu'woi, nau'rōzə ke'nān, pasi nau'rōzə wuḏilə xašān. 6. Pasi və'nəf šə'gār ke'nān. 7. Pasə və'nəf kīrīn, pasi vənəf vī dīān. 8. Pasə vənəf vē šāxān(?), tēymə dēān.

## IV.

1. Šām Faizō'bōd, nə'mək izimum. 2. Ōyōdum mə bandar, xaržgirən nəš 'la-kuān: 3. Miž be pūl dē, bā šo! 4. Ce har xōridak də rōpē nōḏ, ba ər kuḏ. 5. 'Tulama 'Akum dəvā nes 'lā-kuḏ kə: "tə pūl dē, bā šā!". 6. Rō(i) rōpē ākum be dūdīn. 7. Ingē rəxsat šī'ān, ōyōdan Kōe'stān. 8. Ōyōdam p'e'nuk, ke warf dēḏ, nəš kō-kwān, fə'rindi<sup>2</sup> fər'sōu mə pə'nuk. 9. 'Sāar ba xōtan, vūr kuān. 10. Ōyōdan, mə Kāfirren itīn. 11. Cə wōḏ itīn bā'zār. 12. 'Bas, xalās.

## IV.

1. We go to Faizabad, we bring<sup>3</sup> salt (there). 2. I brought it to the custom-house, the custom-officials did not let me through. 3. (They said:) 'Give us money, and go on.' 4. They took two rupees from (: for) each donkey, and released (us). 5. (But) Ghulam Hakim<sup>4</sup> afterwards<sup>5</sup> did not let us go, (saying): 'Give (me) money, and then go.' 6. We gave the governor three rupees. 7. Then we were permitted to leave, and we came to Chitral. 8. We came to the (Dorah) Pass while it was snowing, we could not (get on), we stayed the night on the Pass. 9. At dawn we rose, (and) loaded (our beasts). 10. We came, and arrived among the Kafirs.<sup>6</sup> 11. From there we arrived at the Bazar (of Chitral). 12. Enough, it is finished.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *mic* is unknown to me.

<sup>2</sup> For \*f'rindin?

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *duurdum*.

<sup>4</sup> The Afghan official.

<sup>5</sup> Or. 'even then'?

<sup>6</sup> Who live just below the Dorah Pass at the top of the Lutkuh Valley.



Sgl. p. 3.

V.

1. 'Wok bāzār'gān vəd. 2. 'Oγōd, xe baskač goļ 'axted mo 'kišti, ne'lōst. 3. Na'hāng oγōd, wa 'kišti ča'pa kəd. 4. Wok 'telf vəd zema'nōk. 5. Oγōd mo taxta-pāre-rū, mo 'jangal 'čapa šid. 6. Wok šēr pai'dā šid, 'yō-ve 'dāya šid. 7. Telf po wāda hīt. 8. 'Oγōd mē 'sār. 9. Mo 'sār 'čel dar'wāza vəd. 10. 'Oγō, mo 'wədok pād'sā šid. 11. Ke pād'sā šid 'γe'žed ke: 'Bē'γāir-i 'mak 'kōci digar xə'dā nē 'γe'žef'. 12. Rō'zānī šid ke mo 'xōdm 'wēnd, ke wok 'āhūl pai'dā šid. 13. 'Āhūl wok šāx da 'vəd. 14. (Pād'sā ba wazīra guft:) 'Vo mak cē 'men 'taxru ča'pa kəd. 15. 'Gōļ ken xē wa'zīren. 16. 'Ma mēn 'xōdm dak 'gab dehef. 17. 'Γēždan ke: 'Tē bāi 'dušma" pai'dā šu'dō. 18. 'Γēžed ke: 'Xə'dā 'az mā. 19. Ov'zū' 'tākat nē kəd. 20. 'Γēžed ke: 'Kasef ke 'mēn dāšman bē kunja'y-ō.

V.

1. There was a shopkeeper. 2. He came, with his children he entered a boat, and sat down. 3. A sea-monster came and upset that<sup>1</sup> boat. 4. (One of the children) was a babe, a boy. 5. He came on a boat-plank, and was thrown (ashore) in the forest. 6. A lioness appeared and became his nurse. 7. The child arrived at (the time of) marriage. 8. He came to a town. 9. In the town there were forty gates. 10. He came, and became king there. 11. When he became a king, he said: 'Don't call anybody God but me.' 12. One day it happened that he saw in a dream that a stag appeared. 13. The stag had one horn. 14. The king said to his vizier:<sup>2</sup> 'It pushed me off from my throne.'<sup>3</sup> 15. Assemble my ministers. 16. You shall explain about my dream.' 17. They (came and) said: 'An enemy has been born for thee(?).' 18. He said: 'God is my (ally?).' 19. But his heart had no strength.<sup>4</sup> 20. He said: 'Look, where my enemy is.'

<sup>1</sup> Or *va kišti* 'the boat'?

<sup>2</sup> This sentence was spoken in Prs.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *məra az taxt-i mā čapa kard.*

<sup>4</sup> Prs. *dil-iš tūqat na kard.*

21. *Teiž(d)an* ke: 'Ma 'pəšt-i pə'dār-o.' 22. 'Kasef ke ma 'kuðəm ma'h-ō.' 23. *Te'ždān* ke: 'dahiami mā,<sup>1</sup> cə 'pəšt-i pə'dar 'dahi mā is'yūd ma 'rām i 'mādar.' 24. *Teižeð* ke: 'Kasef.' 25. 'Pādsā fər'mūd ke—*čel darwāze vəð*—: 'Čel haf'sar mā dar'wāze 'niðef.' 26. 'Farmūd 'pādsā ke: 'Jālsa kenef.' 27. 'Wok dar'wāzē Ōzar nı'losto vəð. 28. 'Kot ke 'kuči o'γod. 29. Pə'sā *γēižeð* ke: 'Wa 'xē 'kūč, 'is men 'jē.' 30. Pə'sā cə 'pəšt-i p<sup>o</sup>'dar o'γod me 'rām-i 'mādar. 31. Pə'sād 'šid 'rām-i 'mādar bē. 32. *Teižda* ke: 'Dar'wāze 'heγ kenef.' 33. Pə'sād wu'zinjak zə'manōk oγod me dēri. 34. Rō'zī 'šid ke zəma'nōk tawa'lid šid. 35. 'Wok 'γār paidā šid. M-oγodak wok tawa'lit šid. 36. Zəma'nōk 'zəšt šid. 37. 'Xē 'tāte 'γēžeð ke: 'Xə'dā ma as'mān-o.' 38. 'Pādsā šid na'māz bē, na'māz-i id-i Rama'zān. 39. Ōzar 'zot 'oγod, bədxāna 'oγod, šid. 40. De'hēð, bə'tā f<sup>o</sup>'rēd kuð pə 't'ovor. 41. 'Bād 'pādsā 'oγod, *γēžeð* ke: 'Mən vo 'zi kōi 'gaxtok.' 42. *Teždan* ke: 'Ōzar zot-ō 'gaxtōk.' 43. Va zə'manok 'oγodan. 44.

21. They said: 'He is in his father's loins.' 22. (The king said:) 'Look, in which month he is.' 23. They said: 'In the tenth month; from his father's loins in the tenth month he comes into his mother's womb(?).' 24. He said: 'Look out.' 25. The king ordered—there were forty gates—: 'Forty officers shall sit at the gates.' 26. The king ordered that they should assemble. 27. Azar was sitting at one of the gates. 28. He saw his wife come along. 29. Then he said: 'O my wife, come to me.' 30. Then (the future enemy of the king) came from his father's loins into his mother's womb. 31. Then he went into his mother's womb. 32. They (?) said: 'Open the gate.' 33. Then the boy came into the woman's belly. 34. A day came when the boy was born. 35. A cave appeared. He came(?),<sup>2</sup> one (child) was born. 36. The child grew big. 37. He said to his father: 'God is in heaven.' 38. The king went to prayer, the prayer of the Ramazan festival. 39. Azar's son came, he came to the idol-temple, and went (in). 40. He struck the idols and broke them with an axe. 41. Then the king came and said: 'Who has done thus to me?'<sup>3</sup> 42. They said: 'Azar's son has done it.' 43. They brought the boy. 44. The king said: 'O,

<sup>1</sup> First: *dahi'mā*.—The formation is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot analyse *moyodak* which was translated *amad*.—Or faulty for *mōðak* 'here'?

<sup>3</sup> *Prs. aminora* (= *hamīnhā-rā*) *kī kārī kardast*.



Pādsā 'γē'zed ke: 'Ē Ōzar zōt, tē-dō 'ma zi 'cēva 'gaxtog?'  
 45. Γē'zēd ke: 'Baləwān šīdōk.<sup>1</sup> 46. Γē'zēd ke: 'Az pə 'tō Xu'dāi  
 ka'būl 'nəsi-mō.<sup>2</sup> 47. Ibrōhim 'γē'zēd ke: 'Mən 'laškar mə 'mōd-o.<sup>3</sup>  
 48. Nam'rūd 'γē'zēd ke: 'Mən 'fauj mə 'mōd-o. 'Tō Xə'dā mə  
 kun'jay-o?' 49. Ō 'γē'zēd ke: 'Mən Xə'dā da as'mān-ō.<sup>4</sup> 50. Pə'sād  
 'γē'zēd ke: 'Cena 'gāxəm? 51. Šām, 'va-yim Xu'dā 'zanem.<sup>5</sup> 52.  
 Wa'zīren 'γē'zēd ke: 'Ka'fas āha'nīn 'gax. 53. Cə'fūr kor'yos 'nas,  
 ta'hāma 'dēi.<sup>6</sup> 54. Rō'zānī 'šīd, 'oyōd xe wa'zīren gər, 'axted mə  
 ka'fas. 55. Va 'koryos 'vōst cə ka'fas biš. 56. Va tā'hām-ē 'šōx  
 kəd mə ka'fas sōr. 57. Šīd pa as'mān ka'fas. 58. Šīd pə 'nəsm-i  
 as'mān. 59. Ša'māl pai'da šīd. 60. Ka'fas mə as'mān ka'rār 'šīd.  
 61. Wok 'fasl 'asto-ved. 62. Ka'fas ra'wān šīd. 63. Šīd pa as'mān.  
 64. Wok 'bādī pai'dā šīd. 65. Ka'fas ra'wān šīd. 66. Pa as'mān  
 ke 'šīd, ka'fas 'rauzan ya'lā kəd. 67. Fə'rašte 'oyōd, 'tar as'mān 'šəxt.  
 68. Pādsā 'xašəd 'xe 'tīr-i 'dast, a'wā 'dūd. 69. Fə'rašta 'tīr-i 'dast

son of Azar, why have you done thus to me?' 45. He said: 'A fight has  
 begun (between us).'<sup>2</sup> 46. (The king) said: 'I do not recognize your  
 God.'<sup>3</sup> 47. Ibrahim (the son of Azar) said: 'My troop is here.' 48.  
 Nimrod (the king) said: 'My army is here. Where is your God?'  
 49. He said: 'My God is in heaven.' 50. Then (the king) said: 'What  
 shall we do? 51. Let us go and kill the God of this (man).' 52.  
 The ministers said: 'Make an iron cage. 53. Catch four vultures,  
 and feed them.' 54. One day (the king) went, came with his ministers,  
 and entered the cage. 55. He tied the vultures under the cage. 56.  
 The food he placed at the top of the cage. 57. The cage rose towards  
 the heavens. 58. It went towards the middle of the heavens. 59.  
 A wind rose. 60. The cage stopped in the heavens. 61. It stood  
 still for a moment. 62. (Then) the cage went on. 63. It went towards  
 the heavens. 64. A wind rose. 65. But the cage went on. 66. When  
 it went into the heavens, (the king) opened the window of the cage.  
 67. An angel came, and passed through the heavens. 68. The king  
 pulled out his hand-arrow,<sup>4</sup> and threw it into the air. 69. The angel

<sup>1</sup> Repeated: Tē-dō zi cē-ba 'gaxtog? Γē'zēd ke: Balu'wā šīdōk.

<sup>2</sup> Prs. cīrā-mtari kardī? cīrā hamī kārī kardī-ast(!)? jāng šuda ast.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. ba xudā-i tē kabūl na dāram.

<sup>4</sup> Javelin?

'nōd, a'wā 'dūd.<sup>1</sup> 70. Ma 'mōi 'yār ba 'tīr-i dast de'hēd, a'wā 'dūd, de'hēd. 71. 'Tīr-i 'dast 'oγōd, mē 'pādsā 'bar de'hēd. 72. Va 'koryos 'teske 'vōst mē 'kafas 'sōr. 73. Va 'tāhame 'šōx kēd cə-'viš. 74. 'Oγōd ce 'āsmān 'xav(d) me 'viš. 75. 'Va 'Ibrōhim 'γēzef ke isyūd. 76. 'Ibrōhim 'oγōd, 'pādsā jē. 77. 'Pādsā 'γēzēd ke: 'Ibrōhim, va 'tō Xə'dā-im 'zōd. 78. 'Tēzēd ke: 'Mə'nī zi Xu'dāi 'nēst, kə 'wo 'žanan. 79. 'Ibrōhim 'ro-'p-xē Xə'dā kēd, cə 'āsmān 'paše 'xavd. 80. Nam'rūd af-ma'hā 'fauji 'vəd. 81. 'Paša 'wok 'nesi 'la-koi. 82. 'Pādsā 'tāke fərīnd. 83. 'Iško nes fərīnd, 'tāke da fərīnd. 84. Dun'da vəd.

seized the javelin, and hurled it through the air. 70. The javelin struck the throat of a fish, he(?) hurled it through the air, it struck (the king?). 71. The javelin came towards the king, it struck his breast. 72. He tied the vultures at the top of the cage. 73. The food he fastened below. 74. He came from the heavens and descended. 75. (The king said:) 'Tell Ibrahim to come.' 76. Ibrahim came to the king. 77. The king said: 'Ibrahim, I have killed your God.' 78. He answered: 'I have no such God which they can kill.' 79. Ibrahim turned towards his God, (and) from heaven mosquitoes came down. 80. Nimrod was in the field for seven months. 81. The mosquitoes did not leave one (of his soldiers). 82. The king alone remained. 83. Nobody remained, he remained alone. 84. Thus it happened.

Sk.

VI.

(Quatrain from the village Rān.)

'Jāna, jāna, 'čšbā 'tā mak 'na-kasī?

My soul, my soul, why thou mee not seest?

ar xē'lāi 'šm (or t<sup>m</sup>?) -sa'ti tu-'wan xāi'ra ka'si.

In every way ? ? ? thou him well seest.

xal'qān-i-jī'hān c<sup>o</sup>mak tubā bad-yāi'jān,

The people of the world for my sake about thee ill speak,

zin'hār bā zin'hār tu 'w'āv 'gap-na-nasī.

Beware, again beware, thou their word don't take (: hear).

<sup>1</sup> Note š in sandhi.



# VOCABULARY

## Vowels.

e Sgl. p. 3 O. — e *Ōzar zōt!* — Prs.  
Cf. *ō, wa.*

i Sgl. izafat. — Prs.

i Sgl. p. 2 this. — i *ādam mər* this man died. — V. § 117.

ī Sgl. p. 2, 3 enclitic pron. 3 sg.?? — *wuīnjak zəmanok oγod me dēr-ī* p. 3 a child entered into the woman's womb; *ovzū-ī* (or *ovzū*) *tākat nəs kəδ* p. 3 'dīl-īš *tākat na kard*'; *wēn-ī* *šuwōī* p. 2 he bleeds. — V. § 114.

-ī interrogative particle. — V. § 149.

o Sgl. p. 2 O. — *ō tāt.*

-ō(ī) he is. — Cf. § 121.

ō Sgl. p. 1, 2, *āū* p. 1 that (ille). — Cf. § 115, sq. (Add: Sk. gen. pl. *viūw* (Texts, VI).

*ab'lā* Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.

*abr* Zb., Sk., *ābr* Ishk. cloud. — Prs.

*ab'rū* Zb., *av'rū* Ishk. eyebrow. — Prs.

*āb'sār* Sk. waterfall. — Prs.

*ad(a)* that (iste). — Cf. § 115, sq.

īd-: (*h*)īt Sgl. p. 2, 3 to arrive. — *wok jā īden 'yak jā mērasam*'; *šīdēm lēm 'raftam, rasīdam*'; *cə wōδ i'tīn bā'zār* p. 2 from there they arrived at the bazar; *pə wāda hīt* p. 3 'ba *wāda rasīd*'; *īdā-wī* Gr. (Zb.) falls

(to me) = arrives. Cf. Orosh. *yad:* *yat(f)* (*indīd:* *indīd* to enter); Wkh. *γat* (?). — 3 sg. *īδ* < Av. *āiti* generalized as a present stem? Cf. § 130, sq. V. *dēδ*.

īδ Sgl. p. 3 Id, festival. — *namāz-ī īδ-ī-Ramazān*. — Ar.-Prs.

*a'dab* Sk. politeness. — Ar.-Prs.

*aδak* Sgl. p. 1. V. *amda*.

*ādam* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *ō'dam* Sk. man. — Ar.-Prs.

īf-: *īft* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., Zar. to weave. —

*īfəm bōδ* Sgl. p. 2. — < \*ūf- < *ufya-* (v. AirWb., 1346), cf. Yd. *wāf*.

īfē Sgl. p. 2, is., *īfē* Gr. spindle. — Cf. *īf-afma'hā* Sgl. p. 3 a period of seven months.

— *Nam'rūd a° fauji vōδ*. — Prs.

*ōfa'rin* ('ō'fa'rin) Sk. bravo. — Prs.

*āf'šūn* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *af'sun* p. 1, 2, *šo'fūn* Ishk., *š°* Sk., *š°* Gr. comb. — *xe sōr af'sū kenen* p. 2, 3. — Cf. Yd. *šfīn*.

*af'ta* Sk. week. — Prs.

*āftāb* *bar'āmadan* Sk. east; *d°* *nīšastan* west. — Prs.

*aftā've* Sgl. p. 2 water-bucket. — Prs.

*u'γūī* Sgl. is., s., p. 1, *ō°* p. 3, *u'γū* p. 2, *you* Ishk., *γū* Sk., Gr. cow. — *va u'γū*

- dēn* Sgl. p. 2 I milk the cow. — Sgl. < \**hu-gāwya* (?), Ishk. < *gāuś*? V. § 92.
- oyod*, v. is.
- āhūi* Sgl. p. 3 stag. — *wok* 'ā° *paidā* *šid* a stag appeared; *āhūin wok šāx da* *vəð* the stag had a horn. — Prs.
- ā'hān* Ishk. iron. — Prs.
- āha'nin* Sgl. p. 3 made of iron. — *ka'fas* ā°. — Prs.
- ijgai* Gr. cheese of sheep-milk. — The existence of this word is denied by Sk.
- a'qa/dō* Sk. eagle. — Ar.-Prs.
- ākik* Sgl. is., s., *ā'kik* p. 1, 2, *ō'kik* Sk., "Wkh.", *wok* (?) Ishk. egg. — < \**āwya*kā. Cf. Khw. lw. *āyukun*.
- ākum* Sgl. p. 2 governor. — Ar.-Prs.
- o'kōv* Sgl. is., p. 1, *kūvd* Sk., *kōvd* Gr., Zar. boots. — \**ā-kaf-ta*-, cf. Prs. *kafš* < \**kaf-ša*-, Arm. *kapem* I bind?
- āl* Sgl. is., p. 2 to be standing; *āl*:- *āld*-Sk. to wait. — *'alem* 'istāda-em, *bestim*; *tu alī*. — Av. *ərədwa*? Cf. Wkh. *āl*, Sar. *hāl* to stay, stand.
- al'batt* Sk. perhaps. — Prs.
- al'kē* Sgl. p. 2 net, snare. — Ar.-Prs.
- halqa* a loop.
- 'allo nō* Sk. but.
- ala'laš kən* Sk. to mix. — Turki *aralaš*.
- 'ālam* Sk. world. — Prs.
- alma'sti* Sk. demon. — Cf. Lentz, Pamir Dial., s. 153 n.; Turki *aleasti*.
- ala'šē* Sgl. is., p. 2 *'alaše* p. 3, *a'lāša* Zb., *ō'ša* Sk., *alax'sā* Ishk., *a'lāša* Gr. jaw. — Prs. (*alausā* Badakhshi, Sk.). Cf. Wogul lw. *ālēs* (Jacobsohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen, p. 218).
- ālax, ālax* Sk., *alax* Gr. (Zb.) hill. — V. *wolox*.
- āfuzd* Sgl. is. the day before yesterday (?);

- āluzd* Gr., *ō'bzēd* Sk. to-morrow. — < \**ā-ula-asni*, Av. *asni*. Cf. Shgh. *afaž* day after to-morrow, Bal. *pōšl*. V. *pāruzd*.
- āfuzdēv* Sgl. is. three days ago. — Obl. of the preceding word?
- am(a)*, obl. *im* this. — V. § 115 sqq.
- a'mē* Sgl. p. 1 mother's sister. — Kab. Prs. *'ama* father's s.
- əm* encl. pron. 1 sg. — V. § 114.
- ambol* Gr. a place covered with stones, like a moraine. — Cf. Yd. *d'būya*.
- am'bāy* Sgl. is. co-wife. — Prs.
- am'bār* Sgl. p. 1, 2 corn-bin. — *dā-š* a° (they) put it into the corn-bin. — Prs.
- 'ambār* Sgl. p. 1, *am'būr* Sk. pincers. — Prs.
- amda* this very. — Cf. § 117.
- a'mēd* Sgl. p. 2, *u'mēd* Sk. hope. — Prs.
- amēd'vār* Sgl. p. 2 pregnant; *umēd'vār* Sk. hopeful. — *janj* *amēd'vār-ō*.
- 'amək* Sgl. p. 1, 2 father's brother, p. 2 also cousin. — Bad. Prs. *amuk*.
- a'mīn* Ishk. this. — V. § 117.
- 'ammō* Sk. but. — Ar.-Prs.
- am'mām* Sk. bath. — Ar.-Prs.
- im'sōl* Sk. this year. — Prs.
- a'māsyē* Sgl. is., *ham'sāya* p. 1 neighbour. — Prs.
- a'max, mux*, etc. we. V. § 110.
- ən* Sk. yes = *'balē*. — Prs. *hān*.
- in* Sk. this. V. § 117.
- an'dərv*:- *an'dərvēd* Sgl. p. 2, *ān'dərv*:- *ān'dərv* (?) p. 3, *əndərv* s., *anderv* Zar., *d'rav*:- *d'ravd* Sk. to sew; *andervun* Gr. awl. — *āndərvəm* *boš*; *āndərvəm*; *āndərvək-em* *kuð* I have sewn. — Cf. Wkh. *d'rev*, Par. *andarv*, Orm. *undərvē*.
- 'ainck* Sgl. p. 1, *'aina* Sk. looking-glass. — Prs.



- insāf* Sk. justice. — Ar.-Prs.  
*insāfādr* Sk. just. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ingē* Sgl. p. 2 now, then (*ālī*); *inga* Gr. then. — *i° raxsat šān* then they were dismissed. — Prs. *in-gāh*.  
*an'gūr* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk., Sk., *o°* Sgl. is. grape. — Prs.  
*an'gūst* Sk., *o°ist* Zb. coal. — Prs.  
*angūstā'rī* Zb. finger-ring. — Prs.  
*ingūt* Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., *o°if* Ishk., *'ingit* Sk., Zar., *'ingūt* "Wkh." finger. — Cf. Yd. *ogušō*; Khw. (lw.) *angūd* finger hole in scissors (Lor.).  
*ingit'ok* Sgl. p. 1 finger-ring, *o°uk* Gr. finger-nail. — Cf. *angūstā'rī*.  
*a'pi-*: *a'pēd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *'apay-*: *a'pēd* Ishk., *apay-* Sk., *apēd* Gr. to be lost. — *trāsen be apī(ōš)* I fear it will be lost; *apēdok o* p. 2 it has been lost; *māne wok ēzi apēd* p. 2, 3; *'apayu*; *a'pēduk* Ishk., 'gum šuda'. — Av. *apa-i*.  
*apēn* Sgl. p. 3 winnowing fork. — = Wkh.; cf. Yd. *ēua'no?*  
*a'panis-*: *a'panit* p. 2 to lose, *apnit* Gr. lost. — *az wok ēzi a'panisem* I lose a thing; *a'panis* 'gum mēkini'; *xē 'māl āpanit* he lost his own property. — Av. *apa-nasya* (intr.), Shgh. *benes*.  
*a'paxš-* Sgl. is., *apaxš-* p. 3, s.: *a'paxt* is., s., p. 3, *a'paxs-*: *a'puxt* p. 1, *'apux-*: *apuxt* Sk. to hear. — *apaxšem bē* p. 3; *va tō gap-am apaxt* is. I heard thy word; *apaxsen, a'puxtem* p. 1. — < \**apa-uxš/s*, cf. Yd. *yuxs*.  
*ā'rī* Sgl. is., (*h*)*ā'rī* p. 2, s., *ari* p. 1, Ishk., Zar., *arri* Sk. work. — *ari kenem* Sgl. s., *āzi tō madak ari kenon* Ishk. I and thou are working here. — Cf. Yd. *hory*.  
*arā* Zb. juniper. — Prs.  
*a'rək* Sgl. p. 3 eructation. — Cf. Yd. *ararōy*.  
*arqa* Sk. back. — Turki.  
*a'rūq* Sgl. is., *o°aq* p. 1, 3, Ishk., Sk. perspiration. — Ar.-Prs.  
*or'mōzd* Sgl., *ōr°* Gr. (Zb.), "Wkh.", *'rēmuz* Ishk., Gr., *o°oz* Zb., *o°uzd* Sk. sun. — Cf. Saka *uyrmaysdā*, Khwarizmi *rēmašd* < Anc. Prs. *Auramazdāh*. — \**ērmōzd* (v. § 88) > *rēm°*, or, with assimilation, > *ormōzd?*  
*ā'rinj* Zb., Ishk. elbow. — Prs.  
*ar'rē* Sgl. p. 1 a saw. — Prs.  
*a'rūs* Sgl. p. 2, *ō'ris* Sk. bride. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ar'sol* Sk. yearly. — Prs.  
*ar'vēšum* Sgl. p. 2; *brēšum* Ishk., Sk., Gr., *abr°* Zar. silk. — Prs. (*arv°* early lw.).  
*araz-*: *a'rāt* Sgl. p. 2, s. to fly, run, jump; *'araz-*: *'arazd* Sk. to jump. — *psāt ara'zō* p. 2 it flies now; *ara'zōk* perf.; *a'rāt, šīd* p. 2 'parrid, raft'; *arāz mō vyēk, avbāzi ken* p. 2 jump into the water and swim (*ba-parr da au*); *vēk ārazo* p. 3 the water flows. — < \**ā-raz*, scarcely (with *a* < *ha* < *fra*) < *fra-raz* cf. Shgh. *re-wāz*, etc.  
*a'sd* Sk. staff. — Ar.-Prs.  
*a'sē* Sgl. p. 2 share. — *mān a° mām bē dē* give me my share. — Ar.-Prs. *hiššā*.  
*is-* Sgl. p., Sk., Gr., Zar., *is-* Sgl. s., Ishk.: *oyōd* Sgl. p., s., *'ōyad* Ishk., Sk., Zar., *ā°* Gr. to come. — Pres. 1st sg *isen* Sgl. p., *'seum* Ishk., Sk.; imper. *īs* Sgl. p.; *yešef ke isyūd* p. 3 tell him to come (*bišyad*); *ama ādam kādi ōyōd* p. 2 when did this man come? *ōyadum* Ishk., *'ō°* Sk. I came; *tāmex kādi ōyōdān* p. 2 when did you come?

- <sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup>ok p. 2, <sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup>aduk Sk. he has come; az (aməx) pāruzd o<sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup>(-dā) vəd I (we) had come yesterday. — \*ā-isa: ā-gata, cf. Sogd. "ys: "yt, see Tedesco, ZII, 2, 34 sq.
- i'sāb Sgl. p. 2 calculation. — i° be kenēn. — Ar.-Prs.
- u'sid Gr. baking-pan. Cf. Yd. sū'i.
- u'suk, v. wu'suk.
- askar Sk. army. — Ar.-Prs.
- a'sāl Sgl. is., °al Sk. honey. — Ar.-Prs.
- a'sāl Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 this year. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. asāl.
- ās'mān Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Gr., 'ās'mān Sk. sky, heaven. — Xə'dā ma ās'mān-o p. 3. — Prs.
- a'sān Sgl. p. 2 easy. — Prs.
- 'usir, v. wu'ter.
- i'srōx Zar. hole of the ear. — < Prs. surāx.
- 'āstia Sgl. p. 2, ā(i)sta Sk. slowly. — ā° ā° is p. 2 come slowly; tə ʔaz āstā Sk. speak slowly. — Prs.
- ast- Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, ust- Ishk. to stand (up). — psā-mō astōk Sgl. is. now I have risen; astōm p. 2 'bēstōm'; astōo-mō, asto vəd p. 3; ustum Ishk. I rise; madak-um ustuk I am standing here. — Av. us-stā-, cf. Bal. ustat (Zar.); but Mj. wuškūoi.
- osto Sgl. p. 2, ūst Ishk., ūst Sk., ūst Gr., is., ast was(?). — psād wōda ast then he was there; wōdāk o<sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup> ast he had come there; wok mā wōda hast he was (stayed) there for one month; mō Mandazā-st he was in Munjan; mōne(n) wo kitāw ū(sto) p. 2 I have a book; azi/um ūst I am, tu-t 'ūst; wōd was; ūstuk been Sk. — Cf. Shgh. yast, Yd. ast-ef. See § 122.
- us'tād Sgl. p. 2 blacksmith, °ād Sk. artisan. — Prs., cf. Madaglashti ustā(d) iron-smith.
- os'tōk Sgl. p. 1, 3, 'wastuk Ishk., Gr., Zar. rib, bone; wōstuk Sk., ostū "Wkh." bone. — Cf. Yd. yastē.
- ista'hān Sk. glass. — Russ.
- astamdy'zok Sgl. p. 2, is., °zek p. 1 the arm above the elbow. — Cf. Wkh. mayzī, °zek.
- as'tar: °s'tōl- Sgl. p. 1, s'tar: s'tuld Ishk., s'tar: s'tul- Zar. to sweep. — as'taren Sgl. p. 1, s'taram Ishk. — Cf. Yd. is'tor-. — < \*(ā)star-, not \*ustar-.
- ust<sup>1</sup>rūk Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 osto'rūk s., 'wastuk(?) Ishk., struk Sk., Gr., stiruk "Wkh.", sitāra Gr. (Zb.) (< Prs.), star. — Cf. Yd. stārē.
- āstay: āstuḍ- Sgl. is., astē- p. 3, 'astay: 'astūd- Ishk., Sk., asti: astūd Gr. (Zb.) to send (a person). — wok tōm ba astēen Sgl. p. 3 'yak tāra raucān mekenim'. — Cf. Wkh. s'tūy-. V. EVP. s.v. āstauul, Horn s.v. firistādan.
- iško Sgl. p. 3 anyone, hēc kas. — iško nes ferind nobody was left behind. — Prs. hēc + ko.
- 'uškoz Sk. key, °uz Gr. lock. — Cf. Sar. ačyn, etc. < Turki?
- °š'pōn Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, 'špōn p. 1, °špōn s., šu'pon Zb., špōn Sk., špōn Gr. (Zb.), °ūn Zar. iron. — Cf. Yd. rīspēn. — Reg. š v. § 61. V. ā'hān.
- uš'tin Sgl. p. 2 haystack (?), kālān (= kāhdān?), 'kāh mēzana'. — Cf. Yd. uš'čeno, Wkh. wōdōn.
- (h)š'cāk Sgl. is., °š'cāk p. 2, 3, s., °rs'cāg p. 1, štok Gr., Sk., šcāk "Wkh."; štākak Sk., Gr. girl. — Demin. of šec, q.v.
- ā'šik Sgl. p. 1, āšik p. 3, 'āšik Sk., ošik



- Zar., 'ōxik "Wkh." tear (Gr. also "a spring", denied by Sk.). — Cf. Yd. *yāšk*.
- aš'tāš* Sgl. is., p. 2 *-št-* p. 3 eighty. — Prs.
- at-*: att- Sk. to fall. — *atum*, *at*, *attum*, 'atuk.
- et* encl. pron. 2 sg. — V. § 114.
- āta'sek* Sgl. is., *ātā'sak* Sk., *ātišuk* Gr. lightning. — Prs.
- āv'bāš* Sgl. is., *aub°* p. 2 swimming. — *au°* *kenen* p. 2, *āv°š* *ke'nun* is. we swim. — Prs. — (Cf. s.v. *araz*).
- ōvδ* Sgl. is., p. 1, (*h*)*ōvδ* p. 2, 3, *ōvδ* Grammoph., *ōvd* Zb., Ishk., *uvd* Gr., Sk., (*uvd* Zar. seven. — Cf. Yd. *avdo*. *ōvδōšs* (*ōvd°*) Sgl. s., p. 1, 2, is., *ōvδō'sos* p. 3, Grammoph., *hābdāu* Zb. (fr. Prs.) seventeen.
- ōv'zui* Sgl. is., *°zū* p. 1, 2, *°zūc* p. 3, s., *av'zūk* Ishk., (*h*)*av'zūk* Sk., Gr., *āuzak*, *āuzen* Gr. (Zb.) heart. — *ov'zui tākat nā* *kāš* p. 3 'dil-iš tākat na kard'. — Cf. Wkh. *p'zōv*. *āuzen*, if correct, reminds of Sogd. *p'zn*.
- av'zāl* Sgl. p. 2 headstall, *av'zāl*. — Prs. *afsār*, cf. Abdū *ausōl*, (Zhuk.), Taj. *afzōl* (Semenov). Cf. also Prs. *afzār*.
- a'vəl* Sk. and; *a'zi-tē* *a°* I and thou. [Does *avēl* mean 'both'?).
- a'vōē* obl., *a'vōānd* pl. of *ō* that. See § 115.
- a'vāle* Sgl. p. 3 throwing. — *a°* *dēm* *be* I throw. — Prs. *hāvāla kardan* to transmit, brandish, strike.
- āvul*, v. *āvēr*.
- ai'vān* Sk. animal. — Ar.-Prs.
- āvēr*: *vōl* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *vōl* p. 3, *āvul*: *āvuld* Ishk., *āvēr*: *āvūd* (*āvuld*) Sk., *avir*: *avul* Gr., *avēr*: *avāl* Gr. (Zb.) to find, obtain. — *āvērēn* Sgl. p. 1;
- āzi-m vōl* p. 2; *vōlān* p. 3 'yāftam'; *āvul* Ishk. 'mēyābam', *āvuld* 'yāftam'. — Cf. Sogd. *βyr*, Sar. *varē*: *vūg*, Or. *vērāi*: (*avūg*), Shgh. *vūd*, Yazgh. *vīr*: *vīg'*, etc. — Contaminated in Sgl. with \**ā-vīr* to bring (cf. Yd.—Mj. *āvēr*, Sogd. "βyr"), cf. Skr. *bhar-* to obtain. But why *vōl* *āvōšp* Sgl. is., *vōšp* "Wkh." ploughshaft. — Cf. Yd. *āvusp*.
- ave'zān* Sgl. p. 3 hanging. — *a°* *bē* *kenen*. — Prs.
- ixō*, v. *yāxōai*.
- ax'maq* Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.
- āxor* Sgl. is., *āxurcē* p. 2 manger; *āxarcā* Sk. barn. — Prs.
- ōxer* Sk. end. — Ar.-Prs.
- axse* Sgl. p. 3, *aq/x'sa* Sk. sneezing. — *a°* *dēdēm*. — Prs.
- ax'ta* Sk. bull. — Also Shgh., etc.; cf. Prs. *āxta* castrated, *axtā'nā*.
- axtōδ* Sgl. p. 3, *atōyd* Gr. he entered; *atīy*: *atūyd* Zar. to enter. — *axtōδ mē* *ka'fas*, *mē* *kišti* he entered the cage, the boat. — Cf. Sogd. *tys*: *lyt*, V. Yd.—Mj. *luṣay*.
- axtā'nā* Sk. stable. — Prs. V. Yd. *axtaxāna*.
- a'yā* Sk. shame. — Ar.-Prs.
- (*h*)*ayās* Sk. cold (noun).
- az* Sgl. p. 1, Gr., *az°* Sgl. p. 2, *azi* Ishk. 'I'. — *aze-i tōfak xēsta xwārem* p. 2 I and thou eat bread; *azi tē madak ari* *kenon* Ishk. — V. Gramm. § 110.
- i'zā* Sk. Ar.-Prs.
- az'ōr* Sk., *azār* Gr. (Zeb.) 1000. — Prs. *i'zīm*: *ōyōδ* Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., *i'zīm*: *āyad* Ishk., *i'zīm*: *i'zōmd-* Sk., *i'zīm* Gr. to bring (a thing). — *i'zīmēn*, *azēm* *ōyōδ* p. 1; *i'zīm* imper. 2 sg., *i'zīmum* p. 2; *i'zīmum* *bē*, *ōyōδō-mō*, *va* *zō'manok*

'oyodan p. 3 'āwurdand'; wuš ižm 'käh biär', ižumum, wök čiz āyadum Ishk.; 'ižmēm, 'ižum! 'ižmdēm Sk. — Cf. Yazgh. *ajam-* to send (acc. to Gauthiot, JA, 1916, 255 < ā-jāmaya-), Sogd. \*yā to bring (Reichelt, Sogd. Texts II 73); cf. also Wkh. *wūzem-* to bring Mir. Manich. II, 54 *z'm-* 'schicken, führen' (but note the *z*), and possibly Sak. *ajum-* to lead, bring.

## B

*ba*, *bə*, Gr. (Zb.) *bi* a particle denoting the future, etc. — V. Gramm. § 135.  
*bā* v. *bāz*.  
*be* Sgl. s., etc., *bo* Ishk., *bā*, *bē* to, for (postpos.). — V. § 106.  
*bōi* Sk. rich. — Turki.  
*būi* Sgl. p. 2 smell, Sk. good smell. — *būi dehōi* p. 2 'būi mēzanad'; *būi kən* Sk. to smell. — Prs.  
*bi'bi* Sgl. p. 1, Sk., Gr. grandmother, father's sister. — Prs.  
*bōbō* Sgl. p. 1, Gr., *bāb* Sgl. s., *bū'bū* Sk., *bāva* Sgl. (paternal grandfather.) — Afgh. Prs. *bābā*, etc.  
*babr* Sk. lion. — Prs.  
*bō'č* Sk. paternal uncle. — Cf. Wkh. *bōč*. V. *amək*, *vuc*.  
*bēāk* Sk. he-goat. — Cf. Notes on Shgh. *bučāk*.  
*bēčō'ra* Sk. poor. — Prs.  
*bad* Sk. bad. — Prs.  
*bād* Sgl. p. 2, 3 Sk. after(wards). — *bād pādā oyoš*; *bād cə wōš xōt* afterwards he rose from there. — Prs.  
*bāa'dab* Sk. polite. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bēa'dab* Sk. impolite. Ar.-Prs.  
*bād(i)* Sgl. p. 3, *bād* Ishk. wind. — *wök*

*bādī paidā šōš* = *šamāl paidā išō*. — Prs.  
*bu'idoq* Sk. bachelor. — *az-um b°* I am a b°. —  
*ba'dan* Sk. body. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bēdār* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *bē'dōr* Ishk. awake. — *b°-em išō cə misūk* p. 2 I awoke from sleep; *bēdār šān* p. 3; *az-m bē'dōr* Ishk. — Prs.  
*bēdōwōn-*: *bēdō'wōnd-* Sk. to gallop. — Prs.  
*bēd'xāna* Sgl. p. 3 temple (in tale). — Prs.  
*bēš* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *bēd* Zar. willow. — Prs. V. *wēd*.  
*bā'dak* Sgl. p. 2 dividing, *baxš*(?). — *wō'ki wō'ki za'mīn kull'išōn b° kenen* they all divide the fields among themselves, one to each. — < \**bā'dak?*  
*bā'dām* Sgl. p. 2 almond. — Prs.  
*bēfār-* Sk. to please. — Impersonal construction: *'mumba na bu'fōru* I don't like it; *imōd bēfāru az mōz ya'im* he wants me to speak. — Cf. Prs. *fāridan*.  
*bē'gu'nā* Sk. innocent. — Prs.  
*bu'gāy-um*: *bugāid-um*, *bugāyuk* Sk. to copulate. — Prs.  
*bāy* Sk. garden. — Prs.  
*bō'yē* Sk. male cousin.  
*bē'yaib* Sk. innocent. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bayal* Ishk., *bayal'vīs* Zar. armpit. — Prs. Cf. *kaš'viš*.  
*bēyūir* Sgl. p. 3 except (in tale). — *b° i mak kōci digar Xēdā nō yāi'ezef* don't call anybody else God except me. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bo'yas* (*ba°*) Sgl. p. 2 bellowing, bleating; *bay* Zar. to bellow. — *čār'vā*, *wōz b° ke'nōi*. — Cf. Yd. *baqaz*, Shgh. *waq-*. Reg. *-as* v. Parachi Voc. s.v. *bā'nas* bleating.



- bəz ken* Sk. to hate. Ar-Prs. *bəz*.  
*bəh* Sgl. p. 2, *bah* Gr. (Zb.) a kiss. —  
*bəh bə kenən*. — Cf. Yd. *bəh*.  
*bəjā* Sk. father's sister's husband. —  
 Cf. Mj. *bāja*.  
*bok* Sgl. s., *box* p. 3 vomiting. — *box-om*  
*dēd*. — Cf. Turki (Hjuler) *bok*, *box* dirt?  
*bāqī*, *bāqī* Sk. wise. — Ar-Prs.  
*bā'kal* Zb. calf. — V. *bakny'qī*.  
*bakny'qī* Sgl. is. male calf, 1—2 years  
 old; p. 2, 3 female(?) calf, one year  
 old. — Yd. *bakny'qā*.  
*bā'kōr* Sk. necessary. — 'mumba b° I  
 need. — Prs.  
*bāq'u'wat* Sk. strong. — Ar-Prs.  
*bālē* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) yes. — Prs.  
*bāl* Sgl. is., p. 1, Sk. wing. — Prs.  
*bēl* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk., Sk. spade. — Prs.  
*bāl'qē* Sgl. p. 2, *bāqī'ld* Sk. beans, *bākulā*  
 (Faba sativa, or Vicia faba, cf. Va-  
 vilov, Agric. Afgh. 334).  
*bal'yām* Sgl. p. 3 mucus from the mouth.  
 — Ar-Prs.  
*bal'kē* Sgl. p. 1, *bālē'qā* Sk. hammer. —  
 Prs., cf. Yd. *bal'ko*.  
*br'land* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *bī'lan* p. 1, *bland* Sk.  
 high. — Prs.  
*bē'laur* Sgl. is. rock-crystal. — Prs. V.  
*kūti*.  
*belar'zān* Sgl. p. 2 to make tremble. —  
*mum-bē belar'zānu*; *belarzānu-š*. —  
 Prs. Cf. § 129.  
*bē'lis* Sgl. is., *bē'lis* p. 2 span from thumb  
 to forefinger, *bē'lis* Zar. id., to little  
 finger. — Afgh. Prs. *bilist*. V. *čāvaŋ-*  
*gašt*, *pēx*, *wu'šit*, *wa'jib*.  
*belis'mān*: *belis'mānd* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to make  
 to slip. — *belis'mānu-š 'mēlišmāna-iš'*;  
*mum bē belis'mānu* it makes me slip.  
 — Prs. \**lišmāndan*, cf. *lišn*, *laš'in*  
 slippery.  
 23 — Kulturforskning.  
*bē'lar*: *bē'larvāš* Sgl. s., p. 2, *bē'lar*: *bē'larvāš*  
 Ishk., Sk. to read, Sk. also to sing.  
 — *kī'tār bē'laven*; *kī'tāv-om bē'larvāš*  
 p. 2; *bē'lar* Ishk. 'buzān'. — Cf.  
 Shgh. *lūr*, etc.; Prs. *labidan* to brag.  
*bal'wā(n)* p. 3 fighting. — *bal'wān*,  
*baluwā šidok 'jang šuda ast'*. — Prs.  
*balwā* disturbance.  
*bəlxē*, v. *laxē*.  
*bē'mār* Sgl. p. 2, *bē'mār* Sk. ill, unwell.  
 — Prs.  
*bēmā'rī* Sk. illness.  
*bā'na* Sk. body (read *ta'na*?).  
*bānd* Sgl. p. 1 '1) shoe-string; 2) dyke. —  
 Prs.  
*bānd-r'dest* Sgl. is., p. 1, Zb., *band-i-dost*  
 p. 3, °*dust* Sk. wrist. — Prs. (with  
 partial adaptation to the dialect).  
*bāndīk* Sgl. p. 1 elbow; *bāndīk* Sk.  
 finger-nail (corr.; °joint?). — \*Prs.  
*band-r-pā* Sgl. p. 1, 3, ankle joint. — Prs.  
*bandar* Sgl. p. 2 custom-house, *paira*. —  
 Prs. harbour.  
*boŋ(g)* Sgl. p. 2, 3 crowing. — *xu'rūs*  
*boŋ(g) kəŋ(i)* the cock crows. —  
 Prs.  
*bar* Sgl. p. 2, 3 breast; Gr. (Zb.) embrace.  
 — *mə pādšā bar dehēd* (the javelin)  
 hit the king in the breast. — Prs.  
*bā'ār* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *bō'ār* Zb., *bā'hār*  
 Ishk., *bā'ār* Sk. spring. — *kə bārē*  
*šucō* p. 2 when spring came. — Prs.  
*bōr* Sgl. p. 1 grey; *būr* Sk. greyish white.  
 — Prs. (Bal. *gōray* grey, Kurd. *gūr*  
 (Soane) brown, *geur*, etc. brown, grey  
 (J. J.) would seem to point to original  
*w*, not to \**barica* (Barthol. Miran.  
 Mund. VI, 5)).  
*bōr* Ishk. to rain. — *fai bu bōrū* it  
 rains much. — Prs. V. *nav*.  
*barf* Zb. snow. — Prs. — V. *warf*.

*barg* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb., Sk., Gr. a leaf.  
— Prs.

*barq* Sk. lightning. — Prs.

*būrk* Sk. narrow, thin. — Prs.

*bārān* Sgl. s., *bārān* Ishk., Sk. rain. —  
Prs. — V. *no'vok*.

*bārīnj* Sgl. is., *īnj* p. 2, 3, Ishk., Sk.,  
*brīnš* p. 1 rice. — *be'rinjə* *ke'nān* p. 2  
they cook rice. — Prs.

*bīrinj* Sk. brass. Prs.

*brēšum*, v. *ar'vēšum*.

*būrūt* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *brūt* Zb., *bu'rūt* Ishk.,  
*brūt* Sk. moustache. — Prs.

*būrēš* Sgl. is., *ēš* p. 1, s., Zb., *ēš* p. 3,  
*ūj* Ishk., *bruš* Sk., *būrēš* "Wkh."  
birch. — Cf. Or. *berūj*, etc. from  
IA. Cf. Yd. *ze'virjo*, etc.

*bas* Sgl. p. 2 enough; *bas is-um* (*bas*  
*vyadum*) Sk. to be able. — Prs.

*bist*, v. *ist*.

*bistə'yak* Sk. 21. — Prs.

*bāšo* Sgl. p. 2. — In: *miš be pūl dē, bāšo*  
give me money, and then go away  
(*bā bura* = *ba'd burau?*); *tə pūl*  
*dē, bāša* (*bād bura*). — Prob. from  
*ba'd + šo*.

*bāšē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *bāša* Ishk. sparrow-  
hawk. — Prs.

*bəš* verbal particle. — V. Gramm. § 135.

*biš* Sgl. p. 3 under. — *cə kafas biš 'az*  
*tā i kafas*. — Cf. s.v. *yālviš*.

*baš'kaē* Sgl. p. 3 children, *baškāc* (in tale).  
— Prs. Cf. *bača-kačaho* family (Zar.,  
Oč. razg. yaz. samarkandsk, ebreer,  
no. 530).

*bəšān* Sgl. p. 2, *bīšān* Ishk. to make  
to sit down. — *az bə tfak bəšān* in  
Sgl. is.; *tfak bəšānen* p. 2; *azi fak*  
*madak bīšānum* Ishk. — Prs.

*be'ist* Sk. heaven. — Prs.

*bat* Sgl. p. 2 sweets given at a feast. —

Cf. Or. *bāt* a kind of porridge, ritual  
food. — Hind. *bhāt*?

*bət* Sgl. p. 3 idol. — *bətə f'rēd kuš pə*  
*toror* he crushed the idols with his  
axe. — Prs.

*bā'tal* Sgl. is., p. 1, *alca* p. 3 mare. —  
Prs. V. *mādiyān*.

*bē'fak* Sgl. p. 2 sheep-skin coat, posteen.

*bīa'vān* Sgl. p. 2 outside. — *šā b'berūn*  
*mēran*; *šidum b'raftam berūn*. —  
Prs.

*bēwa* Sgl. is., p. 1, *bēwā* Sk. widow. —  
Prs.

*bā'war* Sk. hopeful. — Prs.

*ba'xīl* Sk. a miser. — Prs.

*baxš* Sgl. p. 2, 3 dividing, division, portion.  
— *baxš(e) kenen* I divide, distribute,  
*cə'fūr za'min-ə, cə'fūr zət-ə mən-ən*,  
*va cə'fūr baxš kenen* p. 2. — Prs.

*bāz* Sgl. p. 1 falcon. — Prs.

*bāz* Sgl. p. 2 then. — Prs.

*bāzē* Sk. play. — Prs.

*bāzū* Zb. the arm above the elbow;  
*bāzū* Sk., Gr. elbow. — Prs. V.  
*astamāy'zək*.

*bəz* Zb. goat. — Prs. V. *vəz*.

*bāzār* Sgl. p. 2 bazar. — *ce wəš ilin*  
*bāzār* from there they arrived at  
the bazar. — Prs.

*bāzār'gān* Sgl. p. 3, Gr. (Zb.) merchant.  
— Prs.

## C

*cə* what? Cf. § 119.

*cə* Sgl. s., p. 1, 2, Ishk., *ca* Gr. from. —  
*ce mēz viš* p. 2 (from) under the table;  
*cārvā cə vəz šəst-ə* a cow is bigger  
than a goat; *Cagg'lēš-əm vōd* (= *cə*  
*šə*) p. 2 I come from Sanglech; *azī*  
*cə minduk xə'tuk* Ishk. (*cə misūk*) p. 2



- I rose from sleep. — < Av. *hača*, Cf. Yd. *že*. V. § 107.
- cē-ba* Sgl. p. 2 why? — *t-δδ zi cē-ba gaxtog* why did you do thus? (*čirā-ntari kardī?*); *t-δδ ma zi cē-ba gaxtog* 'čivā hamī kārī kardī?'. — Prs. — Cf. *čuva* = *čība* 'why' in the dial. of the Samarkand Jews.
- ceci*, *cicə* what? — V. § 119.
- 'cācū* Sgl. is., *'cācū* p. 1, *cā'cūi* s. a kind of hawk or falcon, *čārja*.
- cə'fūr* Sgl. p., s., is., Zb., Sk., Zar., *cə'fūr* Gr. (also *čə'fūl* Sgl. is.), but *čor* Ishk. four. — *cə'fūr zōt-ō mən-ēn* I have four sons. — Cf. Yd. *čšir*.
- cām* Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., *cām* is., *com* Zb., *cōm* Ishk., Zar., *cām* Sk., Gr. eye. — Cf. Yd. *čam*, "Wkh." *čōm*.
- ca'mōk* Sgl. p. 3 winking. — Cf. *cām*.
- cə'mənd* Sgl. p. 2, *cumand* Gr. how many. — *cə' āšam ōstō? cə' tan-ān ma tēmex* xān how many people are there in your house? — Cf. § 119.
- cām-mərdī'kīg* Sgl. p. 1 the iris of the eye. — Cf. "Wkh." *mərdik* pupil of the eye, Gr. *murdik* a small ring, Yd. s.v. *mədrayč*.
- cə'nā* Sgl. p. 2, 3 how. — *cə'nā-i oyoδ* p. 2 'čitur āmadi'; *ce'nā 'ma hari ken?* how do you do this work? *cena gāxen* p. 3 how shall we do?
- cə-pšūr* Sgl. p. 2 above. — *ki'tāv cə-pšūr-ū*. — V. *cə*, *pšūr*.
- carx*, v. *čarx*.
- Č**
- čub* Ishk. wood, firewood. — Prs. V. *durk*.
- čə'brū* Ishk. fat. — Prs. V. *uost*.
- čī'čī* Sgl. is., p., *ču'čī* Ishk., *čū'čī* Sk., *čī'čī* Gr. female breast; *ču'čī* "Wkh." udder. — Prs. *čučū*.
- čū'čik* Sk. chicken. — Prs.
- čū'dan* Sk., *čudan* Gr. cooking-pot. — Cf. Oss. *cuainag* kettle, Russ. *čugun* cast-iron kettle, v. BSOS, VIII, 665.
- čay'man* Sgl. p. 1 cloak. — Turki.
- čuk-* Sgl. p. 2, Zar. to beat; *čok-* *čokl-* Sk. to thresh, to knock in (a nail). — *čukō-š* 'mēcakad-iš' Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. *čuk* to beat, pound; Yazgh. *čok* to beat, Bad. Prs. *čukīdan* to hammer.
- ču'kār* Sgl. is. a kind of dye made from resin.
- čə'qur* Sk. deep. — Turk. *čukur* (cf. Par. *čukuri* a well).
- čal* Sk. soaking wet.
- čel*, Sgl. is., *čil* p. 2, s., *čel* p. 3 forty. — Prs.
- čilē* Sgl. p. 1 the coldest part of winter. — Prs. *čila* forty days of winter during which the weather is most severe, cf. Psht. *cila*, Bal. *čilar*, Kurd. *čilān*, etc.
- čul* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 penis. — Cf. Yd. *čula*.
- čel'lik* Ishk., *čil'lā* Sk., *čiliak* Gr. (Zb.) finger-ring. — Hi. *challā*, Psht. *čala* ear-ring?
- čilim* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. water-pipe. — 'čilim 'xašum Sk. I smoke. — Prs.
- čol'* Zar. multicoloured. — Cf. Mj. s.v. *kuš*.
- ču'mōl'* Sgl. p. 1, 3 basket for carrying on the back. — Cf. Shgh. *cemūd*, Or. *camūg*, Sar. "tsamūgh" < \*čamyta.
- čen-* *čid-* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to pick. — *čenen*, *čidum*. — Prs.?
- čand* Sgl. p. 2, Gr. some. — *čand rōz pasī*. — Prs.
- čī'nār* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *čē'nār* Gr. oriental plane. — Prs.

- čing'gāl* Sgl. p. 2 claw. — Prs.  
*čang'giling* Sgl. is., *čang'giling* p. 1, *čang-  
 ring* p. 3 hamstring. — Prs. \**čang-i  
 ling*.  
*čap* Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. left (hand); *čab-ling*  
 Sk. the left foot. — Prs.  
*čapa* Sgl. p. 3 overturning. — *va kišt*  
*č° kōd* overturned the boat; *mo jangal*  
*č° šid* was thrown ashore in a forest.  
 — Cf. Prs. *čapidan*, Psht. *čapa kawul*  
 to turn over.  
*čā'pān* Sk. cotton cloak. — Turk.  
*čā'pān* Sgl. p. 2, *čū° 3*, *čō°* Gr. shepherd.  
 — Prs. Cf. Mj. *čū'pān*.  
*č'pōst* Sk. backwards, behind. — Assim.  
 from \**čpōst*? Cf. Yd. *čpāč*.  
*čā'rā ken* Sgl. p. 3 to graze. — Prs.  
*čōr*, v. *čōfūr*.  
*čō'rō*, v. *čār'vā*.  
*čārda* Sgl. is., p. 2, s., *čāda* p. 3, 'čārde  
 Grammophone, *čārdāu* Zb. fourteen.  
 — Prs.  
*čarfand'gi* Sgl. p. 3 sprinkling. — *va  
 vēk č° kenen*. — \*Prs.?  
*čī'rāy* Sgl. p. 1, Gr., *čī'rōy* Ishk., Zar.,  
*čī'rāy* Sk. candle, light. — Prs.  
*čī'rāy'dān* Sk. lantern.  
*čīrya'zek* Sgl. p. 1, *čīrya'zək* p. 3 a spark.  
 — Cf. Mj., Khov. *čō'rox*, Or. *čera'xak*.  
 < \**čirax-zek*, cf. Prs. demin. suff.  
 -za?  
*čār'māys* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *čār'mayz* Sk.  
 walnut(-tree). — Prs.  
*čā'rān*: *čā'rāst* p. 2, Gr. to graze, to  
 herd cattle. — Prs. *čārāndan*.  
*čārān* Sk. animal.  
*čār'ragešt* Sgl. p. 1, *čāran'gušt* s. span,  
 from thumb to fore-finger. — \*Prs.  
 — V. *bō'lis*, *pēx*.  
*čār'vā* Sgl. p. *čārd* Zb., *čō'rō* Sk., *čāra*  
 Gr., *čārpa* Gr. (Zb.) horned cattle,

- flocks. — *č° čō rōz čōšt-č* p. 2. —  
 Prs. *čārūā* quadruped.  
*čārx* Sgl. is., p. 2, *čārē* p. 1, *čārx* p. 3,  
 Ishk. spinning wheel. — Genuine,  
 but with *č* from Prs.?  
*čārxaiz* Sk. galloping. — Prs. \**čahār-  
 xēz*?  
*čōs* Sgl. p. 3 a fart. — *čōs de 'guzidan'*.  
 — Prs. *čūs*, Kāndulāt *tis*.  
*čē* bā Sk., *čiz-ba* Gr. (Zb.) why? — Cf.  
 Prs. *čiz*.  
*čīs'mē* Sgl. p. 1, *čōš'mē* p. 3, *č'w'sma* Sk.,  
*čāšma'vēk* Ishk. a spring. — Prs.  
*čūšt* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 noon. — Prs.  
*čīš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *čīs* Zar. urine. — Cf.  
 Prs. *šāš*?  
*čūt* Ishk. kid, *čūd* Zar. he-goat. — Cf.  
 Wershikwar *čūt*?  
*čōf* Sgl. is., *čōf* p. 1, 2, *čūt* Ishk., *čūf* Gr.  
 (Zb.) small. — *diga'ri čō uo čūf-an*  
*'digar az ū maida astin'*; *čōf zōt-i*  
 p. 2 thou art a small child; *čōf kōnum*  
 Sk. I break to pieces, I tear in two.  
 — Acc. to Gr. from IA. Cf. Burush.  
*jut*. V. *rizyāk*.  
*čōv* Sgl. p. 2, *čō'vāk* p. 3 little, small.  
*čū'wōf* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s., *čū'wēf* p. 1, *čū'wēn*  
 Zb., *čū'wēnd* Sk., *čū'wēnd* Zar., *čū'wēnd*  
 Gr. apricot. — Cf. Wkh. *čū'wēn*,  
*čū'wēn*. Rhyming with, and prob.  
 influenced by, *mēf*, *mēnd* apple. Cf.  
 Yd. *čīrē*?  
*čax'max* Sgl. is., *čak'max* p. 2, *čaxmax-  
 sang* p. 3 flint(-lock). — Prs. — Turk.  
*čiz* Ishk., Sk., Gr. what? — *to mum bo  
 čiz yēzi?* Ishk. what dost thou say  
 to me? *in nīm čiz?* *čiz nīm in-ā* Sk.  
 what is his name? *čiz tō-t 'nist*  
*šyad* Sk. why didst thou not come?  
*čiz-bā ke* Sk. since. — Prs.; cf. Wkh.,  
 Shgh., Gr. (Zb.) *čiz*.



*čizi* Sgl. is., p. 2 a thing, something. — *čizi-m nūšəd* I drank something; *wok čizi be nūšen*; *məne wok čizi a'pəd* p. 2 I lost a thing (*yak čizī*); *har qism-i čiziā-i xūb* all sorts of good things. — Prs.

## D

*da, de* Sgl. p. 2, 3 a particle denoting existence. — *āhūn wok šāx da vəd* p. 3 the stag had one horn; *tāke da fərīnd* p. 3 he remained alone. Cf. IIFL, I, Par. Gramm. p. 76; Benveniste Gramm. Sogd. II, §§ 82, 133, etc. — Cf. *dak*.

*-dō, -dō* thou art. — V. § 121.

*dou* Sgl. is., *dōn* p. 2, *dōu* p. 3, *dāu* p. 1, *dou* s., *dōu* Ishk., *dū* Zb., *dau* Sk., *dau, dō* Gr., *du* Zar. two. — *dō zōt*; *dō rō'pē*; *wog dō rōi mēi* some two or three days Sgl.; *dōw-yāz* Sk. repeat. — From \**duwāu*? Cf. Or. *dau*, etc.

*dēcāk* Sgl. p. 1, *dec* Sk., Gr., *dec* Zar. goatskin used for swimming, *sanōc*. — Cf. Wkh. *šack*, Yd. *laxčō*.

*dēd* Sk., in *dēd šowm* I box, fight. — Cf. Shgh. *dēd* war, or, more probably, Sgl. *deh* (v. below).

*dēd* Sgl. p. 2, *dēd*: *dett* Sk. to enter, go in. — *dēdōm* I entered. — Cf. Shgh. *dēd*, Or. *indīd*, Sar. *diō*: *deid*, Yd. *tī* < \**ati-i*, with *-d* from 3 sg. (v. s.v. *id*)? Cf. Sogd. *tys* (Benv. Gramm. Sogd. II, 61), Yaghn. *tis*: *tist*, Yazgh. *dis*: *dayd*, and Yd. *tī*.

*dīd* Sgl., Zb., *dūd* Ishk., *dīd* Sk., *did* Zar., *dīt* Gr. smoke. — Cf. Yd. *lūi* (Ishk. from Prs.).

*'dīdūs* Sgl. p., °us s., *'dīdus* is.; *'diwōz-dāu*

Zb., *diwōzda* Ishk. twelve. — *dī* < \**dū* < *duwa*?

*dig'dān* Sgl. is., p. 1, Gr., *dig'dōn* Ishk., *dikdōn* Zar. fireplace, hearth; *dīk'dān* Sk. kettle(?). — Prs.

*diga* Sgl. p. 2 now, then. — *čand rōz pasī diga xē māl gōl kuš*. — Prs.

*'digar* Sgl. p. 3 other. — Prs.

*diga'ri* Sgl. p. 2 still, more. — *d° cōwo ču'ān* you are still smaller than he.

*dah*, v. *dos*.

*deh*: *dēd* Sgl. p. (p. 3 also *dehēd*), *dē*: *dēd* s., *dē*: *dēd* Ishk., Sk., *deh*: *dēd* Gr. (Zb.), *dē*: *deh* Zar. to beat. — *tfak de'hēn*, *tu a'mak dē*; *azəm a-tfak dēd* p. 1; *dehōi 'mēzanad*; *warfō d'phō* snow falls; *vēki diān* they irrigate; *tēym dān* they sow; *dānd° dehēn* I bite; *axšc dēdōm* I yawned; *dehēd 'zad*; *gab dehēf* speak (*gap bezanī*) p. 3; *dēdōm Gazkōstān* p. 2 we reached ("struck"?). G. (*zadim*); *dēum*; *azi wan dēdum*; *mak dēd 'mara zad* Ishk.; *dēm*, imper. *dē*, *dēdum*, *dēduk*, *dēyuk*; *az fak dēm* I beat thee Sk. — Cf. Yd. *dah*, Shgh. *de*, etc.

*dāku'sa* Sk. felt-pad placed under the saddle. — Sk. compares Gr. *'dakoša* stirrup.

*dak* Sgl. p. 2, 3 emphatic particle. — *xwārēn-dak* I eat; *xwōro-dak* he eats; *nēr-əm kuš v-āri dak*; *nēr-əm kōkō va hāri-dak* to-day I did (have done) the work (*imrāz hamū kāra kardam*); *ma mən xōdm-dak gab dehēf* explain my dream; *im-bā-dak wok miš dūdū* *veđom* I had given him an apple; *ce har xōri-dak 'az har xar*; *kull-šōn-dak* they all; *am xān-dag kull mōnin-dag-ē*. Cf. §§ 114, 117.

- *dəq'dəq* Sk. trotting. — Cf. Shgh. *doqdoq*, and Prs. *luk luk raftan*.  
*duq'lad* Sk. gallop. — Cf. Prs. *qulāc* prancing of a horse.  
*dēkād'ni* Sk. field. — Prs.  
*'dela* Sgl. is. weasel. — Prs.  
*dāi'lē* Sgl. p. 2 porridge made of barley (said to be a Farsi word). — Cf. Prs. *dila* rye? V. *pa'šār*.  
*doldo'rok* Sgl. is., *dōdō'rok* p. 1, 3, *dōdō'rok* s. thunder. — Onomatopoeic word, cf. Psh. *dūn'jakār*, Par. *bumbu'rū*, etc.  
*dāl'tz* Sgl. is., p. 2 veranda.  
*dam* Gr. (Zb.) back (of an animal). — Cf. Shgh. *dam* upper part of the back, Or. *dām* spine, etc., Par. *damāi* behind. Shgh. *d-* points to borrowing.  
*dāmb* Sgl. p. 1, *dāmb* p. 3, *dāmb* Zb., Ishk., *dāmb* Sk., *dum* Zar. tail. — Genuine, or from Prs. *dum(b)*. Cf. Yd. *lām*.  
*dāmb* Sgl. p. 3 to card wool. — *pāme dāmben*. — Cf. Yd. *lib*.  
*'dōmōd* Ishk. son-in-law, *dō'mōd* Sk. bridegroom, *dū'mōd* sister's husband, son-in-law. — Prs. V. *zō'mūd*.  
*dām'fāzēk* Sgl. p. 2, s., *°ažēk* p. 3 yawn. — *d° xāsem* I yawn. — Prs. *dam* breath + *fāz* yawning; cf. Par. *fāza*.  
*dīmāy* Zb. nostrils. — Ar.-Prs. V. *fōsēk-pōa'čē*.  
*'dāman* Sgl. p. 1, 2 hem of a garment. — Prs.  
*dānā* Sgl. is., *dāh'nā* Sk. a horse's bit. — Prs. V. *lažām*.  
*dā'nā* Sk. wise. — Prs.  
*dān* Ishk. day(?). — Doubtful word, unknown from other sources.  
*dān* Sk. religion. — Ar.-Prs.  
*dānā* Sgl. is., *dānā* p. 3, *dān* p. 1, *dānt* s., *dōn(f)* Zb., Ishk., *dānā* Sk., *dānā(ak)* Gr. tooth. — *nasēm be pō dānā* Sgl.

- p. 2 I bite it; *na'sōk pa dānt* is.; *dānā dehēn* p. 3; *dōnt kenem* Ishk. I bite. — Cf. Yd. *lad*.  
*dūnda* Sgl. p. 3 so much, *amika* (= *hamān qadr*). — *dūnda vēd* thus it happened. — Cf. Gr. (Zb.) *zo-dund*, Sar. *dund* < \**tā-rant*?  
*dūnik* Sgl. p. 2 grain. — *dūnik xoro* 'dāna mēxura'. — Cf. Prs. *dāna*.  
*dē'nula* Sgl. p. 1 hoopoe, *huthut*.  
*dān'-pōlf* Sgl. p. 2 gums.  
*dōn'yā* Sk. world. — Ar.-Prs.  
*dā'rē* Sgl. is., *dā'rē* p. 1, *dā'ra* Sk. valley. — Prs. But Gr. *dār* 'ravine' may be genuine.  
*dā'rū* Sk. gunpowder. — Prs.  
*dēr* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, s., Ishk., Sk., Gr., *d'ēr* p. 3, 'Wkh.' *dēra* belly. — *wūžinjak zāmanok o'od mē dēri* the woman became pregnant. — Prob. < \**udarya* (v. KZ, 61, 32), cf. Yaghn. *dara*.  
*dēr*: *dērd* Sk. to have. — *dērēm*. — Av. *dāraya*, Par. *dēr*, cf. Yd. *lār*.  
*dīr* Sgl. p. distant, far. — *dīr watan ba šid*; *ada ādam dīr-ūi*, *ama ādam ka'rib-ū* p. 1 that man is far away, this man is near. — Cf. Yd. *lūro*.  
*dūr*, *dūr* ('with Swedish u') Sk. penis.  
*dūr* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. sickle. — Cf. 'Wkh.' *dār*, Yd. s.v. *lōrušus*.  
*dard*, *dard* (d) Sk. pain. — *'mōnō 'dard-kunu* it hurts me. — Prs.  
*dār'gāv* Sgl. p. 1, *dār'gō* Zb. small valley; *dār'gāb* Sk. brook. — Prs.  
*dūrūy* Sk. a lie. — Prs.  
*dūrōy'gū* Sgl. p. 2, *dūrūy'gū* Sk. a liar. — *tō d° dō* Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.  
*durk* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *dōrk* Zb., Ishk., Sk. stick, wood. — *va durk to'vōr māida kenen* p. 2 I cut the wood into pieces with an axe; *xūb rōst durk-ū* it is



- a quite straight stick. — \**dāruka*, or \**daruka* (v. § 79), cf. Shgh. *ḍory*, Psht. *largai*.
- dārām* Sgl. p. 1, Zb. pinetree.
- dārūn* Sgl. p. 2, Gr. inside. — *tə ma xān d° do* thou art in the house. — Prs.
- dār'nāk* Sgl. is. arrow (?), p. 2 bow-string. — Cf. Orm. *drūng* (v. Suppl. Notes s.v.) bow. Yd. *drūn* is borr. from Khov. — V. *zē, xas'tirek*.
- dār'rost* Sgl. p. 2 straight. — Prs.
- dār'rāft* Sgl. p. 2, is. rough. — Prs.
- drāw*, v. *derāy*.
- dār'wāza* Sgl. p. 3 door, gate. — *čel d° vōḍ; mā d° nīdef* sit down at the gate. — Prs.
- dāraxt* Sgl. is., *draxt* p. 1, *dār'raxt* Sk. a tree. — Prs.
- de'rāy*, *de'rē*: *dār'rāḍ* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *de'ray* Ishk., *drāw*: *drāwēd* Sk. to reap. — *derāyem*, *derāḍem* p. 2; *ḡundum derayem* Ishk. — Poss. from Prs. Cf. Yd. *lōrī*.
- dar'yāi* Sgl. is., s., *dar'yā(o)* p. river, *dār'yā* Sk. Amu Darya. — *daryāo yaxo kuōk* p. 2 the river has frozen (*yax kardast*). — Prs.
- dār'yok* Sgl. p. 2 reaping, harvest. — *d° isū*. — V. *derāy*.
- dār'raz* Sk. long. — Prs.
- dos* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s., *dōs* p. 1, Gr. (Zb.), *dāu* Zb., *dah* Sk., Gr. ten. — Cf. Yd. *los* (*dāu*, *dah* < Prs.).
- dōsād* Sk. 200. — Prs.
- dō'sin* Sgl. is., p. 2 wild oats. — Sk. *rōḣ-ḍov'suk*. Cf. Yd. *leso*.
- dōst* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *dūst* Ishk., *du'ost* Sk. arm below the elbow, hand. — *xē dōst zē'nēyem* p. 1 I wash my hands. — Cf. Yd. *last*.
- dūst* Sgl. p. 2, *dust* Sk. a friend. — *dūst dērum* Sk. I love. — Prs.
- das'tak* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk. a rafter, ceiling-board. — Prs., Bad.; cf. Par., Orm. *des'tak*.
- dēs*: *dōḍ* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *dēs*: *dēst* Zar. to milk. — *va uyū dēḍem*, *va uyū-m dōḍem* p. 2. — \**dauḥḥya*: \**dūxta*, cf. EVP, s.v. *loaḥḥl*. — Yd. (v. s.v. *lūi*), Wkh., Sgl., etc. go back to \**dauē*.
- dōḣ* Sgl. p. 2 late. — *dōḣ o'ḡoḍ*. — Cf. Wkh. *ḍōḣ* (Sh.).
- duš'man* Sgl. p. 3, Sk. enemy. — *tə bāi d° paidā šuō* thou hast got an enemy. — Prs.
- dašt* Sgl. is., p. 2 open, relatively flat ground at the foot of the hills. — Prs.
- dōvā*, °*vā* Sgl. p. 2 after that, *pas-i amū*. — *dōvā nes lā-kuḍ 'bāz ū na mānd'*; *dōvā šovok* (q.v.) *šūān*.
- dō'vin*: *dō'vīnd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *du'vin* Zar. to winnow. — *dō'vinuk* p. 2 winnowing. — Cf. Yd. *lōbān*.
- dē'vō'nē* Sk. mad = *lēic*. — Prs.
- dē'wāl* Sgl. is., p. 1, °*ol* Ishk., *dē'wāl* Sk. wall. — Prs.
- dūwīšt* Sgl. p. 3 twenty-two.
- dūxtan'dār* Sgl. p. 1 husband's sister (?). — Prob. a mistake, cf. Prs. *dūxtarandar* step-daughter.
- dāya* Sgl. p. 3, *dō'ya* Sk. nurse. — Prs.
- dāy*: *dūḍ* Sgl. p. 1, 2, s., *day*: *dūd* Ishk., Gr., *dey*: *dūd* Sk. to give. — Pres. 1 sg. *dāyem*; *tu mum bē wok rōpēē dē* p. 1 give me a rupee; *dāyem be; im be wok rōpēē dēyem* (1 pl.); *dīān* (3 pl.); *dūḍem*, *azēm dūḍ*; *dūḍin*; *dūḍū vedēm* (plup.) p. 2; *azi tu bo dayum*, *dūdum* Ishk.; *'deyem*, *dei*,

'dūdum, 'dūduk, 'deyuk Sk. — \*daya- (cf. Tedesco, MO, 1921, p. 224); but cf. Yd.—Mj. dāl.

dəzd Sgl. p. 2, Sk. thief. — Prs. — Gr. duzd, if correct, might be a genuine form.

dū'zax Sk. hell. — Prs.

## F

fai Sgl. p. 2, Ishk., Gr. (Zb.), Sk. much, many, very, still more. — fai rəz-əm wēnd I saw many goats; fai wūdūyōd-o there are many daughters; tēmux fayān p. 2; fai muluk many men; fai ferind very tired; fai bu bōrū 'bisyar mebarad' Ishk., fai lip Sk. very much. — \*fra-aya, cf. Benveniste, Gramm. Sogd. II, p. 162: fy'tr, etc.?

fī Sgl. p. 1, 3, fai Ishk., Zar., fei Gr. shovel, wooden spade. — "Wkh." fī; cf. Yd. fia.

fōc Sgl. p., s., Gr. (Zb.), fōc Sgl. is., fōc Zb., fōc Sk. month. — Cf. Yd. fōsko.

fauji Sgl. p. 3 soldier. — Ar.-Prs. V. fauz.

fak Ishk. thee. V. tu. — Gr. fak <sup>1</sup>) self, <sup>2</sup>) your honour is due to some misunderstanding of fak 'thee'. Cf. § 111.

fī'ūk Sgl. is., p., s. shoulder-blade. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. fia, Shgh. fyak, etc.

fekr Sk. thought. — fikr kən consider. — Ar.-Prs.

fū'lād Sgl. is., p. 2, °ād Sk. steel. — Prs. filla Gr. beestings milk, Sk. buttermilk. — Prs. fal(ā).

falax'mān Gr. sling. — Prs. palaxm(ān).

fār, v. befāru.

fri Sk., Gr., ferī Gr. (Zb.) good, dear. Sk. bravo. — Sk. fri dir- (kas-) to

love; fak fri dirəm I like thee; fritar better; a'd-im fri wəd that would be good. — Cf. Av. frya-, Sak. brria.

far'be Sk. fat (noun). — Prs.

f'rēd Sgl. p. 3 broken. — bātā f° kuḍ pə tovor he broke the idols with an axe, šikast. — Cf. Wkh. fril- to crumble? V. vrēl.

fər'ort: fər'ort Sgl. s. to wander about. — fər'ortom 'me-gardam', fər-əm ort I wandered about. — Adapted fr. Prs. V. ort.

fər'mē: fər'mūd Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to order, command. — pādšā fər'mūd p. 3. — Prs.?

fērūn Gr. shelf, plank. — Wkh. rün, Sar. rün < \*frāna-, cf. Lett. plāns floor, Lit. plonas thin, etc.?

fə'ris: fə'rind Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., fə'rin: fə'rind Sk. to remain, be left behind; frin Gr. he remained. — fə'risom 'mēmānam'; fərindom 'mādam'; fə'rindi fər'sou mō pə'nuk thou didst spend the night on the pass p. 2; pādšā take (q.v.) fə'rind p. 3. — < \*fra-ričya: \*fra-rizna-, cf. Wkh. warič: waregn, Sar. ris: reid, Or. ras: rid.

fə'rind Ishk., frin'duk Gr. tired, Sk. lagging behind. — From fə'ris, cf., semantically, Wkh. vərəžk tired, Prs. mānda, Sindhi virto, Yd. wuzā, etc. fər'nis: fər'nit Sgl. is., p. 2, Ishk.: fə'rnit: fə'rnitt Sk. to forget. — fə'rnisen: fə'rnitom p. 2; fə'rnitum, na fə'rniti Ishk.; az-um 'fə'rnit I forget, az-im fə'rnitt(om) I forgot, 'fə'rnit, fə'rnittuk, 'fə'rnituk Sk. — < \*fra-nasya, cf. Shgh. renēs, Yazgh. anis: anuēt (\*ā-, or \*fra-?).



*fʷrās*: *fʷrēt* Sgl. is., *frās*: *frēt* p. 1, *fʷras* p. 2, 3, s., Ishk.: *fʷrēt* Sgl. p. 3, s., *fʷrēt* Ishk., *foras*: *forast* Sk., *frut* Gr., *ferāt* Gr. (Zb.) to ask. — *az* *fʷrāsən*, (tu) *fʷrāsi*, *fʷrētəm* is.; *az* *frāsen*, (tu) *frāsi*, *azəm frētəm*, (tu) *frēt* p. 1; *fʷrasen* p. 2; *fʷrasəm*: *fʷrētəm* p. 3, s.; *fʷrasum*, *fʷrētum* Ishk.; *fʷrasum*, *fʷras*, *forastum*, *fʷrastuk* Sk. — A new Pres. base has been made from the Past Stem \**fʷrašta* (Sak. *brraşta*, etc.), and from *fras*, in its turn, *forast* (incidentally resembling Old Pres. *frasta*). Most dialects have retained Pres. \**fʷrasa*, but have renewed the Past Base. Cf. Yd. *pr̥s*.

*fʷr̥šou* Sgl. is., *fʷr̥* p. 2, *fʷr̥* p. 3, s., *fʷr̥sun* Gr. (Zb.), *fʷr̥šuk* MFB, *fʷr̥xa* "Wkh." night. — < \**fʷra-xšapa*. — V. *šab*.

*fʷr̥āšte*, -*ā* Sgl. p. 3 angel. — Pres.

*fʷr̥-i-sur* Sgl. p. 1, 2 top of the head. — Ar.Prs. (also in Par.). — V. *tā-i-sar*.

*fʷr̥yay* Sgl. p. 1 yoke. — Cf. Yd. *fr̥āyo* yoke-rope, RgV. *prauga*-yoke. V. *yay*.

*fʷr̥yem* Sgl. p. 2, *em* p. 3 female kid, one year old. — Cf. "Wkh." *fʷr̥yemē*, Yd. *fr̥ayingo*, etc.

*fʷr̥sek* Sgl. is., *fʷr̥s̥k* p. 1, *fʷr̥s̥k* p. 2, 3, *fʷr̥sek* s., *fʷr̥s̥k* "Wkh." nose. — Cf. Yd. *fʷsko*. — V. *nīc*, *mīs*.

*fʷr̥s̥k-p̥p̥ā'čē* Sgl. p. 1 nostrils. — V. *dī'māy*.

*fasl* Sgl. p. 3 moment, Sk. season. — *wok fasl asto vəd 'yak dam (= fasl) istād'*. — \*Ar.Prs.

*fāx'tē* Sgl. p. 1, 2 ringdove. — Pres.

*fāuž* Sgl. p. 2, *fauj* p. 3 army. — Ar.Prs. — V. *fauji*.

## G

*gi'd* Sgl. p. 1 grass. — Pres.

*gū kən* Sk. to grow (intr.). Cf. Wkh. *gē car*.

*gu'dōm* Sgl. p. 1, 2 store-house, *ambār*. — *maxlu'kān g° xāštān* p. 2. — Ind.

*gōgərd* Sgl. is., p. 2, *erd* p. 3 sulphur. — Pres.

*guh* Sgl. is., p. 3, *gū* p. 1, Ishk., Zar. human excrements. — But *cārrāl goh* Sgl. is., *goh* p. 3, *go* p. 1 cow-dung. — Pres. (double borrowing?).

*gel* Sgl. is., *gəl* p. 1, 2, Zb., *gul* Ishk., *gul(uk)* Sk., *gulok* Gr. flower. — *ispē gəl* p. 2. — Pres.

*gīl* Sgl. p. 1, *gīl* s. clay. — Pres. — V. *lōi*.

*gōla* Ishk., *gāla* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) bread. — *a'z-im nēr gā'la 'nīst xūl* Sk. to-day I have not eaten bread. — Cf. Shgh. *garāa* wheat bread. — V. *xēste*.

*gul* Ishk., *gōla* Sk. kidney, Gr. liver. — Pres. *gōla* a ball. — V. *wōlk*.

*gulbād(ōk)* Sk. whirlwind, *gulbāduk* Gr. cloud. — \*Pres.?

*gala'gāu* Sgl. p. 1 herd of cows. — Pres.

*gi'lām* Ishk. rug (? or coat?) Pres.

*gilam'bāf* Sgl. is. weaver, *gilimbōfak* p. 1, *gōlim-bāfak* Sk. spider. — Pres. Cf. Shgh. *gilimbāf*, Wkh. *gilimbōf* spider.

*gi'lās* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 cherry. — Pres.

*gul'xār* Sk. briar. — \*Pres.

*gōl* Sgl. p. 2, 3 collected, assembled, together with, *gul* Sk. with, *gul* Gr. assembled, -*gal* Gr. (Zb.) together with. — *xē māl gōl kuḍ* p. 2 he collected his goods; *gōl ken xē wa'ziren* assemble thy ministers; *xē baškač gōl 'kat-i baškač'*; *xē wa'ziren gər* p. 3 together with his ministers; *tō gōl*

- isen* p. 2 'hamrā-i tū mēāyam'; *mən gul* Sk. with me. — Prob. anc. lw. from Prs. \**garī* (but cf. Barth., Mir. Mund. VI, 60).
- goḷ* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *gul* Ishk. dumb, *gūl* Sk. deaf. — *gōḷ mō šyuk* p. 2 I have become dumb. — Prs. *gōl* stupid?
- gām* Sk. pace, walk. — Prs.
- gan'da* Sgl. p. 2 bad. — *g° ādam-ū*. — Prs.
- gin'jīsk* Ishk. sparrow. — Prs.
- gnik* Sk. resembling, like. — *urucēsak-gnik*, *xūg-gnik maḷūk* a fox-like, pig-like man. — Cf. Prs. *gūna*?
- gap* Sgl. is., p. 3, Sk., Gr. word, conversation. — *ma mən xōdm dak gab dehef* p. 3 you must say a word about my dream. — Prs.
- g°rē* Sgl. p. 3 knot. — Prs.
- gar'dak* Zb., *gurduk* Ishk., *gardan* Sk. neck. — Borr. and adapted from Prs. *gardan*.
- garm* Zb., Ishk., Sk. warm, hot (Sk. also 'heat'). — Prs. — V. *γōrm*.
- guīt* Sk. meat. — Prs. V. *puḍf*.
- gāx-*: *gāxōḍ* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *gāx-*: *gaxt* Gr. (Zb.) to make, prepare. — *wok āzi gāxen*; *wotukō gāxān* they prepare a feast p. 2; *gax* imper. 2 sg., *cena gāxen* 'ēikār mēkunim?' 'Ōzar 'zōt-ō 'gaxtōk 'O's son has done it' Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Wkh. *goḥ*, *gāx*.
- gaz* Sgl. p. 2 ell. — Prs.
- gāz* Zb., *gazez* Sgl. p. 1 tamarisk. — Prs. Cf. *yōz*.
- gāzdēm* Sgl. is., 'gaz° p. 3, s., *gāzdēm* p. 1, *gaḏdūm* Sk., *goḏdūm* Ishk. scorpion. — Prs. *gaḏdum* (and *gazdum*, Horn. Np. Et. 885?).
- gu'zār* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., Gr. ford. — *g° om be šīxtām* I crossed the ford. — Prs.

## Γ

- γōu*, v. *u'yūi*.
- γōb-naduk* Gr. green slime on standing water. — Cf. Or. *γōb* mud, slime, Wershikwar *γōp*, and *naduk* from *nas*.
- γū'bār* Sgl. p. 1, *γō°* p. 2, *γū'bōr* Zb. dust-storm. — Prs.
- γudāra* Gr. water-vessel. — Prs. *γadāra*, Shgh. *γedōra*.
- γōk* Ishk. frog (large). — Prs.
- γōl* Ishk. lung(?). — (Prob. Prs. *šus* misheard as *gūš*.)
- γal'bēl* Sgl. is., p., Ishk., Sk. sieve; *γ° kēn* Sk. to strain, sift. — *va γōndēm γ° kēn* p. 3. — Prs.
- γō'lāk* Sgl. is., *γulak* p. 2, Zar., *γū°* Sk., Gr. pellet-bow. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. *γulak*. V. *γō'lāk*.
- γalla* Ishk. grain. — Prs.
- γō'lām* Sgl. p. 2 slave. — Ar. Prs.
- γalt* Sgl. p. 3 falling. — *γalt-em šīd* I fell. — Ar. Prs.
- γāl'viš* Sgl. is. Adam's apple. — Cf. *γāl* and *kaš-viš*, *baγal-viš*. V. *biš*.
- γāl* Sgl. is., p., s., *γōl* Zb., Ishk., *γāl* Sk., *γāl* Gr. throat. — *ma mōi γāl ba tir-i dast deheḍ* Sgl. p. 3 he hit his throat with an arrow. — Cf. Or. *γārō*, Psht. *γāra*.
- γōl* Sgl. p. 1, s., *γōl* is., p. 3, Sk., *γōl* Ishk., Gr., *γōl* Sk., *wōl* (!) Zb., *γūl* Zar., "Wkh." *γāl* ear. — Cf. Yd. *γū*, and Prs. dial. *γōl*.
- γōl* Sgl. p. 2 together with. — V. *gōl*.
- γō'lāk* Sgl. is., p. 1 plough-handle. — From *γōl* ear, cf. Prs. *gōša* handle of a vessel, Psht. *γatāḡ(aī)* horn of a bow, etc.
- γam* Sk. sorrow. — Ar. Prs.
- γa'mī* Sgl. is., p. 1 tired. — Ar. Prs.



- yam'gin Sk. sorrow(tul). — Ar.-Prs.  
 yōndam Sgl. is., p. 3, s., °am p. 1, yōndum  
 Zb., Ishk., yu° Sk., Gr., Zar. wheat.  
 — Cf. Yd. yādam.  
 yēnōk Sgl. is., yēnōk p. 1, °ok p. 2, 3,  
 °ūk s., °uk Ishk., Zb., Sk., Gr. hair,  
 "Wkh." yēno goat's hair. — Cf. Yd.  
 yunia.  
 ynain Sk. (uncertain reading) stallion.  
 yār Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr., yōr p. 1 cave. —  
 Ar. Prs.  
 yārī Sgl. is., p. 2 a kind of tree, siyācūb.  
 yōr Sgl. is., yor p. 2 penis. — Cf. Wkh.  
 yūr, Sar., Or. yur (scrotum), Prs. yur  
 having large testicles.  
 ya'rib Sgl. p. 2 poor. — Ar.-Prs.  
 yār'dāv Sgl. p. 2, g° p. 3 whipool. —  
 Prs. (Sgl. p. 2 with phonetic adaptation).  
 Cf. Khov. yernānu.  
 yō'rok Sgl. is., p. 3, °og p. 1, yō'ruk "Wkh."  
 neck. — Cf. Wkh. yārāy, Sar. žarej  
 collar, Psht. yaraī throat, Av. garah.  
 yu'rūk Sgl. is., p. 2, °ik Gr., yorik Zar.  
 lucerne, reške. — Cf. Yd. rryō'yo.  
 yī-kuzuk Sk. bull. — V. yōr, ku'žūk.  
 yōrm Sgl. is., p. warm, hot. — nēr yōrm-ō.  
 — Av. garōma-, etc.; Sar. žūrm (but  
 not in other Pamir diall.).  
 yōr'nī Sk. money. — Ar.-Prs. qranī?  
 yart Sgl. is., yort: yost p. 2 to walk  
 about; yēst Gr. (Zb.) he returned;  
 yurs: yušt Zar. to go out. — yartam  
 bōš Sgl. is.; yorten 'mēgardam', yōstōm  
 'gaštam' p. 2. — Adapted from early  
 N. Prs. °gart- (gardidan). V. fōr-yort.  
 yōv Sgl. p. 2 corn-bin, kandū. — Cf. Or.  
 žūv 'ambār', Sar. žēv, Wkh. žūv, yōv,  
 Phl. gōšān. — Cf. Yd. yuvē?  
 yuz: yuzd Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., yōz: yōzd Ishk.,  
 Sk., yūz: yūzd Gr. (Zb.) to run. —  
 yuzən, yuzəm be, yuzdēm Sgl. p. 2;

azi yōzum, azi wulo yōzd Ishk. I ran  
 formerly. — Cf. Yd. yāz.  
 yēz: yēzōd Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, : yēzōd s., Ishk.,  
 yēiz: yēizōd p. 3, yāz: yāzōd Sk., : yēd  
 Gr. (Zb.), : yēzōd Gr. to say, speak. —  
 Pres. az yēzən, tu yēzī, ada yē'zō,  
 a'max° yē'zōm, a'dāndo yē'zān, pret.  
 az-əm yēzōd p. 1; az va tfak yēzən  
 I say to thee, tē va mak ci-e yēzī?  
 what dost thou say to me? amax°  
 rōsk yēzōm p. 3 we speak the truth,  
 tōmex ci-e yēzōf? p. 3; xē tē-vē yēzōd  
 p. 3 he said to his father; pres. 2 pl.  
 yēizēf 3 pl. yēizān, pret. 3 sg. yēizōd,  
 3 pl. yēzān p. 3; azi fak yēzum, tō  
 mum bō ēz yāzī? yēzōdum Ishk.;  
 pres. 1 sg. yāzīm, 3 pl. yāzījān, tō  
 'mōmbd yāz 'kūnā zōvōk-ā Sk. say (it) to  
 me, it is an old word. — Gauthiot's  
 derivation (JA, 1916, p. 247) is  
 phonetically improbable.

## H

- hēci Sgl. p. 2 anything, hē Gr., hēc Gr.  
 (Zb.) any. — amē hēci nes xōfok  
 Sgl. p. 2; hēc waqt Sk. never. — Prs.  
 haf sar Sgl. p. 3 officer (in tale). — Engl.  
 (h)afīād Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 seventy. — Prs.  
 har Sgl. is., p. 2 every. — ce har xōridak  
 'az har xar'. — Prs.  
 hōr Sgl. p. 2 every, all. — hōr kull-šōn  
 'hama-išān'. — Prs.?  
 hōš Sgl. p. 2 mind. — wok ēze tar hōš-ōi  
 'yak ēzī ba dīl-i mā-st'. — Prs.  
 huš'yār Sgl. p. 2 wise. — Prs.  
 (h)ot Sgl. is., p. 3, hot s., hot p. 1, 2, ot  
 Zb., Gr. (Zb.), Sk., af Ishk., āf Gr.,  
 ūt Zar., hat Sgl. eight. — Cf. Yd.  
 aščo. h- from Prs.  
 'hotōdos Sgl. p. 1, 2, 'hotodos is., hotōdos

- Grammophone, <sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup>dos s., <sup>1</sup>dos p. 3;  
*haṭdāu* Zb. (Prs.) eighteen.  
*haṭe* Sgl. p. 1 loosened, released. — <sup>h</sup>o  
*kenen*, <sup>h</sup>o-em kul. V. *ya'lē*. Cf. the  
 following word.  
*həf* Sgl. is., p. 2, at Gr. open. — *vōr*  
 (<sup>h</sup>əf-ōi p. 2, *ər* *koḥ* p. 2 'yala kat';  
*dar'wāze* *həf* *kenef!* p. 3. — Cf. Wkh.  
*əf*, Sar. *hāf*, Shgh. *het*. — Lw.?  
 (<sup>h</sup>a'wā Sgl. p. 2, 3, *a'wāi* is., *hawā* Sk.  
 air. — <sup>a</sup>o *na'vōi* Sgl. is. it is raining;  
*tar* <sup>h</sup>a<sup>o</sup> *arazō* p. 2 it flies through  
 the air; <sup>a</sup>o *dūd* p. 3 he sent (it) into  
 the air (*hawā* *dād*). — Ar-Prs.  
*hāur* Sgl. is., s., *āur* p. 3, *haur* p. 2 lake.  
 — Ar-Prs.  
*ha'zār* Sgl. p. 2 one thousand. — Prs.  
*haṭ'dāu*, v. *hōt'dōs*.

### J (cf. Ž)

- jā* Sgl. p. 2, Gr. (Zb.), *jō* Sk., *jā* Gr.  
 place. — *wok* *jā* *idōn* Sgl. p. 2 I come  
 to a place; *az* *jō* *kənum* Sk. I hide.  
 — Prs.  
*jē*, v. *ža*.  
*ju'bār*, v. *jo'vār*.  
*jufta'ki* Sgl. is., *juftē* p. 1 twins. —  
 \*Prs., cf. Yd. *jift*.  
*jī'gar* Sgl. p. 1, 2, Zb., Ishk., Sk., <sup>o</sup>ār  
 Sgl. p. 3 liver. — Prs.  
*jih*- Sgl. p. 2, s., *jē* is., *jēh* p. 3: *jest* is.,  
 s., *jist* p. 2; *jās*: *jāst* Sk. to flee, run  
 away. — *psā* *be* *jī'hm*, *jistēm* Sgl.  
 p. 2 'gurēxtam'; *jēhen* p. 3 I am  
 fleeing; imper. 2 sg. *jē* is. Cf. Gr.  
*jistuk* fast (horse). — Prs.  
*jī'hān* Sk. world. — Prs.  
*jīl* Sgl. p. 2 bridle. — Prs. *jīlau*.  
*jald* Sgl. p. 2 quick. — *jald* is come  
 quickly. — Ar-Prs.

- juāl'dōz* Sgl. p. 1 packing-needle. — Prs.  
*jāsa* Sgl. p. 3 gathering, meeting. —  
 Ar-Prs.  
*jīla'yōk* Sgl. is. spider. — Prs. *julāh*  
 weaver. V. *gīlimbōfak*.  
*jān* Sk. soul. — Prs.  
*jnūb* Sk. south. — Ar-Prs.  
*jān'dār* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *jā'n*<sup>o</sup> is. ram. —  
<sup>j</sup>o *kālān* p. 2 they kill a ram. —  
 Prs., cf. Or. *jōndōr* ram.  
*jānj* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *jō*<sup>o</sup> p. 1, *žō*<sup>o</sup> Ishk.,  
 Sk. woman. — < \**jani-āi*, v. §§ 26,  
 97. Cf. Yd. *žigko*.  
*jan'war* Zb., Lshk. male markhor. — Prs.  
 V. *žūok*.  
*jang* Sk. war. Prs.  
*jāngal* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 forest, jungle. —  
 Prs.  
*jā'rū* Ishk. broom. — Prs.  
*jē'rāb* Sgl. is., p. 1 stockings. — Prs.  
*jās*, v. *jih*.  
*jo'vār* Sgl. is., p. 3, *ju*<sup>o</sup> p. 2, *ju'vār* p. 1,  
*ju'bār* Sk., *ju'bār* Gr. irrigation-  
 channel, watercourse. — Prs.  
*ju'wāb* Sgl. p. 2 answer. — <sup>j</sup>o *dē* *wok*  
*čāz* answer me one thing. — Ar-Prs.  
*ju'wān* Sgl. p. 2, *jō'wān* Sk. young. —  
 Prs.  
*ju'wā'ē* Sgl. is. she-calf, three years old,  
*ju'd'na* Sk. heifer; *ju(w)ā'nē* Sgl. p.  
 2, 3 male calf one (to two) years  
 old. — Cf. Wkh. *ju'āna*, Mj. *ju'āna*.  
*ju'wānmar'di* Sk. courage. — Prs.  
*ju'wārī* Sgl. p. 1 jowar. — Prs.  
*jōz* Sgl. is., *jōz* p. 1 mosquito.

### K

- ki*, *ke* Sgl., Ishk. that, when, etc. —  
*Tira'mā* *ke* *šōd* when autumn came;  
*ke* *warf* *dēd*, *nās* *kō-kwān* Sgl. p. 2



- because snow fell we could not (cross);  
*yāižed ke* he said that; *kasef ke* . . .  
*bə kunjay-ō* look where he may be;  
*məni zi Xudāi nəst kə ico žanen* p. 3  
 I have not such a God that they  
 can kill him. — *Prs.*?
- kai ken* Sgl. s. to eructate(?). — *Prs.*  
*gay* vomiting.
- kō(i)* Sgl. who? — V. § 119.
- kō ken* Sgl. p. 2 to be able. — *pāruzd-im*  
*šō'wari ke'nūk nəst-əm kō-kud* yester-  
 day I could not come (*dina rofta*  
*būdan na tānistem*); *ari ke'nūk kō*  
*kenen 'kār karda metānam*; *nəs kō*  
*kucān* we could not (*nə tānistim*);  
*nər-əm kō-ko* (= *°kud*) *va hāri-dāk*  
 to-day I could do the work.
- ka'būl* Sgl. p. 3 agreeing, believing. —  
*'az pə tō Xu'dāi k° 'nəsimō* I don't  
 believe in thy God. — *Ar.-Prs.*
- qabr* Sk. tomb (high style). — *Ar.-Prs.*
- kabar'ye* Sgl. p. 3, *qabr'yā* Sk. rib. —  
*Turk.-Prs.*
- ka'būt* Sgl. p. 1, *Ishk.*, *ka'vūt* Sgl. p. 3,  
*kabut* Sk. blue. — *Prs.*
- koc*: *kod* Sgl. s., p. 2 to copulate. —  
*kocen buš 'mēgāyam*. — *Cf. kačāk?*
- qai'ei* Sk. scissors. — *Prs.*
- koci* Sgl. p. 3 anybody. *Cf. § 119.*
- 'küē(i)* Sgl. p. 3, *k'ūē* Sk. wife. — *kot ke*  
*kuē-i oγod* he saw that his wife had  
 arrived; *ica xē kūē* O, my wife. —  
*Cf. Prs. kōē.*
- ka'cāk* Sgl. p. 3 embrace. — *k° nasen*.  
*qadam* Sk. walk, pace. — *Ar.-Prs.*
- qa'dim* Sgl. is. ancient. — *mə waxt-i q°*.  
 — *Ar.-Prs.*
- kū'dī* Sgl. p. 2, *k'ūdī* Sk. when? — *ama*  
*ādam k° oγōd?* — *Cf. Yd. kō'la.*
- ka'dū* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. gourd. — *Prs.*
- kud*, *k'ōd* Sgl. is., p., s., *k'ud* Zb., *Ishk.*,  
*kōd* Sk. dog. — *kud lavōi* the dog  
 barks. — *Cf. Shgh. kud*, etc., (v.  
 Turner, *Nep. Diet. s.v. kuti*).
- kudum* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *kudum* Gr. which? —  
 V. § 119. — Possibly < *\*katama-*  
 (cf. *Skr.*), but *Av. katāma-*. V. § 78 h.
- kō'dos* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *°los* p. 2, s., *Grammo-*  
*phone*, *kō'dos* p. 1, *kō'dos* is.; *yōzda*  
*Ishk.*, *°da* Sk., *°dāu* Zb. eleven. —  
*Cf. §§ 93, 109.*
- kif* Gr. to pierce. — *Cf. Shgh. čaf*,  
*Prs. kaftan* to split.
- kif* Sgl. is., p. 1, *k'ief* p. 3, *kōfān* Gr.,  
*kūfōn* Zar. hump. — *Cf. Yd. kəzfo.*
- kāfē* Sgl. p. 2, Gr., *kōfē* Sk., Zar. ladle.  
 — *Prs.*
- kaf-i-dest* Sgl. is., p. 1, *°dast* p. 3, *°dast*  
 Sk., *kuf* *Ishk.*, *kaf* Gr. palm of the  
 hand. — *Prs.*
- kaf-i-pā* Sgl. p. 3, *pu-kaf* Gr. sole of the  
 foot. — *Prs.*
- ka'fas* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) cage. — *Prs.*
- kafš* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. shoe. — *Prs.*
- kufi* Sk. ill (from fever). — *Cf. Prs.*  
*kufta* bruised?
- kūh* Sk., is., p. 2, *kōh* p. 3, *kō* p. 1, *kū*  
*Ishk.* mountain. — *ca kū yūz? xasəm*  
 Sgl. p. 2 we bring firewood from the  
 hills. — *Prs.*
- kāk* Sgl. p. 1, *qāq* Sk., *kāk* Gr. dry. —  
*'qōq-kənum* Sk. I dry. — *Prs.*
- kaig/k* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *Ishk.*, *kāig* Sk.,  
*kāiyi* Gr. flea. — *Prs.*
- k'al* Sgl. p. 2 bald, *kal* Gr. hornless. —  
*Prs.*
- kal* Sgl. p. 1, *Ishk.*, Zb. skull. — *Cf.*  
*Shgh., Or. kāl.*
- qa'lā* Sk. fortress. — *Prs.*
- kāl* Sgl. p. 2, *kul*: *kut* s., *kāl*: *kōld* Sk.,  
*kāl*: *kut* Zar., *kut* Gr., *kef* Gr. (Zb.)  
 to kill, slaughter. — *kuləm* be Sgl. s.,

- jān'dār* *kə'lān* p. 2. — Cf. Prs. *kuštan*, etc.
- kull* Sgl. p. 1, 2 all. — *kull va tʃak kasem* p. 1 we all see thee; *hər kul(l)-sōn* p. 2 'hama-išān'. Cf. §§ 114, 119. — Prs.
- ku'lē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ku'lā* Sk. cap. — *'mānd kə'u'lā 'nīst* Sk. I have no cap. — Prs.
- kə'lba* Ishk. plough. — Prs.
- ku'lčā* Sk. small cake. — Prs.
- kə'lf* Sgl. p. 2, *q°* Sk. lock. — Prs.
- kə'lāc* Sgl. p. 2 fathom. — Prs.
- kullax* Gr. hard. — Cf. Prs. *ku'lax* a clod, Bad. Prs. *ku'lax* thick, stout, Psht. *klak* hard.
- ka'lān* Sgl. p. 2 big, large. — *miš tāt xān wo ki-ak k°-ū* the house of our father is a little bigger (*yak-taš kalāntar-a*). — Prs.
- ka'land* Sgl. p. 1 hoe, mattock. — Prs.
- kōla'vā* Sgl. p. 2 wooden bowl. — Derived from Prs. *kōlāb* pond, reservoir?
- kala'pā* Sk. down. — Cf. Yd. *kalāpo*, Sk. Mater. p. 262.
- ku'l'vār* Sk. small mussuck. — Cf. Lentz *kū'l'wār* 'rucksack' (scarcely fr. Prs. *zar/l'wār*). But cf. Prs. (mod. coll.) *kūlabār* knapsack; Taj. *ku'vor* mussuck.
- kaulē'zik* Ishk. tadpole. — Cf. Prs. *kafčalēz(ak)* id., *kaflēzak*, etc. ladle.
- ka'fi* Sgl. p. 2 key. — Prs., cf. Yd. *kaliyo*.
- kā'ēl* Sgl. is., p. 1, *k'ēl* s., *k'ēlāk* p. 3, *kil* Ishk., *kēl*, *kil* Sk., "kirh" MFB, *kel* Gr. knife. — Cf. Yd. *'kepo*.
- ko'f'ān* (r-?) Sgl. p. 3 donkey's saddle.
- kām* Sgl. p. 1, *kōm* Zar. palate. — Prs.
- ka'māk* Sgl. is., p. 1, *k'amok* Ishk., *ka'muk* ar'qa Sk., *kamuk* Gr., *kā'mī* "Wkh." back, spine. — *p-tō ka'mā-mō* I am

- behind thee. — Cf. Prs. *kam* waist, < \**kamb* to bend?
- kai'mōk* Ishk. cream. — Turk.-Prs.
- kū'mak* Sk. help, assistance. — *k° kən* help. — Turk.-Prs.
- ka'mān-i Res'tam* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ka'mān-i Rus'tem* Ishk., *°stōm* Sk. rainbow. — Prs.
- kam'pīr* Sk. old woman. — Prs. — Cf. s.v. *tandur*.
- ka'mar* Sgl. p. 2, Zb. rock. — Prs.
- 'kamar* Zb. rib(?). — Prs. *k°* waist.
- ke'mur* Sk. pit-coal. — Turk.
- kamarband* Sk. belt. — Prs.
- kəmay-*: *kəmaid* Sk., *kam-*: kind Gr. (Zb.) to wish. — Cf. Wkh. *kəmi-*, Shgh. *čemb-*, Orosh. *čīn-* (with -n from): *čīnt*, etc.; Oss. *komun*.
- kan-*: *kōnd* Sgl. p. 3, *kan-*: *kūnd* Sk. to dig. — *'kanen* Sgl. p. 3, *'kanum*, *kan*, *kūndum*, *'kūnduk*, *'kanuk* Sk. — Cf. Prs. *kandan*.
- ken-* Sgl., is., p., s., Ishk.: *kuļ* Sgl. is., *kuļ* p. 1, *kuḍ* p. 2, *kuḍ* p. 3, *koļ* s., *kuļ* Ishk., *kən-*: *kūl* Sk. to make, do. — *ari kenen*, *ari-m kuļ* Sgl. is.; *az-əm ari kuļ*; *az (h)āri kenen*, *az-əm hāri kuḍ*, *ari-m kuḍ vōḍ* 'karda būdam'; *-o kuḍok* 'kardast' p. 1; *nēr-əm kō-ko va hāri-ḍak* to-day I could do the work; *to-wō āri kuḍ vō-ī?* p. 2 hast thou done the work? *kenem*, *ari-m koļ* s.; *k'enum*, *azi ari k'uluk* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *kən*.
- 'kī'nā* Sk. hate. — *k° kənum* I hate. — Prs.
- 'kūnā* Sk. ancient. — *as'tā 'kūnā gaḡ(hā)* is there an ancient word? — Prs.
- kund* Sgl. is., p. 1 blunt. — Prs.
- kan'dāk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *kondok* Zb., *'kāndak* Gr. thorn. — Borr. from IA.??



- kundē* Sgl. p. 2 stem, stump of a tree. — Prs.
- kun'jā* Sgl. p. 2, °jāi p. 3, *kən'jā*, *kə'dəm'jā* Sk. where? — *am e-kun'jā-ē* Sgl. p. 2 from where is he? (*mə*) *kun'jā-y-o* p. 3 where is he (*da ki'jō st*)? Amir 'Bek *xān kə'dəm'jā*? Sk. — Wkh. *kun'jai*; cf. *ku'dum*.
- kun'qār ken-* Sgl. p. 3 to tear to pieces, cf. Gr. *kan'dār kul*. — IA, cf. Panj. *kan'qhar* ruin?
- ka'pāl* Gr. skull. — From Khow. (Cf. Charpentier, MO, 26, p. 39).
- kar* Sgl. p. 1, 2, Ishk. deaf, Sk. dumb. — *kar-mō šyuk* I have become dumb. — Prs.
- kā'qār* Sk. anger. — *az-im 'kār kənum*; *mun 'kar-xtuk* I become angry (my anger has risen). — Ar.-Prs.
- kī'rā* Sgl. p. 2 why? — *k° nēst ōyōd* why didn't he come? — Adapted from Prs. *čirā*.
- kīr-*: *kurt* Sgl. p. 2, : *kīrōd* Zar. to plough. — *za'mīn kīren*, *za'mīn-əm kurt*. — < \**kāraya*-, cf. Yd. *kār*-, Sak. *ker* to sow, v. EVP s.v. *karəl*, Charpentier MO, 26, pp. 101 sqq.
- kōr* Sgl. is., p., *kūr* Ishk., Sk., Gr. blind. — *kōr-o šyuk*. — Prs.
- q/ka'rīb* Sgl. p., is. close, near. — *am xān q°-ūi is.*; *ada ādam dīr-ūi*, *ama ādam k°-ū* p. 1. — Ar.-Prs.
- krič* Gr. hut on the summer-pasture. — Cf. Wkh. *krič*. V. § 22. But also Prs. *kurič*, *kurič*, etc.
- kur'čūn* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., "Wkh.", *'kur°* p. 3, *ker°* Gr. (Zb.), *kə'rčūn* Zb., Gauth., *kṛ°* Sk., *kərcūn* Ishk. fowl. — \**kṛka* + *čūn* (cf. § 26). V. Yd. *krrio*.
- kur'čūn zəmā'nī* Sgl. is. chicken.
- kīrūg* Sgl. is., p. 1 plough. — Cf. *kīr*.
- kōr'gar* Sgl. p. 3 dust (misunderstanding of Prs. *gard*?).
- kark'sang* Ishk. handmill. — ? + *sang*.
- kur'pē* Sgl. p. 1, *kə'r'pā* Sk. (large) bedding, *kurpa'ča* Sk. (small) bedding. — Prs.
- kurpa'la* Sk. mosquito. — Cf. Yd. id.
- ka'rār* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) stopping, waiting. — *mə asmān k° līd* it stopped in the sky. — Ar.-Prs.
- ka'rēr* Ishk. yesterday. — Cf. Prs. *kardā* yesterday (cf. *fardā*), and *parēr* day before yesterday.
- kə'r'sī* Sk. chair. — Ar.-Prs.
- kə'r'sī* Zb. back-tooth.
- kə'rost* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *'kurust* Ishk., Gr. *krū'ōst* Sk. skin (of human beings acc. to Sgl.). — Cf. Yd. *ka'rāst*, Wkh. *kūrust*.
- ka'rās* Sk. brown beans. — Cf. Wkh. *kə'rās*.
- kīriš* Sgl. p. 2 ploughing. — V. *kīr*.
- ku'rūt* Sgl. p. 2, *q°rut* Sk. dried butter-milk. — Turk.
- kərvī'sīk* Sgl. is., p. 3, °*ce'sīk* p. 1, *ka'r'baš* Sk. lizard (*karbāš*). — Cf. Yd. *karbasa*, etc.
- kor'yōs* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 vulture. — Cf. Yd. *karyoz*.
- kas*: *kot* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *kas*-, *kast* Sk., *kas*-, *kut* Sk. to see, look. — *'az t'fak 'kasen*; 2 sg. *kašī*; *kull-mōn-dak va t'fak 'kasem* p. 1 we all see thee; *kasef* look out; *k'as* look! *'na kašī*; *mum-bō kasū* it seems to me(?); *tar-fak ka'sūk*(?) Sk. — Av. *kas*, cf. EVP. s.v. *katəl*.
- 'kāsē* Sgl. p. 2, *k'āsa* Sk. big wooden dish. — Prs.
- qaus* Sk. late autump. — Ar.-Prs.
- kos* Sgl. p. 2, 3, is. vulva. — Prs. V. *kuš*.

- kis'küð* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., "Wkh.", *kəsküd* Ishk., *kō°* Zar., *kə'kü* Sk. root. — Cf. Yd. *iščiy*, Wkh. *iskakut*.  
*kas'sal* Sk. illness. — Ar.-Prs.  
*qa'sam* Sgl. p. 2 oath. — *q°* be *xwären* I swear. — Ar.-Prs.  
*qism* Sgl. is. kind, sort. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kas'yök* Sgl. is. leather strap in a pellet bow.  
*kuš*, *kə* Sk. vulva. — Cf. Wkh. *kis*; Or. *kawuj* (*kaw* < \**kušā* ?), Saka *kūyāyā* < \**kušā-za* (?). V. *kus*.  
*kəš'kār* Zb., Ishk. ram. — Cf. Wkh. *kuškār* male urial, Bad. Prs. *kiškār*, etc.  
*qis'lāq* Sk. village. — Turk.  
*kišti* Sgl. p. 3 boat. — Prs.  
*kaš'viš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *kašviš* Gr. armpit. — *kaš* prob. from Prs., cf. *bašalviš*, *viš*, Wkh. *kalrbən*, Sogd. 'pkš' 'flame' (not with Benveniste, JRAS, 1933, p. 48 lw. from IA.).  
*ka'ta* <sup>1</sup>) Ishk., Gr. (Zb.) big. — Turk., cf. Shgh., Or. *ka'ta*.  
*ka'ta* <sup>2</sup>) Ishk. he-goat. — Cf. *ka'ta* <sup>1</sup>).  
*kūti* Sgl. p. 2 rock-crystal, *bulūr*. — Cf. Prs. *qūti* a box in which precious stones are preserved??  
*ka'tānək* Sgl. p. 2 linseed (*zə'yēr*). — Prs. *katān* a grain from which oil is extracted.  
*katta-nar'xāk* Sk. thumb. — V. *ka'ta*.  
*ki'tāv* Sgl. p. 2, *ki'tōb* Ishk. book. — *'mənə wo ki'tāv östō* I have a book. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kutox* Sgl. p. 1 butter-milk. — Turk.-Prs. *qātiq*.  
*koj* Sgl. p. 1, *kōj* Sk. short. — IA, cf. Shgh. *k'ut* (borr. through Ishk.).  
*qiv ken* Sgl. p. 3, *qēw* : *qēw* Sk., : *qēw* Gr. (Zb.) to summon. — Cf. Wkh. *qiw*, etc.

- kō'við* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., 'kovið p. 3, *kordə* Ishk., 'kūwid Sk., *ku°* Gr., *kovid* Zar., *ko'wēd* "Wkh." pigeon. — Cf. Yd. *kovio*.  
*qwat'dār* Sk. strong. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kyēv'zāk/g* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *kēv°* p. 2, 'keviuk Gr., °oq Zar. magpie, *yalbək*. — Cf. Yd. *kūnyo*.  
*kāw* : *kōnd* Sgl. p. 2 to dig. — *za'min* be *k'āwən*, *z°em k'ōndəm*. — Cf. Sar. *kawam*, Shgh. Sk. *kōy*. — V. *kan*.  
*kāx'liṅk* Sk. calf of the leg (? Prob. shinbone). — Cf. Shgh. *kāke-lingg*, etc.  
*kāz* Sgl. is., p. 1, *qāz* Sk. goose. — Turk.-Prs.  
*kāz* Sk. dirty.  
*kā'zī* Sk. judge. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kō'zē* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *kūza* Ishk. jar. — Prs.  
*ku'zūk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *ki'zūk* Zb., *ku'juk* Ishk., *kū'zūk* Sk. bull. — Cf. Yd. *qī'āy?*

## L

- la ken* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s. to leave behind. — *la-ku'rō-mōi* is. 'mānda-im'; *lā-kuð* 'mānd', *la-kūān* 'māndan' p. 2; *wok ēiti la-kenen* p. 3, s., 'paša wok *newi la-koi* not one mosquito remained. — Cf. Shgh., Or. *lā(k) ken*; Wkh. *la-car*, Khov. *lā-k*.  
*lo'i* Ishk. clay. — Prs. *lāy* mud, sediment.  
*lab* Zb., Ishk., *lavč*, *lav* (in a transferred sense) Sk. lip. — Prs.  
*labla'bū* Sgl. p. 2 beetroot. — Prs.  
*lēf* Ishk. bedding, coverlet. — Bad., etc. *lēf*, Ar.-Prs. *liḥāf*.  
*la'yat* Sgl. p. 2 step, trace. — Prs.  
*lā'kin* Sgl. p. 1, 2 belt.  
*linjek* Zb., *pešur linj* Sk. cheek. — Prs., Wkh. *lunj* (cf. Sar. *nūrj* < \**nūnj*, *lunj*?).



- lang* Sgl. p. 2 lame. — Prs.  
*ling* Sk. leg. — Prs.  
*lip* Sk. in *fai lip* very much. — Cf. Wkh. *lup* big?  
*lēs*: *let* Sgl. p. 2, s., *lēs*: *lišt* Ishk., *lis*: *lisūd* Zar. to lick. — *lēsen*, *letəm* Sgl. p. 2, *lēsum*, -um *lišt* Ishk. — Prs.  
*laškar* Sgl. p. 3 army. — *mən l<sup>o</sup> mō* *mōd-o* my army is here. — Prs.  
*lav* Sgl. p. 2 to bark. — *kuš lavōi*. — Cf. Or. *lav*, Shgh. *lūr* to speak. — V. *belav*.  
*lavz* Sgl. p. 1 word, speech. — *azə va tō lavz pe'zinen* I understand thy speech. — Ar.-Prs.  
*lēw* (*muḥuk*) Sk. idiot, madman, demon; *leu*, *lēw* Gr. stupid, mad, *lēw* nightmare. — *a'wē lēw i<sup>2</sup>duk* Sk. he became mad. — From Mj?  
*laxē* Sgl. s., *belaxē* s., p. 3 to slide, slip. — *laxōm* s. slides; *bə-laxōd-st* s. — Prs. *laxōdan*.  
*la'zām* Sgl. is., p. 2, *ōān* p. 3, *ōjām* Sk. bit of a bridle. — Prs.

## M

- mā* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *mō* Sk. month; *mā* Gr. moon. — *wok mā wōda hašt* Sgl. p. 2 he stays there for a month. — Prs.  
*mai*, v. *mēl*.  
*ma*, *mə* Sgl. is., p. in, to, etc. — *mə waxt-i qadīm* is. in olden times; *mə 'Kāfirin ilīn* they arrived among the Kafirs; *tə ma xān darūn-dō* thou art inside the house; *vək mə piālē nūsen* I pour water into the cup; *mən iḡ'gīt mə šō'nai tōd* p. 2 my finger was burnt in the fire; *ma mən xōdm-dak gab dehef* p. 3 explain about my

- dream. — Prob. an unstressed form of *mēd*. Cf. § 107.  
*ma* Sk. look here. — *'ma tēmāxā, ma tōbā, 'ma imbā*.  
*mēi* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *mē* p. 3, *mē* s., *mi* Gr. (Zb.) day; *mai* Sk., Gr. noon. — *wog, dō, rōi mēi* p. 2 a few days. — Cf. Yd. *miš*.  
*mō* I am. — V. § 120 f.  
*mōi* Sgl. is., p. cloud. — Cf. Prs. *mēy*, etc. V. § 31.  
*mō'i* Sgl. is., p., s., *mā'i* Sk. fish. — Prs. *mā-bō* Sk. hither. — Cf. *am(a)*.  
*mič*, etc. us, v. *amax*.  
*'māčik* Sgl. is., *ō'čik* p. 3, *mōča-kōd* Zar. she-dog. — Cf. Yd. *ma'cio*.  
*'māida* Sgl. p. 2 small, fine. — *va durk torōr m<sup>o</sup> kenen*. — Prs.  
*mai'dān* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *māidān* p. 3 a plain; flat. — Turk.-Prs.  
*mādiyān* Zb., Ishk., Sk. mare. — Prs. *mēd* Sgl. is., p., Zar., *mēd* Ishk., Sk. Gr. (Zb.) waist. — Av. *maiḍya-*, cf. Wkh. *mād*, Shgh. *māḍ*, Yd. *mālān*.  
*mōd(ak)* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *madak* Ishk., Gr. (Zb.), *mā'da)k* Sk. here. — *az-mō mō mōd nilōstok* I am sitting here; *mō šō come here(?)*; *mō nīd* p. 2 sit down here; *mən fauj mō mōd-o* p. 3 my army is here; *azī madak ari k'enum* Ishk. I am working here; *azī māk fərīnum* Sk. I am left behind here.  
*mād/dar* Sgl. p. 3 mother. — In the expression: *ma rām-i mādār* in his mother's womb. — Prs.  
*mō'ōdak(?)* Sgl. p. 3 = *mōd o'ōdak?* Cf. Texts V, 35.  
*mō'ōsk* Sgl. is., s., *moko'd'ōsk* p. 1, 3, *mūkdūk* Sk., *mukuduk* Gr., "Wkh." frog.  
*may'rib* Sk. west. — Ar.-Prs.

- moʻz* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *mayz* Ishk., Zar. marrow (Sgl. p. 1, Ishk. also 'brain'). — *Prs.* (or *moʻz* genuine?).
- moʻz-i sor* Sgl. p. 3, *sor-moʻz* is. brain.
- muʻja* Ishk., *maʻzo* Zb. eyelashes. — *Prs.*
- meʻh-mān* Sgl. is., *mē* p. 2 guest. — *Prs.*
- mak* me, v. § 110 f.; cf. *az*.
- ʾmākək* Sgl. is. hen. — Cf. Wkh. *mōk*, *Prs.* *mākiyān*.
- maʻkēnī* Sk. noon. — V. *mīi*.
- māl* Sgl. p. 2 property, possessions. — *Ar-Prs.*
- mēl* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., Zb., Ishk., Sk. Gr. female sheep, "Wkh." female oorial. — Cf. Yd. *mūo*.
- māl-dār* Sgl. p. 2 rich. — *Ar-Prs.*
- ʾmulūk* Sk. dinner.
- māʾlām* Sgl. p. 3 soft. — *Ar-Prs.*
- mīlʾtəq* Sgl. p. 2, *mō* Sk. gun. — *pō mō* *pēūn dehen* p. 2. — Turk., cf. Wkh.
- maʾlax* Sgl. is., p., s. locust. — *Prob.* *Prs.*
- māl* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *mōl* Sk. husband. — *mām māl* Sgl. p. 1. — Cf. Yd. *mēf*. V. *māʾlōk*.
- māʾlōk* Sgl. is., *ʾmōluk* Ishk., *ʾmuʾluk* Sk., *mālāk* Gr. (Zb.) husband, man. — *fai mō ari k'enū* Ishk. many men are working; *urwēsak- (xūg-) gnīk* *maʾfūk* Sk. a fox-like (pig-like) man. — < \**martyaka*.
- māmbuci-nāi wēūy* Sk. female cousin. — Cf. s.v. *wēūy*.
- maʾmūn* Sgl. p. 1 monkey. — *Ar-Prs.*
- mīn*: *mind* Sk. to sleep, v. *mis*.
- mān my*, v. § 110 f.
- mōn* encl. pron. 1 pl., v. § 114.
- mōʾnō kən* Sk. to resemble. — *Prs.*
- ʾmindūk* Sgl. p. 1, Ishk. sleep, asleep. — *am ādam minduk-ūi*; *hama ādam minduk-ūn* p. 1; *azī madak minduk-um*

- Ishk. I am asleep here; *azī cō mō* *xōʾtuk* I have risen from sleep. — *Perf.* of *mis*.
- minʾdal* Sk. chair(?). — Cf. *Prs.* *mindal* table-cloth, etc.?
- manʾjē* Sgl. p. 1 bed. — Cf. Mj. *ʾmānjo*, Wkh. *manja*. — *IA*.
- mēl* Sgl. is., s., *mēl* p., *mēn* Zb., *mēnd* Ishk., Sk. *mind* Gr., *mēnd* Zar. apple. — *wok mēlʾəm yō-rē dūdū vēd* Sgl. p. 2 'yak sēba ūra dāda būdam'. — Cf. "Wkh." *mōʾnū*, Wkh. *mūr*, Shgh. *mūn*, Yd. *dʾmuno*.
- manʾyār* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *manʾār* Zb., Ishk. mist, fog. — *Par.* *manʾyār* mist, Shgh. steam, Taj. (Wakhio-Bolo) *manʾyōl* 'tuman' Kislyakov, Trudy Tadž. Bazy, III, p. 55.
- māyq* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *māyq* p. 1: *māndaδ* p. 1, s., *mānd* Ishk., *mānd* Zar. to rub, smear. — *māyq(r)en* Sgl. is., p. 1; *māyqadēm* is., *māndum* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *magv*, Wkh. *māyq*, etc.
- mur*: *māl* Sgl. p. 2, *mī*, *māl*: *māld* Sk., *mur*: *mul* Gr. (Zb.), *mūr*: *mōl* Zar. to die. — *am ādam mūrō be* (be *mūrō*) p. 2 this man is dying; *i ādam mūr*; *šnāy-əm mōʾlōk* p. 2 my(?) fire is dead (: has gone out); *mālum*, *māl!* (*mī!*), *māldum*, *māluk* he died Sk. — Cf. Yd. *mār*.
- mūr* Sgl. is., p. 1 centipede. — Cf. *Prs.* *mār* snake.
- mārē (-ə)* Sgl. p. 3, *mārē* s. red ant; *mūrē* Ishk. ant. — *Borr.* from *Prs.* *mōrēa*, cf. Shgh. *mūrj*; Wkh. *ʾmūrēa*; *Par.* *mūrē*, etc. Cf.:
- mārʾclik* Sgl. is., s. (black?) ant. — < \**marci-ā*. Cf. *Orm.* *marʾcōi*, Yd. *mōrjo*.
- murʾdrk* Sk., Gr. small ring. — V. *cām-mārdikōg*.



mar'dum people. — Prs.

mēry Sgl. p. 2, 3 meadow. — Cf. Yd. mīryō.

mar'yōk/g Sgl. is., p., s., "Wkh." mar'yōk,

mī'yūk Sk., muryuk Gr. sparrow. Cf.

Yd. brāyiko.

mar'yāwī Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., mur'yāwī Ishk.

duck. — Prs.

mī'rōs Sk. inheritance. — Ar.-Prs.

mis Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. brass. — Prs.

mis Sgl. s., : mind- p. 1, min-: mind Sk.

to sleep. — Prob. Sgl. mīs-: mīnd

(cf. fōris-: fōrind; frinduk tired);

mīs < \*mūs < \*ham-hufsa (cf. Sak.

hūs, Yaghn. ūfs, —but Benveniste,

JRAS, 1933, p. 49 ūfs < Sogd. w'βs-

= Bal. wafsay(?), with preter. on

the analogy of fōris, and secondary

pres. min-. — Cf. minduk, misūk.

mis Zb. nose. — Cf. Wkh. mis.

mus Gr. clothes. — For \*muc < mauda-?

mūsa'fēd Sk. old man. — Prs.

musā'fer Sk. traveller. — Ar.-Prs.

mī'sūk Sgl. p., uk Sk. sleep, dream;

Sgl. p. 1, Gr. pillow. — bēdār šid ce

misūk p. 2 he awoke from sleep; me

misū(k)-mo p. 2 I am asleep; mī'suk-um

'vēnd Sk. I dreamt; mō mag 'naduk

Sk. I will sleep (: sleep has seized

me). — V. mis.

mau'sōm Sk. season. — Ar.-Prs.

māst Ishk. curds. — Prs.

māst Sgl. p. 2 fat (adj.). — Prs. mast.

mūš Ishk. mouse. — Prs.

mōškrl Sgl. p. 2 difficult. — Ar.-Prs.

mēš-i kīš'kōr Sgl. is. oorial. — \*Prs.

maš'riq Sk. east. — Ar.-Prs.

mūt Sgl. is., p. 3, mōt p. 2, mōt p. 1, Zb.,

mōt Ishk., mut "Wkh.", mūt Sk.,

mōt Gr., mōt Zar. fist. — < \*mušti-

cf. Yd. mīšē. Shgh., Or. mut prob.

from Ishk.

mā'tou Zb., Ishk., 'mātdb Sk. moon. —

Prs.

'mēva Sk. fruit. — Prs.

mox, v. amax.

mēx<sup>1</sup>) Sgl. p. 1, Ishk., Sk. nail, peg. —

Prs.

mēx<sup>2</sup>) Sgl. p. 1, 2 table(?). — kitāv mēx

sōr-ō 'sar-i mēz'; kitāv mēx sōr-om

nūšd. — Cf. mēz.

max'luk Sgl. p. 2 people. — maxlu'kān

gu'dōm xāstān, cf. Texts II, 2. — Ar.-Prs.

mux'lis Sk. honest. — Ar.-Prs.

mī'yān(e) Sgl. p. 2, mayō'nē Sk. middle;

mī'yān Zb. waist. — ma xān

mī'yāne-mō I am in the middle of

the house. — Prs.

mēz Sgl. p. 2, Ishk., Sk. table. — ce mēz

vīš under the table. — Prs. V. mēx<sup>3</sup>).

mōz Sk. ? — Cf. s.v. 'befār.

mu'zik Sgl. is., p. 3, mō'zik p. 2, mu'zik

Ishk., Sk. green peas, mušegg. —

Cf. Bad. Prs. mužuk a kind of pulse

or bean; Wkh. mu'zik hail.

## N

na, nō Sgl. p. 2, 3, Ishk., Sk., Gr., nō Sk.

not, don't. — Cf. Prs. na, etc.

nai Ishk., na Gr. (Zb.) reed. — Prs.

nāi—nāi Sgl. p. 2, nō—nō Sk. neither—

nor. — nāi xēsta, nāi pōdf neither

bread nor meat.

nou Sgl. is., p. 1, s., Sk., nōu p. 2, 3, nūu

Zb., naq Ishk., naw Gr., nū Zar.

nine. — Cf. Yd. nōu.

nā'būt Sk. a plant. — Ar.-Prs. nabt.

nic Ishk., Sk., Gr., nic Gr. (Zb.) nose.

— Cf. "Wkh." nic (< Ishk.), Sogd.

nyē, Shgh. nēj, Or. nōj < \*nāh-ēi

(or \*nahya-ēi? Cf. Meillet, BSL, 23,

p. 108).

*nīd*: *nīlost* Sgl. p., s., *nīd*: *nīd* Ishk., *nīd*: *nulust* Gr., *nalāst* Gr. (Zb.), *nīd*: *nəlost* Zar. to sit down; *nīd*: *nītt* Sk. to sit, to put(?), *nəlūst* Sk. to set. — *nī mōdāk* Sgl. is. sit down here; *az-mō nīlostog* p. 1 I am sitting; *az nīden* I sit down; *nīdum buš*, *nīdef*, *nīlosto-mō* p. 3; *nīdēm*, *nīlostēm* s.; *nīdum*, *nīd!* *nīdukum* Ishk. I am sitting; *šak-o nīlostok* Sgl. p. 2 dew has fallen; *rēmuz 'nəlūst(uk)* Sk. the sun (has) set. — \**nī-hīda*: *nī-šasta*, cf. Sak. *nāttā* < \**nī-hīdati*: *nīštasta* < \**nī-šasta*; Yd. *nīš*.

*noḍ*, v. *nas*.

*nīdūk* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *ō'dūk* is., *nūduk* Ishk. buttermilk, *dūy*; *nuduk-uek* Gr. whey; "*nuduk*" MFB curd (corrupted by Tomaschek, BB. 7, into *nēwak*, and by Geiger, Et. Bal., s.v. *nēmay*, into *nēwak*). — Cf. Yd. *niya*.

*nāf* Sgl. is., p., Gr., *nāf* Ishk., Sk., *nōf* Zar. navel. — Prs.

*nāyḍ* Zb. night. — Prob. a Wkh. word. *na'hāng* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) sea-monster, crocodile. — Prs.

*nēk* Sk. good. — Prs.

*nīkā* Sgl. p. 2 wedding. — Prs.

*naql kən* Sk. to tell. — Ar-Prs.

*'nakma saḥab (kī)* Sk. therefore. — Cf. *naksō*.

*nau'kar* Sk. servant. — Prs.

*nok'rē* Sgl. is., p. 3, *ōkrē* p. 1, *nūq'rā* Sk. — silver. — Ar-Prs.

*nak'sō* Ishk. now. — Cf. *nakma*, Gr. *nak-dās* thus; *nak-ica* this; cf. Wkh. *nīk-hazi* so, Sar. *nak-dās* so, *nak-yam* this same, Yaghn. *nah-it* 'hamīn'. (Junker, Drei Erz. auf Yaghn. p. 23).

*-sō* < \**sāt*, Ar-Prs. *sā'at*?

*nūl* Sgl. p. 1, Zar., *nūl* Sk. beak. — Prs.

*nūl'sor* Sgl. is. sole of the foot.

*nēmē* Sgl. p. 2 half-full. — Cf. Prs. *nīma-pur*, etc.

*nīm* Sgl. p. 2, Sk., *nēm* Gr. (Zb.) name. — *to ce nīm-dō?* *Daulat Bēk-ō mən nīm* p. 2; *in nīm čiz?* Sk. — Av. *nāman*.

*namb* Sgl. is. wet. — Early lw. from Prs., cf. Shgh. *namb*, Mj. *nōb*.

*nu'mōd* Sgl. p. 1, *nō* p. 3, *'namad* Sk. felt. — Cf. Yd. *'nāmyo*.

*nō'mēyḍ* Sgl. is., *ōek* p. 1, 2, *ōek* p. 3, *nē'mēyḍ* s., (*na'mak* Zb., *nu'mok* Ishk.), *'namuryāk*, *namul'y/āk* Sk., *namul'yak* Gr. salt. — Cf. Yd. *nō'mālyo*.

*numul-* Zar. to shut one's eye. — Cf. Yd. *nēmīš*.

*nam'nāk* Sk. wet, moist. — Prs.

*nīm'sab* Sk. midnight. — Prs.

*nēmay*: *nēmayd* Sk. to show. — *to 'nēmay 'māmbd* *Amir Bēk xān* show me A. B.'s house. — Prs.?

*na'māz* Sgl. p. 3, *ōz* Sk. prayer. — *nō'i īḍ-i* *Rama'zān* Sgl. p. 3. — Prs.

*nān* Sgl. p., *non* Ishk., *nān* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) mother. — Cf. Yd. *nino*.

*nēnd*: *nēd* Sk. to plant. — < \**nīhān*?) *d-aya*, cf. Wkh. *nūnd*: *nūtt*.

*nār* Sk. irrigation channel, *aryq* (larger than *jūbār*). — Ar-Prs. *nahr*.

*nēr* Sgl. is., *nēr* p. 1, 2, Ishk., Sk., Gr., (*nyēr* p. 2, *neēr* p. 1) to-day. — *nēr hēci* 'a-mō *nes xorok* p. 2 to-day I haven't eaten anything; *nēr'sab* Sk. — Cf. Wkh. *nēr*; but Shgh., Or. *nur* < Av. *nūrəm*.

*nūr* Sk. light, brightness. — Ar-Prs.

*nēr-fēr'sou* Sgl. p. 2, *nēr'sab* Sk. yesterday.

*nārē* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *nark* Gr., Zar. male; Sk. male sheep. — Cf. Yd. *nar*.



*narm* Ishk. soft. — *Prs.*

*naran'gəšt* Sgl. p. 3 thumb. — *Prs.*

*nar'asp* Sk. stallion. — *Prs.*

*nar'vəz* Sgl. is., *°vəz* Ishk. he-goat. — *V. vəz.*

*nar'xək/g* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *nə'xuk* Ishk., *nar'xək* Sk., *narxa* "Wkh." nail. —

\**naxra-ka*, cf. Yd. *anaxno*, Wkh. *dəger*, and Notes on Shgh. s.v. *nā'xūn*.

*nau'rəz(e)* Sgl. p. New-Year festival. — Cf. Texts, III, 5. — *Prs.*

*nas*: *nōd* Sgl. is., p. s.; *nas*: *nad* Gr. to take, seize; *nas* Sk. to hold. — *nasem* *bəš*, be *nasbe* 'mēgirad'; *nōdəm*, *nasok* Sgl. is., *nasen*, *nōdəm* p. 1, 3; *də rypē* *nōd*; *xəfuk-o* *nə'dok* 'silfa giriftast'; *nasem* be *pə dānd* p. 2 I bite; *cə'fūr* *koryos* *nas* 'bigir'; *ka'čake* *nasen* p. 3 I embrace; *na'sem*, 'nōdēm s.; 'na-nasī Sk. dost thou not hear? — Not fr. Av. *nī-yās-* (or, better, *yā-*, v. Meillet, BSL 24, 117) to keep down, hold; Sogd. *ny's-* to hold, seize. But cf. Yaghn. *nās*: *nāt*; Sak, *nā* (*nās*: *nāta*), Psht. *nas*: *nīc-ul*, Orm. *nas*: *nōk* (\**nafta*??).

*nəsm* Sgl. p. 3 middle. — In *nəsm-i asmān*.

— Ar.-Prs., cf. Fārizāndī, etc. *nəsm*.

*nesmē'sav* Sgl. p. 2 midnight. — Ar.-Prs.

*nest*, etc., Sgl. p. 2, 3, *nās*, *nist* Sk., *nast*

Gr. (Zb.) is not. — 'pāruzd-im šo'wāri *ke'nūk* *nəst-əm* *kō-kuš* I could not go yesterday (*dīna rafta būdan na tānistem*); *am xān mənən nest-ē* this house is not mine; *nəs kō-kuān* they couldn't; *awē heči nes xəfok* Sgl. p. 2 he has not eaten anything; *paša wok nesi la-koi* p. 3 he does not leave a mosquito; 'ēiz tōt 'nist *ō'rad* Sk. why didst thou not come? *āz-im 'nās-pzind* Sk. I did not understand this. — From *nest* (Prs.?), cf. § 123.

*nūš*: *nūšəd* Sgl. p. 2, : *nešt* Gr. (Zb.) to throw, put. — *wok čizi be nūšen*; *čizi-m nūšəd*; *kī'tāv mēx sōr-əm nūšəd* I put the book on the table. — Cf. Siwandī *nōš*: *nōt'andāxtan* < \**nāšš*.

*nūš* Sgl. p. 2 tasting. — *nūš kənen* 'mēčāšam'. — *Prs.*

*ne'sān* Sgl. p. 2 showing. — *n°* be *dēm*. — *Prs.*

*nī'sorm* Sgl. is., *°orm* p. 2, 3 the shady side of a valley. — Cf. Wkh. *nīšir(u)m*, etc., Mj. *nōstiy*.

*nāš'ē* Sgl. p. 2 dirty. — Cf. Prs. *našt* spoilt, withered.

*nušt*, v. *nēz*.

*nāštar* Sgl. is. pine tree. — Cf. Psht. *naštar* (< Prs. *nīštar* a lancet??).

*naš* Sgl. p. 2 play, game. — *šā naš kenuk* 'mērim, bāzi mēkim'. — IA.

*nav*- Sgl. is. to rain. — *a'wāi na'vōi*. — Cf. "Wkh." *nāv* rain, Yd. *nov*.

*nīv*: *nīvəd* Sgl. is. to bring (an animated being). — *nīven* 'mērasānem'; *nīvəd* 'rasānd'; *nīvədēt* 'daryāvat (= daryāft) kat'. — Cf. Av. *nay-* (scarcely \**nī-apaya*), and Yazdī *nīv* 'to send' with unexplained v.

*nə'vōk* Sgl. is., *na°* p. 1, 3, *nok* MFB rain. — *V. nav*.

*nə'vəs* Sgl. p. 1, "Wkh.", *ne'vāsa* Ishk., 'navus Gr. grandchild. — Cf. Yd. *nowāsa*. Ishk. from Prs.

*nə'viš*: *nə'višt* Sgl. is., p. 2, *nī'wīš*: *nīwīšt* Sk. to write. — *pəšā(d)* be *nevišen* Sgl. p. 2. — *Prs.*

*na'wād* Sgl. is., p. ninety. — *Prs.*

*nowəd/dos* Sgl. grammophone, is., 'nouδōs p. 1, 2, *°δōs* p. 3, 'novēdos s., *nuz'dāu* Zb. nineteen.

*nə'wōk* Sgl. p. 2, *nōu* Ishk. mill-race. — Cf. Yd. *nawo'yō*.

*nu'wōk* Sgl. p. 2, *naucuk* Gr. new. — Cf. Yd. *nowo'yo*.

*newar* Gr. (Zb.) to draw (water). — Cf. Yd. *nəvor*.

*na'xōd* Sgl. p. 2 pea. — Prs.

*nax'sin* Sk. striped. — Ar.-Prs. \**naqš* in?

*nd'yōb* Sk. under-bailiff. — Ar.-Prs.

*ni'yōk* Sgl. is. reed. — V. *nai*.

*nēz*: *nəst* Sk., *nušt* Gr., *našet* Gr. (Zb.)

to go out, emerge. — Cf. Wkh. *niuz*:

*niešt*, Yaghn. *nīz*: *nīšt*, possibly

\**nižita* > \**nīšt*, with secondary

present stem *nēz* (and Sk. secondary

past base *nəst*), cf. Yd. s.v. *nī*.

*nuš dāu*, v. *nowədos*. — Prs.

*na'zār* Sgl. is. carpenter. — Ar.-Prs.

## P

*pa*, *pə* Sgl. p. 2, 3 on, with, etc. — *nasem* be *pə dānd* I bite; *pə miltəq pēun dehen* I shoot with a gun; *pa rēyn ba pacen* I cook with ghee; *pə toror* with an axe; *pə wāda hit 'ba wāda rasid'*. — V. 107 c; cf. Yd. *pə*.

*pai* Sgl. p. 2, 3 tendon. — Prs.

*pōi* Sgl. p. 1, is., Gr., *pai* Ishk., *pūi* Sk. sour milk, *juryāt*. — Cf. Yd. *poya*.

*pū* Zar. to become rotten; *pūduk* rotten. — Cf. Yd. *plo*.

*pəb*: *pəvδ* Sgl. p. 3 to blow. — *pəbəm* *bəš*, *pəvδəm*. — V. *puf* (*pəb*-second. pres. from *pəvδ*).

*pu'band* Sk. instep. — Ishk.-Prs., v. *pūd*.

*pac*- Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk.: *pəx*- Sgl. p. 1, 3, *pəx* s., *puxt* Ishk., *paz*: *pazd* Sk.

to cook; *piz*: *puxt* Sk. to boil. —

*pa'cen*, *puδf-um pə'xəm* Sgl. p. 1;

*pu'xō* has boiled p. 3; *pa'cəm*, *pə'xəm*

s.; *'pacum*, *putsum puxt* Ishk.; *azi*

*pizum*, *azim puxt* Sk. — *paz*- from

Prs.; *piz* < *pačaya*-, with *z* from Prs.; *puxt* either from Prs., or, more probably, from Sgl. *pəx*, cf. Shgh. *pəxt*. — Cf. Yd.

*pēca* Sgl. is., p. 1 curl. — Prs.

*pēčuk* Sgl. is., p. 1, *pucuk* Gr. worm. — < \**pēčuk*, cf. Wkh. *pērič*?

*pēčūn* Sgl. p. 2, *pučun* Gr., *pēčēn* Gauthiot (Ishk.) bullet. — *pə miltəq pēčūn dehen* I shoot with a gun. — Gauthiot (MSL, 20, p. 70) compares Prs. *paikān*, Arm. *patkan*<sup>o</sup>, but *k* > *č* is not probable. < \**pūθ* + *čūn*, cf. Yd. *pīč*? V. § 37.

*pəčū'waxšt*(?) Sgl. p. 2 at last. — Incorrect for \**waxšt*?

*pai'dā* Sgl. p. 2, 3 born, appearing. — *zōt p<sup>o</sup> šid* p. 2; *wok šēr p<sup>o</sup> šid* a lion appeared; *dušman p<sup>o</sup> šuō* p. 3. — Prs.

*pe'dār* Sgl. p. 3 father. — In the expression *pəšt-i p<sup>o</sup>* his father's loins. — Prs.

*pād'sā* Sgl. p. 3, *pād'sā* Sk. king. — Prs.

*pūd* Sgl. is., p. s. (*pū'd* p. 1), *pū* Ishk., Sk., *pu* Gr., *pūd* Gr. (Zb.), MFB., *pud* Zar. foot. — Cf. Yd. *palo*.

*pəδf* Sgl. is., p. 3, *pəδf* p. 1, "Wkh.", *pəδf* p. 2, *pəδf* s., *putf* Ishk., *putf* Gr. flesh, meat. — *puδf-um pə'xəm* Sgl. p. 1. Cf. *dān-pəδf*. — < Av. \**piduca*- food (or \**pituduca*-, cf. § 59), cf. E.Oss. *fid* < *pitu*-. (Not convincingly Eilers, ZDMG, 90, p. 195 reg. Anc. Ir. \**pidfa*-(?)).

*pe'din*: *pe'dit* Sgl. p. 2, s., *pə'den*: *pə'dend* Sk., *pe'din* Gr. to light, kindle a fire. — *pe'dinen*, *pe'din!* "dar bede!" p. 2, *pə'din č'ráy* Sk. light a lamp. — Cf. Shgh. *pe'din*-, Or. *pa'din*-, Yazgh. *pa'day*-, intr. Wkh. *piding*-, Yazgh. *pa'days*-. Connection with Saka *pa'dajs*-



to ignite, to burn (< *pati* + *dag* v. Saka Studies, p. 163) seems probable, but the phonetic development is not clear (< \**pati-dagna-ya*?).

*puf ken* Sgl. p. 2, s., *puf* Zar. to blow. — *puf ke xe dōst* Sgl. p. 2 blow at your hand. — Cf. Yd. *puf*. V. *pab*.

*pə'gē*, v. *sāhar* p° to-morrow morning. — Prs. *pagāh*.

*pā'y'zē* Sgl. p. 2, *pāg'za* Sk. clean. — Prs., cf. Shgh. *pō'y'za*, Khov. *pagza*, etc.

*pōk ken* Sk. to cleanse. — Prs.

*pa'kol* Ishk., Gr. cap, *pakol* Gr. (Zb.) a woman's mantilla. — Cf. Yd. *pakofo*.

*pālū* Sk. flank, side. — Prs.

*piā'tē* Sgl. p. 1, °a p. 2 cup. — Prs.

*pul* Ishk., *pāl* Zb. bridge. — Prs.

*pūl* Sgl. p. 2 money. — *miž be pūl dē*. — Prs.

*pə'lstuk* Sk., in *rēmuz* p° rise of the sun.

*pa'lāng* Sgl. is., °ang p. 1, Sk., *pə'lang* Sgl. p. 3, s. leopard. — Prs.

*pāling* Gr. saddle. Denied by Sk.

*pe'lās* Sgl. p. 1 rug. — Prs.

*pīlta* Sgl. p. 2 match of a gun. — Cf. Madagl., Turki id.—Taj. Prs. corruption of *fatila*.

*pāla'wān* Sk. a hunter. — Prs.

*pām* <sup>1</sup>) Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *pōm* Zb., *pom* Ishk., *pām* Sk., "Wkh.", Gr. wool. — *pām* <sup>2</sup>) *dāmben* I card wool. — Cf. Yd. *pam*.

*pām* <sup>3</sup>) Sgl. p. 1, Sk., Zar., Gr. wide, broad. — Bad. Prs. *pām* < *pān*.

*'pomec*, v. *'pānec*.

*pī'ān* Sgl. is., p. 2 below. — *to cə-mak* p°-dō p. 2 thou art below me. — Prs.

*'pānec* Sgl. is., *pā'nec* p. 2, s., *'pānic* p. 3 : *pānāyō* p. 2, *'pomec* : *'pōmāxt* Ishk., *pomuc* Gr. to dress. — Cf. Wkh. *pūmec*, Sar. *pamez*, Shgh. *peniz*, etc., Sogd. *ptmucē*, Av. *paīti-maoč*.

*pan'jā* Gr., Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, °āh Gr. (Zb.) fifty. — Prs.

*pan'jā* Zb. finger. — Prs.

*pə'nuk* Sgl. is., p. 3, *pə'* p. 1, 2 a pass. — *fə'rindī fə'ršōu mē pə'nuk*; *o'yōdam* *pə'nuk* p. 2. — \**pān(d)ūk* < \**pāntāka*, cf. Oss. *fāndag* road, etc.?

*pə'nēr* Sgl. is., *pa'* p. 1, Ishk., Sk., *pa'nēr* Sgl. s. cheese; *pə'nī* (?) Sgl. p. 3 a kind of sour milk (*dūy*). — Prs.

*pu-nar'xāk* Sk. toe (?)

*pōn* <sup>1</sup>) Sgl. is., *pōns* p. 1, 3, s., *pon's* p. 2, *pōn's* Grammophone; *pōns* Zb., *pōnj* Ishk., *pūnz* Sk., Gr., *punj* Zar. five.

*pōnzdos* Sgl. is., °dōs p., s., *pōnzdaū* Zb. fifteen.

*pōru* Ishk. horsedung. — *vōrok* p°. — Cf. Yd. *pāru*.

*pār-dē* : *pār-dūd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *pare-dē* : *par-dūd* s., *pa'ra-day* : *paradūd* Sk. to sell. — *par'dēen* Sgl. p. 2; *pār be dēn*, *pār-em dūd* p. 3, *pare'dēem*, *par-em dūd* s. — Cf. Yd. *plār*.

*prok* Sk. — In: *uok xo'rok prok xar*, *bād šu* eat a bit, and then go (said to an arriving guest).

*park* Zb. ashes. — Cf. Wkh. *pārg*. V. Gauthiot, MSL, XX, p. 9 regarding Lith. *pelenai*, etc.

*pa'rik* Sk., *parak* Gr. rib. — Cf. Wkh. *par'k*; Prs. *par(r)* side, skirt.

*pōrk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb., Gr., *pār'k* "Wkh." mouse; *purk* Sk. rat. — Cf. Yd. *pary*.

*pīrmāi* Sgl. is. name of a large bird; *'pīrmā* p. 3 a white bird resembling a vulture (*kargas*).

*pə'nīē* Sgl. p. 1, 3 threshold. — Cf. Or. *pašin(d)'* V. § 22.

*pa'rinda* Sgl. is., °enda p. 2, Ishk. bird; *paran'da* Sk. small bird. — *p° tar* *ha'wē* *ara'zō* Sgl. p. 2.

- parenda xān* p. 2 bird's nest. — *Prs.*  
*parr* Sgl. is., p. 1, *par* Sk. feather. — *Prs.*  
*par'sāl* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *'pərəl* Sk. last year. — *Cf. Prs. pārsāl.*  
*prēšt* Sk. armlet, Gr. wrist. — *Cf. Sar. par'dust, Or. pār'dēst (Lentz). V. §§ 22, 32.*  
*pə'rəstem* Sgl. is. *pə'rəštīn* p. 2, *pə'rə°* p. 1 the day after to-morrow. — *Cf. wəcorin.*  
*purtaw* Ishk. to throw. — *purtaum.* — *Prs.*  
*par'tāwī, par'tāštuk* Sk. lagging behind, tired. — *Prob. < thrown away, v. purtaw.*  
*par'variš* Sgl. p. 2 protection, nurturing. — *p° kenen.* — *Prs.*  
*parwīnēkog* Sgl. is., *par'wīnīkog* p. 1 moth. — *Cf.:*  
*par'wīnek* Sgl. p. 2 butterfly. — *Prs. parwāna.* Gr. *parparānuk* is an onomatopoeic transformation of this word.  
*pār'rūzd* Sgl. is., p. 2, *pə'rəzd* Sk., *paruzd* Gr. yesterday. — *pa'rūzd wok čīz tō bē be spār'dōvč yesterday he entrusted something to thee; p° ari-m ku'ō včd p. 2 I had worked yesterday; p° šab* Sk. yesternight. — *\*pāra + azni.* *Cf. āluzd, Yd. žirizen.*  
*pašī* Sgl. p. 2, 3 after(wards). — *čend rōz paši; paši nau'rōz wudīl xasām, paši-va dōvinuk p. 2; paši vōnaf* after that(?). — *Prs. paš-i?*  
*pas* Sgl. p. 2 afterwards(?). — *Cf. Texts, II, 3.* — *Prs.*  
*pusī'dā* Sk. rotting. — *p° šūm I rot.* — *Prs.*  
*pāsk* Sgl. is., p. 2, "Wkh." *posk, skin, hide (of cows).* — *Cf. Av. pāsta*

- (= \**pausta?* *Cf. Endzelin, Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn., Ser. B., 27, p. 25).*  
*psāt, p(ə)sā(d)* Sgl. is., p., *psah* Gr. (Zb.) now, then. — *psāt-əm sēr kəð then I became satisfied; psā(d) be navišen now I shall write; psād ba xēsta xwāri?* Sgl. p. 2 dost thou eat bread now? *psā-mō astōk* is. I have risen now; *psā vrējen* p. 1; *psād šid, psā oyoð* p. 3. — *Cf. Yd. psāt.*  
*past* Sgl. p. 2, Zar. low; *pāst* Sk. down. — *Prs.*  
*ps ta* Sgl. p. 2 pistachio. — *Prs.*  
*pūst* Sk. leather. — *Prs.*  
*ps'tāk* Sgl. is., *pus'tak* Sk. bark of a tree. — *Prs.*  
*pa'sē* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *'paša* p. 1, Ishk., Sk. a fly. — *Prs.*  
*pāš va ken-(?)* Sgl. p. 3 to hide, conceal. — *Read wa?* *Cf. Prs. pāš scattering?*  
*pūš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, "Wkh.", *pūš* Zb., *pu'suk* Ishk., *peš, pšōk* Sk., *piš* Gr., *puš* Gr. (Zb.), *pšūk* Zar. cat. — *Cf. Yd. piško, Prs. pušak, etc.*  
*pīš-i-bar* Sgl. is., *pēšw-bar* Sk., *pēšbar* Gr. breast. — *\*Prs.*  
*pōžbažgī* Sk. kitten. — *\*puš-bača gī.*  
*pošk* Sgl. is., *pōšk* p. 1, *pišk* p. 3, *pušk* Zar. dung of sheep. — *Prs. pušk, cf. Sbg. pa'čē, Yd. pōskedri.*  
*pšai'mānī* Sk. regret. — *Prs.*  
*pāš'ne* Sgl. is., *pā°* p. 1, *'pāšne* p. 3, *pāš'na* Sk., Gr. heel. — *Prs.*  
*pē'sānī* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *°pī(?)* p. 3, *pešd'nī* Zb., Ishk., *pēšd'nī* Sk. forehead. — *Prs.*  
*pe'sin* Sgl. is. afternoon. — *Prs.*  
*pšūr* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *pšūr* p. 3, *pu'sir* Ishk., *pš'ir* "Wkh.", *pešur* Gr. cheek; *pšūr* Sk. face, *pšūr'linj* face. —



- pešten* Sgl. p. 2 udder. — *cə u'yā p°*. — Cf. Yd. *pistān*.
- pəst* Sgl. p. 3 loins. — In: *ma p°-i pē'dār-ō*. — Prs.
- pušt-i pā* Sgl. p. 3 instep, upper part of the foot. — Prs.
- pē's-āzər* Sk. place where the horse is bound. — \*Prs.
- pa'fār* Sgl. is. porridge, *dā*.
- put* Gr. parched grain ground into meal. — Cf. Yd. *pušč*, Wkh. *pōst*. V. *tūt-pāt*.
- putf*, v. *pōdf*.
- pātik* Sgl. is., p., Gr., *pātik* Sk. eyelid (p. 3 eyebrow?). — *pātik dē* Sgl. p. 2 wink. — Wkh. *pātak*, Khov. *phatuk*, *patok*, Madaglashti *patik*, Or. *pōtē*, cf. Yd. *pēlek*.
- po'tūn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *pa'tin* "Wkh." thigh. — Cf. Yd. *pīšān*.
- pī'tāu* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 the sunny side of a valley. — Cf. Yd. *pītou*, Psht. *pītāo*, etc.
- pa'fak* Sgl. p. 2, *pā'tuk* Sk. lentils, *patāk*. — Cf. Wkh. *pa'tek*, Mj. *pateko*.
- pōv*: *pōvō* Sgl. p. 2, *pav*: *pavd* p. 3, *pov*: *pīd* s., *pov*: *pēd* Ishk., Sk. to drink. — *vēk* *pōven*, *'az-əm* *vēk* *pōvēm* p. 2; *vē* *pa'vōn*, *pavdēm* p. 3; *vē* *pa'vēm*, *vēk-əm* *pīd* s.; *vēk* *pōvum*, *pōvēm* Ishk., Sk. — Cf. Wkh. *pōv*: *pitt*, Skr. *pība*: *pītā*.
- pex* Sgl. p. 3 span from thumb to forefinger. — Cf. Yd. *pīz*.
- pxōk* Sgl. is., *pō* p. 2 cooked. — V. *pac*.
- pa'x'ta* Sk. cotton. — Prs.
- paz*, *pīz*, v. *pac*.
- pī'āz* Sgl. is., p. 2, *piyās* Sk. onion. — Prs.
- \**puz* MFB breast. — Written *yuz*, (يوز), but acc. to Shaw this is a mistake

for *puz* (يوز). — Cf. Wkh. *p'āz*, Yd. *fiz*.

*pā'zin*: *pā'zind* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk., Sk., *pāzin*: *pāzind* Zar. to understand, to learn. — *azə va tō lavz pē'zinen* Sgl. p. 1; *az-əm va tō lavz pē'zind* p. 1; *tī zā'vūk pā'zinum* Ishk.; *pā'zinem boš* p. 3; *az-īm* *'nās pzind* Sk. I didn't understand it; *fai p'zinuk* (6) Sk. he who knows much. — Cf. Yd. *vəzān*, Wkh. *pazdan*, Sar. *pajān*, Sogd. *ptz'n*.

*pēz*: *pēzō* Sgl. p. 3 to wrap up. — *pēzō/lēm* *'tāu dādim*. — < \**pōērz* < \**patidarzaya*, cf. Mj. *palarz*, Psht. *blēzād*, etc.

*pī'zīn* Sgl. p. 2 clay-pot for milk. — Cf. Wkh. *pīzīn* udder < \**payah čayana*?

## R

- rā* Sgl. p. 1, s., *rāh* Zb. road. — Prs.
- rō* Sgl. p. 3 face. — In: *rō p-xē Xedā kōd* he turned (his face) to God, *rū ba Xudā kat*. — Prs.
- rōi* Sgl. is., p. 1, *rōē* p. 3, *rōi* p. 2, Ishk., *rōr* Sgl. s., *rūi/y* Sk., Gr., Zar., *trāi* (?) MFB three. — *rō(i)* *rv'pē*. — Cf. § 109.
- rū* Sgl. p. 3 on. — Prs.
- rēč'k* Sk. belly, *rēčik* Gr., *rōčik* Zar. entrails. — < \**rēd* (< \**rauta*) + *čik*, cf. KZ., 61, p. 32. — V. § 37.
- rēf* Sgl. is., Sk., *rēfak* p. 1 broom. — Cf. Yd. *rufo*.
- rag* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Sk. vein, sinew. — Prs.
- rēg* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *rēg* Sk. sand. — Prs.
- rēy'en* Sgl. is., *°yn* p. 2, s., "Wkh." *rēy'n* p. 1, *rēy'n* p. 3, *rēy'enē* Ishk. clarified

- butter; *rēyn* Sk. butter. — *pa rēyn*  
*ba pacen* Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *rūyn*.  
*rah'zan* Sk. robber. — Prs.  
*rī'kāb* Sgl. p. 2, °*āb* Sk. stirrup. — Ar.-Prs.  
*raq'āi'ē kēn* Sk. to dance. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ra'mē* Sgl. p. 2 herd of goats. — Prs.  
*rām* Sgl. p. 3 womb. — *oγōd mē rām-i*  
*mādar*. — Prs.  
*rēmuz*, v. *or'mōzd*.  
*Rama'zān*, v. *īd*.  
*rōn* Ishk., *rān* Sk. thigh. — Prs.  
*rang* Sk. colour. — Prs.  
*'rangā-i gūnagūn* Sk. multicoloured. —  
 Prs.  
*rang'zārd* Sk. pale. — Prs.  
*rū'pē*, *rō'pē* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *rūpāyē* is., *rupya*  
 Gr. (Zb.) rupee. — *az tō bē wok rōpē*  
*dāyen* Sgl. p. 1; *awāi bē wok rōpē*  
*dāyen* p. 2; *az īm bē wok rūpā'yē*  
*dāyem bōš* is. — Ind.  
*ras* Sgl. p. 2, *ras* p. 3, is., s. thirty. — Cf.  
 § 109.  
*rūisa'fēd* Sgl. p. 2 old man. — \*Prs., cf.  
 Wkh., Or. *mūisa'fēd*. Mj. *s'pī rūy*  
 means 'white-muzzled' acc. to Zar.  
*rōsk* Sgl. p. 2 truth. — *aməx rōsk yēzēm*,  
*az r° yēzēm*. — < \**rāst(a)k*, cf. Tirahi  
*rūsko* truth (< Ir.). But Yazgh. *rāzg?*  
*rismōn* Ishk. thread, cord. — Prs.  
*ra'san* Ishk. rope. — Prs.  
*rōst* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 right (hand), straight;  
*rāst* Sk. right, true. — *xūb r° durk-ū*  
 Sgl. p. 2 it is a quite straight stick.  
 — Prs.  
*rāst'gū* Sk. truthful. — Prs.  
*rīš* Zb. beard. — Prs.  
*rōš-dov'suk* Sk. wild oats. Cf. *d'sin*.  
*roušan* Sk. light, bright. — Prs.  
*rušā'nī* Zb. light (noun); *rū'san* Sk.  
 dawn; *raušan* Gr. daylight. — Prs.  
*rašt* Sgl. is., s., Ishk. morning, dawn. —

- r° šīd*. — Cf. Wkh. *rāst* day, Khov.  
*rōst* daylight < Prs. *rūšn?*  
*rāš'tē* Sgl. is., *rīšta* Sk., *rēšē* p. 1 root-  
 fibre. — Prs. *rēša* id., *rīšta* thread,  
 line. — Cf. Badakhshi *rēša*, but  
 Madagl. *rīšta*, Wkh. *rīš'ta*, *rax'te*  
 (< Prs.).  
*rušt* Gr. a fur robe. — But Zar. *yūšt*,  
 cf. Mj. *yīška*.  
*rūv* Sgl. is., p. 2 rhubarb. — Cf. Yd. *rīv*.  
*rīv'lav* Sgl. is., s., *rīv°* p. 1, *'rīg°* p. 3,  
*lav* Gr., *lāw* MFB lip. — *rīv* <  
 \**rapya*, (cf. Kurd. *lêw*), the genuine  
 Sgl. form corresponding to Prs. *lab?*  
*ra'wān* Sgl. p. 1, Gr. moving, starting.  
*r° šīd*. — Prs.  
*rax'sat* Sgl. p. 2 leave. — *r° šī'ān* they  
 took leave. — Ar.-Prs.  
*rōz* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr., *rūz* Sk. day. — *čand*  
*rōz pasī* Sgl. p. 2; *rōzi* (= *rō'zānī*)  
*šīd ke* p. 3 it happened one day that...  
 — Prs.  
*'rauzan* Sgl. p. 3 window. — Prs.  
*riz'yāk* Sgl. is., p. 1 small. — *am xān*  
*zēšt*, *had xān rizi'āk* p. 1. — Prs.  
*rēza*, cf. Yd. *rīza*.  
*rēz* Gr. platform (for sleeping). — Cf.  
 Yd. *raza*, Wkh. *rāz*.  
*rī'zūk* Sgl. p. 1, 2 male kid, one year old;  
 p. 3 he-goat. — Cf. "Wkh." *rē'zā*  
 he-goat, Sar. *rezapai* goats and sheep  
 (Khov. *lešpai* < \**rēšpai* from Ir.);  
 cf. Prs. *rēza* the small of any animal.

## S

- sō* Ishk. now(?). — In: *azī sō wazum*  
 'mēyaltam'. — Cf. *nak-sō* now.  
*sūi* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Zb., *si* Sk., Gr. hare. —  
 Cf. Yd. *siy*.  
*sub* Zb. morning. — Ar.-Prs.



- sa'bab* Sk. reason. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'buk* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk. light, not heavy. — Prs.  
*'sābūn* Sk. soap. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sabr* Sk. patient. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'dik* Sk. porridge, *āš*.  
*saudo'gar* Sk. merchant. — Prs.  
*sāḍ* Sgl. is., *saḍ* p. 2, 3, *saḍ* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) hundred. — Sk. *sada'yak* 101, *sada-bist'panj* 125. — Prs.  
*sa'fed* Ishk., Sk. white. — Prs.  
*sa'fē'dor* Ishk., Zb. poplar. — Prs.  
*sagliā'vi* Sgl. is., p. 3, °lōvī p. 1, *sagō'vi* Ishk. otter. — Cf. Yd. *sangla'ū*, Prs. *sag-i lau*, *sag(-i) ābi*.  
*so'yond* Sgl. is., *sa'yand* Zb. curl; *seyund* Gr. (Zb.) hair. — *sor + yūn?*  
*sa'yēr* Sgl. p. 1 orphan. — Cf. Mj. *sayir*, etc. from Prs.  
*'sāhar* <sup>1</sup>) Sgl. p. 1, *sāar* p. 2, *sa'har*, *sā'ri* Sk. morning, at dawn. — *s° be xotan* p. 2. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'hār* <sup>2</sup>) Sgl. is., *sa'ār* p. 1, *ba-sa'ār* p. 2, *'sāhar* Ishk. to-morrow. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'kau* Sgl. p. 2 sneezing (?). — *s°mō* Etok 'sakau iudam'.  
*'skoṇok* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, °nōk s., *s°kōnūk* Zar. puppy, cub. — Cf. Yd. *ē'ke'na*.  
*sāl* Sgl. is., p., s., Gr., *sāl* Ishk., Sk. year. — Prs.  
*sāl* Sgl. p. 1 flood. — Prs.  
*sal'lot* Sk. soldier. — Russ.  
*sāmb*, v. *saw*.  
*sāmb* Sgl. is., p. 1, *sumb* Ishk. hoof. — Prs.?  
*samba'ka* Sgl. is. tortoise. — Prs.-Turk. *sang-baqa*, Tajiki *sambaqa*.  
*sām'bek*, *sv°* Sgl. p. 1 hole (of the ear). — Cf. Prs. *sumb*.  
*son* Sk. linen. — Cf. Khw. *sān* id., Kabulī Prs. shirting.  
*si'na* Sk. breast. — Prs.  
*'sanduk* Sgl. p. 1, °ūq Gr. box. — Ar.-Prs.  
*song* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *sung* Ishk., Sk., Gr. stone, Ishk. mill stone. — Early lw. from Prs.  
*'signi* Sk. light, bright.  
*(°)spēḍ* Sgl. p. 1, 3, "Wkh." white. — Cf. Yd. *spī*.  
*spāl* Sgl. is., s., p. 3, *spāl* p. 1, *s°pul* Ishk., Zar. louse. — Cf. Yd. *spūo*.  
*spār* Sgl. is., p. 1 iron plough-share; (*w*)*uspār* Sk., Gr. plough. — Cf. Yd. *sporo* (also with ancient -a).  
*spār*: *spārḍ* Sgl. p. 2, *būspār*: °rd Zar. to entrust. — *āzi to bē spārḍo-vē* he had entrusted something to thee. — Prs.  
*spārḍ* Sgl. is., °orz p. 1 spleen. — Prs.  
*sēr* Sgl. p. 2, 3 satisfied. — *psāt sēr šīān* 'sēr iudim', *psāt-om sēr kōḍ* p. 2; *sēr-om šīḍ* p. 3. — Prs.  
*sīr* Sgl. p. 2 garlic. — Prs.  
*sōr* <sup>1</sup>) Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., Gr. (Zb.), *sur* Zb., Ishk., Sk., *sar* ("younger form" Sk.) head. — *sur-ēpāḡst* Sk. back of the head. — Cf. Prs. *sar* (from which *sar* is a lw.), etc.  
*sōr* <sup>2</sup>) Sgl. p. 2, 3 on. — *kitāv mēx sōr-om nūḥḍ* p. 2 I put the book on the table; *vōst mē kafas sōr* p. 3 he tied it at the top of the cage. — V. *sōr* <sup>1</sup>.  
*sōrb* Sgl. is., *sōrb* p. 2, *sōrv* p. 3 lead. — Prs.  
*sard* Ishk., Gr., *sart* Sk. cold. — Prs.  
*sa'rāk* Sgl. is., p. 3 road. — Afgh. Prs. *sarak* < Hind. *ṣarak*.  
*'sārek* Sgl. is., p. 1 cream. — Cf. Prs. *sar-i šir*.  
*sormoʔz*, v. *moʔz-i sor*.  
*sōrx* Sgl. is., p. 1, Ishk., *sōrx* Sgl. p. 3, *surx* Sk., Gr. red. — Prs.?

- <sup>1</sup>sōrox Sgl. p. 2 ear of corn. — Cf. Yd. *sor*.  
*sur'xūn* Sk. white. — Prs.  
*sōr'xas* Sgl. p. 2 wild, arrogant, *sarkaš*.  
 — *vərvəs* s<sup>o</sup>-š the fox is wild. —  
 Adapted from Prs. *sarkaš*.  
*siā'sar* Sgl. p. 1 crow (?). — \*Prs.  
*sōst* Sgl. p. 2 lazy, *sōst* p. 1 soft. — *ama*  
*ādam fai sust-o* this man is very  
 lazy. — Prs. (< \**θrusta-*, cf. OE  
*frēotan* to tire, etc., etc.).  
<sup>2</sup>stīn Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *stīn* Sk., *ustun* Ishk.  
 post, pillar. — Cf. Yd. *ustuno*; *ustun*  
 < Prs.  
*si'tar*, v. *astar*.  
*sa'txān-may'zi* Sk. brain; *sutxān-may'zūk*  
 Gr. thigh. — \*Prs. Original meaning  
 'marrow'.  
*sav*, v. *təv*.  
*səvδ* Sgl. is., <sup>o</sup>vδ p. 3, *səvδ* p. 1, s., *səvδ*  
 Zb., *sōvδ* Sk. shoulder. — *mu sōvδ-o*  
 it is on the shoulder. — Cf. Yd. *suvdo*.  
*su'vār* Sgl. p. 2 horseman. — Prs.  
*savz* Sgl. p. 1, *sobz* Ishk., *sabz* Sk., Gr.  
 green. — Prs.  
*sav'za* Sgl. p. 1, <sup>o</sup>:i p. 2, *sab'za* Ishk.  
 grass, lawn — Prs.  
*sawc*: *sawδ* Sk. to rub; *sāmb* Gr. to  
 smear. — Cf. Prs. *sāwidan*, Yd. *sa*,  
 Wkh. *siw*, and, with nasalization,  
 (Hjuler) *sāmen*, *sāyam* to rub.  
*saxt* Sgl. is. hard. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>sāye Sgl. is., <sup>1</sup>sāya p. 1, <sup>1</sup>sā'yē p. 2, <sup>1</sup>sōya  
 Zb. shade, shadow. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>sā'yā-čir'dy Sk. native candle made from  
 a plant with the same name. — \*Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>sū'yūk Sgl. p. 3, <sup>1</sup>sū<sup>o</sup> s. spleen. — Cf.  
 Wkh. *sik* < \**šy'āwya-ka-*; cf. se-  
 mantically Psht *tōrai*, Torwali *šam*  
 spleen (: the black entrail)?  
<sup>1</sup>sēzda Sgl. p. 1, 2, <sup>o</sup>da p. 3, *sīzdāu* Zb.  
 thirteen. — Prs.

## š

- š Sgl. pron. encl. 3 sg. — V. § 114.  
 — Prs.  
*š-*: *šid* Sgl. p., s., *šow*: *šed* Sk., *šu*: *šud*  
 Ishk. to go, to become. — *az<sup>o</sup> šān*;  
*az<sup>o</sup> ni šām bō-š* 'mā na mērawam';  
*az-əm šid(əm)*; *az-əm šidō vedem*  
 'rafta būdem' Sgl. p. 1; *šām be, šidem*  
 s.; *šān, šid, šidok* p. 3; *šām, šudum*,  
*šiduk* Ishk.; *šə(wu)m, šədam, šəduk*,  
 inf. *šəwūk* Sk. — 'na-šəwūk Sk. it  
 can't be done. — Cf. Yd. *šūi*.  
*šab* Ishk., Sk., Gr. night. — Prs.  
*šā'brut* Sk. moustache. — Prs. \**šāh burāt*  
 (contam. with Wkh *šapar*, etc.?).  
<sup>1</sup>šōδx Sgl. is., p. 1 goat's hair. — Possibly  
 < \**šōδx*, cf. Yd. *lirs*. V. § 72.  
<sup>1</sup>šfūn, v. *āf'šūn*.  
*šaf'tal* Sgl. p. 2 trefoil. — Prs.  
*šaftolū* Sgl. is., Ishk. peach. — Prs.  
*šag'nam* Sgl. is., *šabnam* Ishk., Sk. dew.  
 — Cf. Prs. *šabnam*, Mj. *šak'lam*. V.  
*šak*.  
<sup>1</sup>šā'gār Sgl. p. 2 plastering, *šēdgār*. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>šō'yoł Sgl. is. jackal. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>ša'yor Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk., "Wkh."  
 hedgehog. — Cf. Yd. *ša'yur*.  
<sup>1</sup>šak Sgl. p. 2 dew(?), Gr. hoar-frost. —  
 Cf. Wkh. *šak, šak*, Sar. *šok* white-  
 frost, Tajiki *šaq* dew. — V. *šag'nam*.  
<sup>1</sup>šakk Sk., *šak* Gr. bad, wicked. — *šakk*-  
*'icēnān* to hate. — Prs. *šaq'* blaming,  
 reproaching, viewing with an evil  
 eye? — Cf. Wkh. *šak*.  
<sup>1</sup>šak Sgl. p. 2 to rub, crush. — *šakem*  
*be-š 'mešakam'*. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>škōδ Sgl. is., p. 2 cattle-shed. — < \**šū-*  
*kata-*, cf. Orm. *škāu* (but not Oss.  
*šk'āt*)? — But Shgh. *šōδ*, Bartangi *šōδ*  
 cattle-shed < \**srāda*, cf. Prs. *sarāi*.



- šikam Zb. belly. — Prs.  
 škarr: škūl Sk. to seek. — Cf. Wkh.  
 škūr, Prs. šikār chase.  
 šikār bēd Sk. willow.  
 škōv: škōved Sk. to be cold, to catch a cold. — Cf. Wkh. škāv.  
 šal Sk. lame. — Prs.  
 ša'la Sk. spark. — Ar.-Prs. šu'la blaze, flash.  
 šal'yām Sk., p. 2 turnip. — Prs.  
 šolok Sgl. is., šlok p. 1, šulok Sk., šulok Gr. wet, damp. — < \*a-śuśaka, cf. Skr. śuśa- dry and a-śuśka- moist?  
 šel'mok Sgl. is., p. 1 resin, gum. — Cf. Prs. šik(īm) gum of a tree, šalmak n. of a medicine, prob. < N.W. Prakrit \*šilimha-, cf. Turner, Nep. Diet., s.v. liso, sep. V. Wkh. lišp.  
 šilax Sgl. is., p. 2 naked, needy. — to šō-šō p. 2. — Cf. Yd. šilēx.  
 šām Sk. candle. — Ar.-Prs.  
 šām Sgl. p. 1, 2, šom Sk., Zb. evening. — Prs.  
 šum Sk. travel. — Cf. Av. šyaoman- work (šiyav- to go, move)?  
 ša'māl Sgl. p., s., °āl Sk. wind; šu'māl Sk. north. — nēr šō-šō; šō paidā šō Sgl. p. 2. — Ar.-Prs.  
 šam'šēr Sgl. p. 2 sword. — Prs.  
 -šōn encl. pron. 2 pl., v. § 114.  
 šona Zb. shoulder-blade. — Prs.  
 šonōva'rē kən- Sk. to bathe. — Prs.  
 šonzdāu, v. xūdāšōs.  
 šaupā'rek Ishk. bat. — Prs.  
 šār Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. town. — Prs.  
 šēr Sgl. p. 3 tiger, lion. — Prs.  
 šarm Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. shame. — Prs.  
 šūrm Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., "Wkh.", šūrn Zar. horsedung. — < \*šānm- < \*šāmn-, Av. šāman-?  
 šūrmūk bēd Sk., šurmok Gr. a kind of willow.  
 šarmin'da Sk. ashamed. — š° na, šawi fle, shame. — Prs.  
 šir'in Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. sweet. — Prs.  
 šurang-zārd Sk. brown. — V. šūi.  
 šarša'rē Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, °rā Zb. waterfall. — Prs.  
 šer'wā Sgl. p. 1, šer'bō Sk. soup. — Prs.  
 šāst Sgl. is., p. 3, šāst p. 2 sixty. — Prs.  
 šast-ig'git Sgl. p. 2 thumb. — Prs.-Sgl.  
 šīša Ishk. looking glass. — Prs.  
 šō'le kən- Sk. to make water. — Prs.  
 šāt Sgl. p. 1, 3 honey. — Ar. Prs.  
 šol Sgl. is., p. 1, šil p. 2, šet p. 3, šet s., šof Ishk., šūt Sk., šit Gr. dust, soil, earth. — pō šof nid Ishk. sit down on the ground; šet kən- Sk. to bury; šit-ān van kol Sk. they [have] buried him. — Cf. Wkh. šof, šet, Shgh. šit.  
 šātūn Sgl. p. 1, 3, °tu Gr. ladder. — Prs. šātū, Bad. šōtūn, etc. < Turki.  
 šōtōn Sgl. is., p. 1, °on p. 3, šōn s., šutun Gr., sij Sk. needle; Ishk. šōtōn thorn. — < \*šōn < \*sučani, cf. Psht. šōn < \*s(u)čōn, cf. Yd. šinjo. — sij < \*suči-. — Cf. Wkh. šic.  
 šaitān Sk. Satan. — Ar.-Prs.  
 šōnōk Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, °ste° p. 3, šutu'nuk Zb., štu'nuk Sk., Gr., šot° Zar. newborn kid, naušudagi. — Cf. Par. isten(uk) < \*fišānya-ka-.  
 šōtōr Sgl. is., p. 2, s., °ar p. 3, štur Sk., Gr., ūstur Gr. (Zb.), šatur Zar. camel. — Prs. or genuine? Cf. Yd. škr'rō.  
 šutur Gr. calf. — Cf. Wkh. štūr.  
 šōf-i pōdf Sgl. p. 3, °pūd p. 1 calf of the leg. — Cf. Shgh. pura-i-gōšt (< Prs.) id. Psht. šat-garai ankle < \*grāsta-? šōv, šōvok Sgl. p. 2 weeding. — ar-om šov(ok) āri 'kenuk I have weeded (amī

- kār az darīn-i zamīn mēkana* (I!);  
*ševēk šuān, kə š° xalā(š) šīān.*  
*ša'vōl* Sk., *ša'wōlak* Gr. trousers. — *Prs.*  
*šo'vel* Ishk., *šō°* Sk., Gr. road. — <  
*\*šyav-*, cf. *Phl.Ps. šob'n (šovān)* roads?  
 But suffix?  
*šav'zād* Sk. bug. — Cf. Shgh. (Sk.) *šavzōd*,  
 Wkh. *xəuzrt*, cf. *Prs. šab-gaz* 'bug'.  
*šāw*: *šāwōd* Zar. to chew. — *\*gšaw?*  
*šurin* Gr., *šuen* Gr., *Zb.* cradle. — <  
*\*ššaubanya?*  
*šāx*<sup>1)</sup> Sgl. is., p. twig; *šōx* Ishk., Sk.  
*šōxā* Zb., *°čuk* Sk., Gr. branch. —  
*Prs. šāx(ā)*, *Bartangi xax'čak*.  
*šāx*<sup>2)</sup> Sgl. p. 3, Zb., Ishk., *šāx* Sk. horn.  
 — *ahūn wok šāx da vōd* p. 3 the  
 stag had one horn. — *Prs.*  
*šōx* Sgl. is., p., *šāx* Zar. hard, locked. —  
*vōr šōx-ōi* Sgl. p. 2; *ma tāham ē šōx*  
*kōd mō kafās sōr* p. 3 he fastened  
 the food at the top of the cage. —  
 Cf. Wkh. *šōk, šux*, Yd. *šax*.  
*šōxs*: *šōxt* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *šīxs*: *šīxt*  
 p. 2 to cross, to pass over; *šūxt* Gr.  
 (time) passed. — *šōxtān* 'guzāšt(an)'  
 is.; *šēn, šīxsən be* p. 3 'mēāyam,  
*mēgzāram*'; *guzar-em be šīxtēm, mō*  
*vēkēm šīxt* p. 2; *tar asmān šōxt* p. 3.  
 — Cf. Wkh. *šōxs*, Khw. lw. *šaxē*,  
*šaxs* < *\*saxš*, from *sak* to pass  
 (the time).  
*šā'xōb* Sk. brook, rivulet. — *Prs.*  
*šaxa-yer* Sgl. p. 3 hill. — Cf. *Prs. šax*  
 mountain.  
*šou'š* Sgl. is., p. 2, *šov'ji* p. 1, *šou'ji* p. 3,  
*šū'ji* Zb. hip. — Cf. Wkh. *šau'š*,  
*šū'ji*, Shgh. *ševje*, (*šū'ji* Sk.), Or.  
*sāu'jē*. Prob. a Taj. word, *\*suv'ji* <  
*\*suft'ji?*  
*šūš* Sgl. p. 1, s. eagle, *hukāb, šuž* p. 3  
 black eagle, *šiasōr*. — Cf. Yd. *šīž*.

## Š

- šou* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *šou* p. 3 horn. —  
*\*švōw*, cf. Wkh. *šou*, Yd. *šū*.  
*šūi* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *šū* Ishk. black, pupil of  
 the eye; *šu* Sk., Gr., *šūi* "Wkh."  
 black. — Cf. Wkh. *šūu*, Khw. (lw.)  
*šā*. — < Av. *syāva-*, but note *š*.  
*šōc* Sgl. is., p. 2, *šōc* p. 3, *šōc* Gr. female.  
 — Acc. to Hjuler Wkh. *šōc* is used  
 as a fem. suffix. — Cf. Yd. *šīyo*.  
*šud* Gr. heard. — Prob. *\*šud*, cf. Shgh.  
*šud*.  
*šid* Sgl. is., *šōd* p. 2, 3, s.: *šīd* is., p. 2, 3,  
*šīn*: *šīd* Ishk., *šīd*: *šītt* Sk., *šīd*  
 Zar. to weep. — *šīden, šīdēm* Sgl. is.,  
*šōden buš: šīdum* p. 2, 3; *šīnum: šīdum*,  
*um šīd, šīduk* Ishk.; *šīdum, šīttum* Sk.  
*šēn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb. podex; p. 2 anus;  
 Ishk. hip; *kšīn* Gr. podex; *šīng* Sk.  
 hip. — *mō šēn kenen-et* p. 2 'mā tura  
*mēgāyam-et*. — Cf. Yd. *šīno*, Shgh.  
*šūn*.  
*šōnā'i* Sgl. is., p. 1 light, fire; *šōnā'i*  
 p. 2, 3, *rōšnā'i* s., *rōšnā'i* Zb., Ishk. fire.  
*rōšnē, rōšnē* Sk. fire. *šōnā'i dō'hō* it  
 lightened; *va šōnā'i šan* p. 2 blow  
 out the fire; *mōn iḡ'gīt mō šōnā'i tōd*  
 p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. *rōxnā(g)*, Khw.  
 (lw.) *roxnā*, Kab. *Prs. rušnāi*. — Cf.  
*rušnā'i*.  
*šōš* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *šōš* p. 1, 2, *šīš* Zb.,  
 Sk. lung. — *Prs.*  
*šā'vī* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *šā'rē* Sk. shirt;  
*šā'vī* Gr. woman's shirt. *Prs. šabi*.

## T

- tēu* Sgl. is., p. 1, s. husband's brother. —  
 Oss. *teu*, cf. *Mj. s.v. yūi*.  
*tu, tō* Sgl., *tō* Ishk. thou. — V. § 110.



*tūi* Sk. wedding. — *Prs.*  
*tablar'za* Sk., Gr. fever. — *Prs.*  
*tābi'stān* Sk. summer. — *Prs.*  
*tā'bat* Sgl. is. down of birds. — *Cf. Mj.*  
*tobot.*  
*taf* Sgl. p. 1, Sk. steam; Zar. foam. —  
*Prs.*  
*tuf* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *tōf* Sk., *tuf* Zar. saliva.  
 — *Prs.*  
*tōyd* Gr. he went, walked. — < \**taxta-*,  
*cf. Shgh. tūid.*  
*tā'yō* Sk. mother's brother. — *Kabuli*  
*Prs. tayā'i, Bad. taya.*  
*tēy(ə)m* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, 'tēyum Ishk., tēym  
 "Wkh.", Gr. grain, seed. — tēym  
*d(e)ān* p. 2 they sow. — *Cf. Yd. tūy'm.*  
*ta'hām* Sgl. p. 3 food. — *ta'hāma dēi!* —  
*Ar-Prs.*  
*tāke* Sgl. p. 3 alone. — *pād'sā t° f°rind*  
 'pād'sā yak tāke mād'. — *Cf. Prs.*  
*taka* a single volume, *Yd. toko.*  
*take* Sgl. p. 3 male kid, one year old.  
 — *Prs.*  
*tuk'mā* Sk. button. — *Turki.*  
*tok-sa'ri* Ishk. pillow. — *Or. taksa'rā;*  
*cf. Par. taisō'ri, Madagl. toi-i-seri +*  
*Prs. takiya.*  
*takat* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) endurance. —  
*ovzūi t° nās kōd 'dil-iš t° na kard'.*  
 — *Ar-Prs.*  
*tāl* Sgl. p. 2 cooking-pot. — *Cf. Yd. tāl.*  
*tī'lā* Sgl. is., p., *tīl'lā* Sk. gold. — *Prs.*  
*tūl:* *tūld* Sgl. p. 1, 2, s., Ishk., : *tūd* Gr.  
*(Zb.)* to shave. — *'tūlin, 'tūldm* Sgl.  
 p. 1, *t'ūlum, 'tūldum* Ishk. — *Cf.*  
*Yd. tūz.*  
*telf* Sgl. p. 3 child, *bača-i maida.* — *Ar-*  
*Prs. tīfl.*  
*tō'lap* Sgl. p. 2, *ta'lap:* *talapt* Sk. to  
 wish, seek. — *Ar-Prs.*  
*tal'pak* Sk., Gr. fur cap. — *Turki.*

*talx* Sgl. p. 1, Ishk. bitter. — *Prs.*  
*tamba* Sgl. p. 3 to thee? — *In wok t° astēen*  
 'yak tara ravedn mēkenim'.  
*tēmox, °ox* Sgl., Ishk. you. V. § 110.  
*ta'mūz* Sgl. p. 3 autumn. — *Ar-Prs.*  
*tan* Sgl. p. 2 person. — *cāmōnd tan-ān*  
*ma tēmox xān? ma miē xān rōi*  
*tan-ān.* — *Prs.*  
*ta'na* Sk. body. — *Prs.*  
*tēnd* Sgl. p. 2 steep. — *Prs.*  
*tandur* Sk. thunder. — *Prs.*  
*ta'ng* Sgl. p. 1, 2, Sk. narrow. — *Prs.*  
*tan'k* Sk., *tanuk* Gr. thin, narrow. —  
*Prob. genuine.*  
*tar* Ishk. wet, moist. — *Prs.*  
*tar* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr. through, amongst,  
 in(to), to. — *parenda tar hawā arazō*  
 the bird flew through the air; *wok*  
*ēze tar mōne[n] hō-ōi 'yak ēzi ba*  
*dil-i mā st'; tax'sim kenān tar xān*  
 p. 2 they divide amongst themselves.  
 — *Cf. Yd. tro. V. § 107.*  
*tir* Ishk. roof-beam; Sk. arrow. — *Prs.*  
 \**tor:* *torō* Sgl. p. 2 to fart. — *torōm*  
 'gūz kardam'. *Cf. torō bū[d] dyem*  
 Sgl. s. id.  
*tar'bō:* Sgl. p. 2, *tār'būz* Sk. water-melon.  
 — *Prs.*  
*toraf:* *torāft* Sk., *torāf-* Zar. to steal. —  
*Cf. Yd. torif.*  
*tōrik* Zb., 'tā° Ishk., Sk., °rik Sk.  
 dark(ness). — *Prs.*  
*tur'ki* Sgl. is., p. 1 darkness. — \**turk*  
 dark (*cf. Yd. tiro*) + *Prs. -i.*  
*tira'mā* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2; *tira'mā* Ishk.,  
 'tī° Sk. autumn. — *t° k' šīd, cō kū*  
*yūzō xāšm.* — *Prs.*  
*t(°)rās-* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to fear. — *trāsēn ke*  
*fōrnisen be* p. 2 I am afraid to lose  
 it. *Cf. the foll. word:*  
*trōs* Ishk., *trōs* Sk., *trās* Gr. fear. —

- t°* kenum, *t°-um kul* Ishk., *t° kən*-Sk. I fear; *t° dēyum* Sk. I frighten. — < *tars?* But cf. Sar. *intrās* to shy, etc.
- trīš-* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to sneeze. — *trīšom* *boš*, pf. *trīšuk* 'axse mēzanad' (pres. l). — Cf. Wkh. *trōf*, Yd. *čirf*, etc.
- trēš* Sgl. is, *trēs* p. 1, *trūs* Ishk., *trūs* Zar. sour; *trūs* Gr. bitter. — Prs.
- trōp* Sk. sour milk. — Cf. Yd. *tršp*.
- trā'zē* Sk. scales. — Prs.
- teske* Sgl. p. 3 — ? — Cf. Texts V, 72.
- tas'mā* Sk. a strap. — Prs.
- tā-i-sar* Ishk. top of the head. — Cf. Mj. *tā-i sar*. Prs.
- tāš kən*-Sk. to empty out. — Cf. Wkh. *tāš*; EVP., s.v. *taš*; Nyberg, *Studia Indo. Ir.*, 214.
- tašna* Sgl. is, °ē p. 1, *tašna* Ishk., *taxm* Sk. thirsty. — *tāšna*, etc. < Prs. Reg. *taxm* (also in Wkh.), v. s.v. Wkh. *taš*.
- tēša* Sgl. is, °īē p. 1, 3, °ša Ishk. adze. — Prs.
- tāt* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *tot* Ishk., Gr., *tā(t)* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) father. — *mič tāt xān*; *tāte xē māl taxsim* *koš*; *xē tā be yēšōš* he said it to his father. — Cf. Yd. *tāt*, etc.
- tūt* Sgl., Zb., Ishk., Sk. mulberry (tree). — Prs.
- tūtī* Sgl. p. parrot. — Prs.
- tūt-pāt* Sgl. p. 2 mulberry-flour, *talkān*. — Prs. V. *put*.
- tav* Sgl. p. 2 fever. — Prs.
- tā'vē* Sgl. p. 2 griddle. — Prs.
- tōv-* *tōš* Sgl. p. 1, 2, : *ted* Gr. (Zb.), "Wkh." *tied*, *sav-* : *sad* Ishk., *sav-* : *sud* Sk., Zar. to burn (intr.); *šhe-* : *sud* Sk. to burn (tr.). — *tōvōi* Sgl., *savū* Ishk. it burns; *mən iggit mō šonāi tōš* p. 1

- my finger was burnt in the fire. — Cf. Shgh., Wkh. *šāw*, Khwarizm. *š'w*, etc. V. § 37.
- to'vōr* Sgl. is, p. 1, 3, Zb., *tu'vōr* Sk., Gr. axe. — *va durk t° māida kenen* p. 2; *f'rēš kuš pe t'ovor* p. 3. — Prs.
- tāve'stān* Sgl. is, p., *tōv'stōn* Zb., *tābi'stān* Ishk. summer. — Prs.
- tāx'mārg* Zb., *tāxmur* Sk. egg. — Prs.
- tāxm-i-mury*, cf. Wkh. *tāxmury*, etc.
- tax-rū* Sgl. p. 3 plank. V. Texts V, 14. Prs. \**taxt-rū*.
- tax'sim* Sgl. p. 2 dividing. — *va māl t° ke!* — Ar.-Prs.
- taxt* Sk. curtain. — Prs.
- taxta* Sgl. p. 1 roof-board, p. 3 plank. — *taxta-pāre rū* p. 3 on a piece of plank 'rū-i taxta-pāra'. — Prs.
- taxt'xē* Sgl. p. 3 steam (?). — Cf. Yd. *tux*.
- ta'yāk* Sgl. is, p. 3, *tāy* Sk. colt. — Cf. Yd. *taya*. Cf.:
- tiya-xa'rak* Sgl. is. donkey's foal.
- tēz* Sgl. is, p., Ishk., Sk. sharp. — *tēz kən*-Sk. to sharpen, whet. — Prs.

## V

- va* a particle denoting the accusative. V. § 104.
- vāc'rīm*, v. *vāc'arīm*.
- vī-d'ōk* Sgl. p. 2 irrigation, watering, *xākāva*. — *v° kenān*. — V. *vēk*.
- vōš* Sgl., *vud* Ishk., *vōš* Sk. was. — Cf. § 125.
- vā'yd* Sk., *vāyd* Gr. nightmare. — Cf. Wkh. *vā'yd*, Sar., Or. *vōid* < Av. *baxta* fate, misfortune.
- vē(k)* Sgl., Ishk., Sk., Gr. water. — *vēki diān* = *vī-diok kenān* (q.v.); *warfō vē šurcōi* the snow melts; *vē mō pālō nūšen* Sgl. p. 2; *vē pavdēm*; *vēk*



*xənuκ-δ*, *daryāo yəx-o kuκk* p. 3 the water is cold and the river is frozen; *arāz mē vək* is. fly into the water.

— From a purely phonetic point of view \**āpāk(i)ya* seems to be the most satisfactory reconstruction. Cf. Orm. *wek*, with loss of *ā*.

*vō'košin* Sgl. p. 1 day before yesterday.

*vən* Sgl. p. 2. — V. Texts III, 2.

*vīn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, Ishk., Sk., Gr., *vīn* Sgl. s., p. 3, *vanū* "Wkh." beard. — Cf. Shgh. *bān* < \**upā(ha)na*, cf. Gr. *ὀπίων* (v. NTS, VII, 120; cf. Kretschmer, Glotta, 18, 204; 22, 246; Pisani, Misc. Etym., 107).

*vānd*: *vōst* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *vōnd*: *vūst* Ishk., *vund*: *vust* Sk. to bind, tie. — *vānden* Sgl. p. 1, °em s., *vōndum* Ishk.; pret. *vōst*; pf. *vōsto-mō-i* p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *vad*.

*vōnd* Sgl. is., p. 2 stick.

*vōr* Sgl. p., *var* Zb., Ishk., Sk., *weā* "Wkh." door. — *vōr iðx (hə)ōi* p. 2 the door is closed (open). — Cf. Yd. *Peor*.

*vūr* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. burden. — *vūr kenēn* p. 3 I load. — Cf. Yd. *vīra*, Wkh. *vūr*.

*vric* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *vric* p. 3, Sk., *vric* Zar., *v'cēr* (!) "Wkh." eyebrow. — \**brūci*, cf. Yd. *vriyo*.

*v'rūd* Sgl., *v'rū* Ishk., *werūd*, *wru* Sk., *v'rūd* Gr., Zar. brother. — Pl. *v'rūdār*: *m' amīc xān hōvō v'rūdār-ān* p. 2; *am xān mōš v'rūdārēn* is. this house belongs to me and my brothers; *am xān mēm v'rūden-ē* p. 2 this house is my brother's. — Cf. Yd. *vrai*.

*v'rūdkuč* Sgl. is., p. 1, *vru'kūč* Sk., *v'rūdārkuč* "Wkh." brother's wife.

*v'rōk* Sgl., Zb., Ishk., *wruk* Sk., *wrok* Gr., *verāk* Gr. (Zb.) horse. — *am v'rō*

*mēm v'rūden-ē* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Shgh. *vārʔj*, Or. *vōrj*, Yazgh. *'varāk* < \**bāraka*.

*v'rōk* Sgl. p. 2 window. — Cf. *vōr*.

*v'rēl* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s.: *v'rēt* p. 1, 3, *vrt* s.; *v'lēl*: *v'lēld* Ishk., *vrand*: *vrot* Sk., *v'rēl*: *v'rūt* Zar. to break. — *psā v'rēlen* Sgl. p. 1; *erandum*, *vrtum*, *vrtēl*, *vrtkum*, *vrtuk*, *eranduk* Sk. — Cf. Shgh. *v'raʔj*, Yd. *vri*. — Reg. *v'lēl* v. § 74. *vrand* has been influenced by \**škand* (Wkh. *škandiv*). *v'rōn*: *v'rōnd* Sk. to scold. — Cf. Wkh. *vārand*.

*v'r'vēs* Sgl. is., p., °ves s., *ur'vēs* Zb., *'vōu* Ishk., *'urvēs* Sk., *uricus* Gr. barley. — *v'r'vēs sōr-xāz-ō* Sgl. p. 2. — < \**rpasiya* ? Cf. Yd. *yeršio*.

*v'r'vēs* Sgl. is., s., *wō* p. 3, *ur'vēs* p. 1, *or* Zb., *urucist* Ishk., *'uricēs(ak)* Sk., Gr., *urucist* Zar., *w'r'vēs* "Wkh." fox. — < *rūvēs* < \**raupāsya*, v. § 88. Cf. Yd. *rūso*.

*v'rāz* Sgl. is., p. 2; *w/vrāz* Sk. above; *v'rōz* Sk. up, *werāz* Gr. (Zb.) high, tall, up; *v'rāz* Gr. a mountain height. — *cō t'fāk v'rāz-mō* Sgl. p. 2 I am above you. — Cf. Khw. (lw.) *vārē* above (v. BSOS, VIII, p. 664), Ingush (lw.) *barz* tumulus < Av. *barzah*? But note Or. *v'rōz* hillside = Prs. *farāz-koh* (Lentz); (Zangana Kurd. *war(ā)z* high < \**abi-rāza* ?).

*v'rūzēman* Sgl. is., p. 2 nephew. — V. *v'rūd*.

*v'sīn* Sgl. is., *vasīn* Gr. whetstone, *ausān*. — Cf. Yd. *'afseno*.

*viš* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, Gr., *viš* Gr. (Zb.) below; *višt* Sk. floor, ground. — *cō mēm viš* 'az tā-i mā'; *cō mēm viš* p. 2 under the table; *cō kafas biš* (!) under the

- cage; *ce viš* from below; *ce āsmān xarō me viš* p. 3 descended from heaven. — V. *ba'alviš*, *pālviš*, *kašviš*. *vīš*<sup>2</sup> Sk., *viš* Gr. bed.
- vōš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *vūš* Gr. rope. — \**bastra*, cf. Shgh. *vāš*, Psht. *wāš*; Prs. dial. *baš* bandage.
- vəz* Sgl., *vuz* Ishk., Gr., *vəz* Sk. goat; Sgl. is. also female markhor. — *wok* *vəz-əm wēnd* p. 2. — Cf. Shgh. *vaz*, Mj. *vəza*.
- vōzd* Zar. pillow. — Cf. Yd. *virzanē*.
- vō'zōk*<sup>1</sup> Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 branch.
- vō'zōk*<sup>2</sup> Sgl. is. fat, *vəz'vuk* Sk. thick. — Cf. Sar. *divēz*, Yazgh. *də'vūz*, Wkh. *baj*(?) < \**diwaz*-, cf. Yd. s.v. *livzin*.
- vəf'dūk* Sgl. p., Ishk., *və'vūk* Sgl. is., *wū'dūk* Sk. long; Ishk. (and Gr. *wū'duk*) high. — Cf. Wkh. *vəz*, Shgh. *vūfj*, Psht. *ūf* < *borozant*.
- vū'žēr* Sk., *vəjer* Gr. (early) evening. — Cf. Ishk. *wəjēr* day before yesterday, v. *wəcərīn*. — Scarcely from *uz-ayar*, cf. Yd. *uziro*.

## W

- wai*<sup>1</sup>, *wai* Sk. oh. — *wa xē kūē!* oh, my wife. — Prs.
- wai*, dem. pron., v. §§ 115, sqq.
- wū-bō* Sk. thither. — A dative form. Cf. *wōd*.
- wuc*: *wucud* Gr. to find room. — Cf. Mj. *wuj*, Yazgh. *wiž*.
- wəcərīn* Sgl. p. 1 yesterday, p. 2 day before yesterday, *wəcərīn* is. three days ago, hence; *wə'jēr* Ishk. day before yesterday. — The correct meaning prob. is the one given by Sgl. is., the true word for 'yesterday' being Sgl. *pāruz* (and Ishk.

- karēr*?), and for 'the day before yesterday' Sgl. *vōkōlīn*. If that is the case, *wəcərīn/m* may be derived from \**upa-čāru* + *in/m*, cf. *pərīstīm*, and Shgh. *vēder* < \**upa-turya*. V. *vū'žēr*.
- wūc* Zar. up. — Cf. Wkh. *wūc* < *usča*.
- wāda* Sgl. p. 3 marriage, marriageable age. — *po wō hīt telf 'ba wāda rasid'*. — Ar.-Prs.
- wōd* Ishk. willow. — Cf. Yd. *wīya*.
- wūd*: *wētt* Sk. to put. — Cf. Yd. *wul*.
- wōd*, *wōda(k)* Sgl. p. 2, *wōdok* p. 3, *wadək* Ishk., Sk., *wāk* Sk., *wōda* Gr. (Zb.) there, — *ce wōd šīd* he went from there; *mo wōd šīd* he went there; *wōdək oyo'dast*, *wōda(h)ast* Sgl. p. 2; *'oyo'd mo 'wōdok* p. 3; *wadək xēn tīn-ō*, *wō tī xēn* Ishk. Av. *avaða*.
- wū'dəyō* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *'uγō* p. 2, *'ōyō* p. 3, *'duyō* Ishk., *wō'dūyō* Sk., *u'dōyō* Gr., *widəyō* Zar. daughter. — *mām-buci'nā-i wūdūyō* Sk. female cousin (: my uncle's daughter). — Cf. Yd. *luγdo*. Reg. *wu*- cf. § 92.
- wū'drī* Sgl. is., p. 2, s., *wū'del* p. 3 (and *wūd'hēl* 'kūh' for 'gūh'?), *wū'del* Zar. goat's dung, manure, *pošk*, *pārūb*; *wū'drī* Ishk. cow-dung. — *pasi naurōz*<sup>2</sup> *wō xāšān* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *pāskedrī*.
- wū'dīt* Sgl., *'id* Zar. span from thumb to little finger. — Cf. Yd. *wulēyo*; "Wkh." *wō'lēt*.
- wah* Sk. bad smell.
- wə'jāb* Ishk., *'ab* Gr. span from thumb to little finger. — Ar.-Prs.
- wə'jēr*, cf. *vūžēr*, *wəcərīn*.
- wok* Sgl. is., Zb., Ishk., Gr., *wōk* Sgl. p., *wōk* Sk., *wūk* Zar. one. — *wok kitāv*; *paša wok nesi lakoi* the flies didn't leave one. — Cf. Yazgh. *wug*. V. § 87.



*wō'kī* Sgl. p. 2 'yaki'. — *w° w° zamīn kul-šōn baxš kenen* I give all of them one field each.

*wō'kīd* Sgl. p. 2 a little. — *miē tāt xān w° kalān-ū* our father's house is a little bigger, 'yaktāš kalāntar-a'.

*wulāt* Sgl. p. 2, 'wulo Ishk., wulo Gr. (Zb.) before, in front of, formerly; 'lō, wlo Sk. forwards. — *azi w° ʔzd Ishk.* I ran in front; *w° ʔwondok-əm rōd, psāt-əm sēr kōd* formerly I was hungry, now I have become satisfied.

*walē* Sgl. p. 3, Ishk. rafter. — V. *wālʔ*.

*wulākt* Sgl. p. 2 first (adv.). — *am 'ādām w° o'ʔōd* this man came first. — V. *wulākt*.

*wul'mēk* Sgl. is., s., 'ōk p., 'ō ʔ "Wkh.". *ilmēk* Gr. (Zb.), *duimik* MFB (with ʔ instead of ʔ). — \**uxšmāhyaka*, cf. Yd. *imoyō*.

*wulyēka* Sgl. p. 2 alone. — *az w°-mō*.

*wulāt* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 village. — Ar.-Prs., cf. Khw. (O'Brien) *wāl'lāt* village, cultivation.

*wōl'vōš* Sgl. p. 1, 'wulvōš Gr., *valeāš* MFB trouser-string. V. *wālʔ* and *vōš*; cf. Yd. *warwāden*.

*wālʔ* Sgl. is., *wāl* p. 1, 2, *wōl* Zar., *var* MFB trousers. Cf. Yd. *wōyo* (prob. an ancient pl.).

*wālʔ* Sgl. is., p., *wōl* "Wkh." roof-beam. — Cf. Yd. *wāy*.

*wōlk* Sgl. is., p. 1, *wō* p. 2, s., *wō* p. 3, *wō* "Wkh.", *wolk* Zb. kidney. — Cf. Yd. *wulʔa*, Wkh. *wālʔk*.

*wul'ok* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *wuluk* Ishk., *w°* Gr., (*wū*) *lu/āk* Sk., *wuluk* Zar. flour. — \**ārtaka*, cf. Yd. *yārē*.

*wōl'lex* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *wō* p. 2, *wōlēx* "Wkh.", *u'lēx* Sk., *ulex* Gr. rib. — V. *ā'lex* hill; cf. Yd. *alīxa* rib;

N.W. Ir. Turf. "rg side, Psht. *arax* side, Georg. *alagi* direction (lw.).

*wān*, v. *wā*.

*wān* Sgl. is.: *wān* is., p. 2, *wēn* s., Sk., : *wēn* s., p. 1, 2, 3, Ishk., Sk., *wān*: *wānt* Zar., *rīn*: *rīn* Gr. (Zb.) to see. — *nā wānōš* Sgl. is. he doesn't see him; *wāndom-ōn* is. I saw them; *az-əm wēnt, wēndum, amax va-fak wēndan* p. 1; *wēnd-əm va-fak, xōdm-əm wānduk* p. 2; *wēnem, wēndəm, xōdm-əm wēnt* s.; *wēndum, azi fak wēnduk* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *wān*, Shgh. *wān*: *wānt*.

*wēn* Sgl., Gr., Sk., *wēn* Zb., Ishk., Zar., *wān* "Wkh." blood. — *wēn be zīdū* blood flows; *wēn zōnē* wash off the blood; *wēn-i šucōi* he is bleeding(?). — Cf. Yd. *ino*.

*wānīc* Sgl. is., p. 2 female calf, two years old, *turptk* (cf. Par. *tōrpt*), *fəryōmē*; *wānīc* p. 3 heifer, three years old; *wānīc* Gr. fem. calf; *wō* Sk. heifer. — < \**yurānīc*. — Cf. E.Oss. *wānīg*, W.Oss. *uconug* young bull < \**y(u)wān*. *wānī* Sk., Gr. (Zb.), *wānī* Gr. cloak, coat. — Av. *varnā* name of a part of the dress.

*wōnt* Ishk. calf of the leg.

*wō'nīš*: *wō'nīšt* Sgl. p. 2, *wū'nīš*: *wū'nīšd* p. 3, s., *wō'nīy*: *wō'nīyd* is. to go round, walk about. — *wō'nīy*, is 'bayard, biāl' is.; *cō wōš wō'nīšt* p. 2 they returned from there; *psā be wō'nīšəm* 'mēgardam', *wū'nīšəm be, wū'nīšdəm* p. 3. — Apparently from \**wī-nā(y)š*. Cf. Shgh. *nēš*, \**nāš* (Sk.) to turn; *nōš* (ABO) to wander about??

*wē'rē* Sgl. p. 3 gums. — Bad. Prs. *wē'rā*, cf. EVP. s.v. *ōraī*. Cf. also Skr. *velā* gums.

- wōre* Gr., Zar. quail. — Cf. Yd. *wōryō*.  
*wur'cūn* Sgl. is., p. 1 (<sup>o</sup> is.?) smoke-hole.  
 — Cf. Yd. *rūžen*, Wkh. *ricq*. V. § 88.  
*warf* Sgl., Ishk., Sk., "Wkh." *v<sup>o</sup>* Gr.  
 snow. — *warfō dehō* it snows; *w<sup>o</sup> vē*  
*šuwōi* Sgl. p. 2 the snow melts; *ā'fax-*  
*nā-i warf* Sk. snow of the hills. —  
 Cf. Yd. *warfo*.  
*wōrōfs*: *wōrōft* Sk. to stand. — Cf. Wkh.  
*wurufs*, Mj. *wurafs*. See EVP. s.v.  
*riyawdōl*, and Bailey, Or. Stud. Pavry,  
 p. 22.  
*'wērak* Sgl. p. 2, *wē'rāk* p. 3 female lamb.  
 — Cf. Yd. *wōryō*.  
*wo'rok* Sgl. is., Zb., *wa'rōk* Sgl. p. 2, *wo<sup>o</sup>*  
 p. 3, *'waruk* Ishk., Gr., Zar. *w'ruk*  
 Sk. male lamb. — Cf. Yd. *wōryō*,  
 "Wkh." *warī*.  
*wōrk* Sgl. is., *wōrk* p. 1, 3, s., Zb., Ishk.,  
 "Wkh.", Zar., *urk* Sk., Gr. wolf. —  
 Cf. Bur. (lw.) *urk*, Yd. *wury*.  
*wo'rokok* Sgl. is. demin. of *wo'rok*.  
*wur'mēk* Sgl. is., *ōik* p. 1, *wōr'mēk* p. 3  
 poplar.  
*wōrv* Sgl. p. 3, *wōrv* Zar. to boil (tr.).  
 — *va vēk wōrv*. — Cf. Mj. *wurv*,  
 Par. *yārv*, etc.  
*wa'sē* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 wide. — Cf. Yd.  
*wosa*.  
*wōsi* Zar., *rāse* Gr. cotton thread. — Cf.  
 Wkh. *wōsāi*, Yd. *wōsūles* (?).  
*wus*: *wud* Sk. to carry; *uss*: *wud* Gr.,  
*wūs*, *wūd* Zar. to take, lead away.  
 — *wusum*, *wus*, *wudum*, *wuduk*,  
*wusuk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *is*.  
*wo'sōk* Sgl. is., p. 3, *wo<sup>o</sup>* p. 2 calf, up to  
 one y. old, *naušudagt*; *wa'sōk* p. 1, s.,  
*wē'suk* Sk., *'wo<sup>o</sup>* Ishk. calf. — Cf.  
 Wkh. *wōšk*.  
*wu'sūk* Sgl. is., "Wkh.", *u'suk* Sgl. p. 2, 3  
 elbow.

- wōst* Sgl., *wāst* "Wkh." fat, tallow. —  
 Cf. Yd. *wāzd*, Sar. *wāst*.  
*'wastuk*, v. *ostok*.  
*wōšō* Sgl. p. 2. — *w<sup>o</sup> nīd* 'unjā bišīn'.  
 — < *wōš* + *jā*.  
*wōst* Sgl., Gr. (Zb.), *bist* Zb., Ishk.,  
 Sk. twenty. — V. § 24. Cf. Yd.  
*wīsto*.  
*wōš* Sgl. is., p. 1, Ishk., *ūš* Sgl. p. 2, 3,  
*uš* Sk., *wuš* Zar., *ūš* Gr. straw, *kāh-i*  
*safed*. — Cf. Yd. *wuš*.  
*wōšt* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *wōxt* "Wkh."  
 juniper, arca. — \**happsi-tā* (cf. Yd.  
*yovurso*) might result in \**wōšt*, but  
 why *-tā*, and why Sgl. *w<sup>o</sup>*? Kati  
*'wīšt* may be a lw. from Ir.  
*wōtuk* Sgl. p. 2, *watik* Gr. feast, *tūi*. —  
*nēr-mō wōtuk*, to-day I am feasting (?);  
*wōtuk gāxān*. — < \**wōdk* < \**wōduka*,  
 cf. Yd. *waly*?  
*wōtan* Sgl. p. 2 country. — *dīr w<sup>o</sup> bā*  
*šīd*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*wōter* Sgl. p. 3, *er* s., *'wusir* Ishk., *'u<sup>o</sup>*  
 Zb., *u'sur* Sk., Gr., *wu<sup>o</sup>* Zar. ashes.  
 — \**āḍarya*, cf. Or. *āḍir*, Shgh. *ōir*,  
 Saka *āhāra*. V. §§ 37, 91.  
*wōx* Sgl. is., p., Zb., Ishk., Sk., Zar. root;  
*wōx* Gr. twig. — Cf. Yd. *wōxo*.  
*wōxs* Sk. 'the earth, a planet' (?).  
*wōxs* Sgl., *wuxs* Sk., *woks* Gr., *wuks*  
 "Wkh." snake. — Cf. Wkh. *fūks*,  
 Shgh. *de'vūsk*, Or. *t(u)fausk*, Sar.  
*tafūsk*, Yazgh. *ḍə'vōc*.  
*wōxt* Sgl. is., *wōxt* Sk. time. — *mə w<sup>o</sup>-i*  
*qadīm*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*wōz* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk.: *wāt* Sgl. p. 1, 3,  
*wāf* Ishk. to fall. — *wa'zen*, *az-əm*  
*wāt* Sgl. p. 1; *wātəm* p. 3; *azl sō wāzum*  
 Ishk. 'mēyaltum', *wāfum* I fell. —  
 Cf. Wkh. *wōz*, Shgh. *wāš*. (from  
 pret. *wēšt*), Psht. *wātəl*.



*waz'min* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. heavy. — Prs.

*wu'zinjak* Sgl. is., s., *wuž°* p. 3 wife; *wu'jinjak* Gr. (Zb.) woman. — *w°* *zəmanok* oγōd mā dēr-i Sgl. p. 3 his wife became pregnant. — Reg. z-j < j-j v. § 75. Cf. *jōnj*.

*wūznuk* Zar. inflated goat-skin, mussuck. — Cf. Wkh. *yāzn*, Yd. *izē*.

*'wuz'nel* Sgl., *wuz'nəl* Ishk., "Wkh."; *uznūl* Gr., *wu°* Zar. daughter-in-law. — Cf. Yd. *zuzo*.

*wa'zir* Sgl. p. 3 minister. — Prs.

*wōz'dān* Sgl. p. 3 back-tooth.

*wu'žir* Sgl. is., p. 1, *wu'žiržir* s., *wužeržer* "Wkh.", *ujirj* Gr. partridge, *kauk*. — Cf. Yd. *žoržo*.

*wuž'dān* Sgl. p. 1, *°den* p. 3, *wēž'den* s., *wōy'dān* is., *wu'y'den* "Wkh.", *'ūiden* Zb., *wuž'din* Ishk., *'ūidan* Sk., *wuž'den* Zar. millet. — < \**(h)ārzana*-, cf. Yd. *yurzon*.

## X

*xē* Sgl. p., Ishk., Gr. own. — *xē dōst* Sgl. p. 1 his own hand; *šūān xē xān* p. 2 'buran *xōna-i xud*'; *wa xē kuē* oh, my wife; *xē māl taxsim kuē* he divided his own goods. — < *hwahya?* Cf. § 118. But Gr. *xadak* (I my)self.

*xāb* Sk. sleep. — Prs.

*xūb* Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. good, well, quite. — *xūb ādam-ū*; *ēziā-i xūb* p. 3 good things; *xūb rōst durk-ū* it is a quite straight stick. — Prs.

*žēb*: *žēbt* Sk. to beat. — Cf. Wkh. *žēb*.

*xēčē* Sgl. p. 3 inflated skin, *maška*. — Prs. *xikča*.

*xō'dā* Sgl. p. 3, *xu'dō* Sk., *°dā* Gr. God. — *xōdā az-mō* 'xudā mā astim'. — Prs.

*xōdm* Sgl. is., p. 3, *xōdm* p. 2, s. dream. — *mo xōdm wēnd* p. 3 he saw in a dream; *xōdm-um wēnt* s. — Cf. Yd. *xūbon*.

*xu'dāri* Sgl. is., *xō°* p. 1, 2, s., *xō'dōri* Zb., *xo°* Ishk., *xu'dāri* Sk., *xudāri* Gr., *°ōri* Zar. water-mill. — *xōdāri yūnuk* Sgl. p. 2 to grind in the mill. — Cf. Yd. *xīryo*.

*xa'fa* Sk. anger. — Ar-Prs.

*xof* Sgl. p. 3, s. to cough. — *xofom boš*. — Cf. Yd. *xof*.

*xóf* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *xaf* Zb., *xafuk* Gr. scum, foam. — Cf. Yd. *xof*.

*xōfuk* Sgl., *xo'fuk* Sk., *xa°* Gr., *xuf* Zar. cough. — *x°o nođok* 'silfa *giriftast*'. — V. *xof*.

*xūg* Sgl. is., Gr., *xūk* Sk. wild boar. — Prs.

*xāk* Sk. tomb. — Prs.

*xāke'stār* Sgl. is., *xāki°* p. 1, 2 ashes. — Prs.

*xālī* Sgl. p. 2 empty. — Ar-Prs.

*'xōlōk* Sgl. p. 1, *xu'lūk* Sk. maternal uncle; *xuluk* Gr. paternal uncle. — Kab., Bad. Prs. *xāla* maternal uncle, Ar-Prs. *xālū*.

*xōlm* Sgl. p. 1, 3 mucus from the nose. — Prs.

*xa'lās* Sgl. p. 2 finished. — *bas, x°!* *šōwōk x° stān* the weeding was finished. — Ar-Prs.

*xuāj* Sgl. is., s., *xo°* p. 1, 2, *xpl* Ishk., *xōl* Zb., Sk., Gr., *xāl* Gr. (Zb.), *xōār* MFB, *xūl* Zar. six. — < \**xwāsa*-. V. § 55.

*xuāj'dos* Sgl. is., *xuāj'dos* p. 1, 2, *°dos* s., *xuāj'dos* p. 3 (*šōnzāu* Zb.) sixteen.

*xām* Sgl. is., p. 2, *xōm* Zar. raw. — Prs.

*xóm* Sgl. is., p. 3, *xom* p. 1, s., Ishk., *xum* Gr., "Wkh.", *xm* Sk. milk. — Cf.

- Prs. *sama* milk which flows spontaneously from the udder. But Sgl. *x* = Prs. *k* is only possible, if < *xš*. — Possibly ancient lw. from Prs. *xām*, cf. Afgh.-Prs. *hri-xām* 'fresh milk'. *xā'məŋqək* Sgl. p. 2 tick. — Cf. Kab. Prs. *xamandūk* beetle, wood-louse (Bogdanov, JASB, NS, 26, 118).
- xān*, *xā* Sgl. is., p., *xān* Ishk., Gr., Sk., "Wkh."; *xānavār* Sk. house. — *ma mən xān*, *ō tō xān* Sgl. p. 1; *tar xā* p. 2 among the houses, families, *rū-i xāna*; *amīn xān mun-ō* Ishk. — Prs. *xān(a)*.
- xān-bərs* Sgl. p. 2 corner of a house. — Prs. \**xān-burj*.
- xānd-* Sgl. p. 2, *xānd* Ishk., Zar., *xānd-*: *xānd* Sk. to laugh. — *xāndum buš* 'mēxāndam'; *psād ba xānden* p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *xənd*.
- xīng* Sk. bluish grey. — Prs.
- xīnj* Sk. whey.
- xan'jar* Sk. dagger. — Prs.
- xənək* Sgl., Zb., *x(ə)nək* Sk. cold. — *vək xənuk-ō* p. 2; *nēr fai xənək* Sk. — Prs.
- xap* Sk. silence. — Prs.
- xair* Gr. sweat. — = \**xēd*? Cf. Yd. *xul*.
- xir* Zar. sister's son. — Cf. Mj. *xuri*.
- xōr* Sgl. is., p., *xur* Ishk., Sk., Gr. *xər* Zb. ass. — Cf. Yd. *xoro*.
- xūr*: *xōrīd* Sgl. p. 2, *xur* p. 3 to scratch oneself. — *xurum buš* p. 3, *xōrīdōm* p. 2. — Cf. Prs. *xāridan*.
- xarābē* Sgl. is., *ōāb* p. 2 lean. — Ar.-Prs.
- xar-bəz* Sgl. p. 2, *ōbū'za* Sk. melon. — Prs.
- xarē* Sgl. p. 2 expenditure. — *xarš xāstān*. — Ar.-Prs.
- xū'rūk* Sk. food. — Prs.
- xōr'mōn* Sgl. p. 2, *xūrman* Sk. threshing-ground. — *x° xūyen* p. 2 'čuyul mēkum'; *xōrmō xūyuk*. — Cf. Yd. *xu'rom*.
- xərn* Sgl. p. 1, *xərən* p. 3, *xərn* s., *kurni* Gr. raven, *zdy*. — Cf. Yd. *xun*.
- xərn-* Sgl. is., p. 2, *xərn-* s., : *xərīd* is., p. 2, s. to buy. — Cf. Yd. *xərn*.
- xərs*, Sgl. is., *xirs* p. 1, s., *xərs* p. 3, *xərs* Sk., *xurs* Gr., Zar. bear. — Prs.
- xə'rūs* Sgl., *xū°* Sk., *xə'rūs* Ishk. cock. — *x° bōg kenōi* Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.
- xērēg* Sgl. p. 1 n. of an animal, smaller than a wolf, red and blue(?), with long tail and snout. — Cf. Yd. *xu'rūso*.
- xarav* Sk. mountain-brook, *x°vək* ravine water; *xarav* Gr. gorge with a stream. — Prs. *xarāba* a small stream.
- xu'rūš* Sgl. p. 3 itching. — Cf. Prs. *xāriš*, v. *xūr*.
- xarī'gār* Sgl. p. 2 custom-official. — Ar.-Prs.
- xə'sər* Sgl. is., s., *xə°* p. 1, *xu'sur* Ishk., *ōūr* Sk. father-in-law. — Prs.
- xusərbə'rē* Sgl. p. 1 wife's brother. — Prs., cf. Yd. *xəsrəbrəō*.
- xēstē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ōta* p. 2, s. bread. — *az x° xwären* p. 2; *nāi xēste nāi pədf* p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *xisto*.
- xāštīrek* Sgl. p. 1 arrow; is. small bow used as a toy. — Cf. Yd. *xəsmānek* + *tīr*?
- xāš-* Sgl. p. 2, s., Zar., : *xāšōd* p. 2, 3, *xāš*: *xāšt* Sk. to draw, pull, smoke. — *čilim xāšen*, *čilim-əm xāšōd* Sgl. p. 1; *dam fāšek xāšen* I yawn; *xarš xāstān*; *guđōm xāstān* 'ambār kašidan'; *vəza xāšan* they kill(?) goats; *cə kūyūz xāšəm*; *wuđi xāšan* p. 2 they spread dung; *pādsā xāšōd* *xē tīr-i dast* p. 3. — Cf. Wkh. *xāš*, Yd. *xoš*.



*xēš* Sgl. p. 2 kinsman, relation. — *dūdum*  
*xē xēš* be I gave it to my kinsman.  
 — Prs.  
*xušk* Sgl. is., °*kāk* p. 3, *xēšk* Ishk. dry.  
 — Prs. (Sgl. p. 3 *xušk* + *qāq*).  
*xas'pā* Sk. a kind of porridge, *atāla* (cf.  
 Yd. *a'fīlō*). — Cf. Shgh. *xuṣpa*.  
*xīst* Sgl. p. 1 brick. — Prs.  
*xoṣ* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *xuṣ* Ishk., Gr., *xūš*  
 Sk., *xuṣ* "Wkh." mother-in-law. —  
 Cf. Yd. *xuṣo*, Wkh. *ṣaṣ*.  
*xō.ṣā kən* Sk. to wish, want. — Prs.  
*xuṣ'dāuman* Sgl. is. wife's brother's wife,  
*zan-i xusurberā*. — Cf. Wkh. *xuṣdōman*,  
 Prs. *xuṣdāman*, *xuṣt* mother-in-law.  
*xav*: *xavd* Sgl. p. 3 to descend. — *cā*  
*āsmān paše xavd* mosquitoes des-  
 cended from the sky. — Cf. Yd. *xafs*.  
*xāwand* Sgl. p. 2 master. — Prs.  
*xwār*: *x(w)ol* Sgl. p. 2, : *xōl* p. 3, is.,  
*xor*: *xul* s., *xar*: *xul* Ishk., Sk.,  
*xar*: *xul* Zar. to eat. — *xwārən* (cf.  
 § 131) Sgl. p. 2, *xēsta xorem* s.; *is*  
*xwār* p. 2 come and eat; *az-em xēsta*  
*xwōl* p. 2; *xēstē-em xōl* is., *xēsta-im*  
*xul* s.; *xwōlō-dak* p. 2 he has eaten;  
*xarem*, *xulum* Ishk.; *xaram*, *xar!*  
*xulēm*, *xāruk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *xor*.  
*xā'yē* Sgl. is., °*ē* p. 2 scrotum. — Prs.  
*xūy*: *xūō* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to thresh. —  
*xormōn xūyen* p. 2, *xūyem* s., 'xirmāne  
*kunum*'. — Cf. Yd. *xā*.  
*xāz*: *xōt* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, Sk., *xaz*: *xōt*  
 Ishk., *xaz*: *xēt* Gr. (Zb.), : *xut* Gr.  
 to rise. — *az-em xōt* Sgl. is.; *xazen*,  
*xotem*, *bād cā wōd xōt* a wind arose  
 from there, *sāar ba xōtan* p. 2;  
*'xazum*, *a'zi cā 'mīnduk xō'tuk* Ishk.  
 I have risen from sleep; *'xazum*, *xaz!*,  
*'xotum*, *xatuk*, *xazuk* Sk. — Cf. Prs.  
*xāstan*, Psht. *xatōl*, etc.

*xāzok* Gr. sweet. — Cf. Wkh. *xūṣg*,  
 Shgh. *xīṣ*, Psht. *xōṣ*, etc.

## Y

*yā* Ishk. or; *yō—yō* Sk. either—or. —  
 Prs.

*yō*, v. 5.

*you* Sgl. is., p. 2 grain (coll.), *yalla*; *yan*  
 Gr. cereals, provisions. — Cf. Yd.  
*yōu*.

*yēca* Zar. nest. Cf. Yd. *yēxio*.

*yūō* Sgl. is., p. 1, s. husband's brother's  
 wife, *zan-i ēvar*. — Cf. Mj. *yūi*.

*yōy* Sgl. p. 1, *yōy* Gr., *yūy* Zar. yoke. —  
 Cf. Yd. *yūy*.

*yak* Sgl. p. 2 one. — In: *yak sāl fauṣ*  
*oṣōd*. — Prs. Prob. only used in  
 special expressions.

*ya'lē* Sgl. p. 1, °*ā* p. 3 released, opened.  
 — *y'ēm kol* p. 1; *kafas ranzan y'*  
*kōd* p. 3 he opened the window of  
 the cage. — Prs.

*yāl* Sgl. p. 1, *v'ro(k)-yāl* is., p. 2 mane.  
 — Prs.

*yelyār'band* Sgl. is. rope fastening the  
 yoke round the bullock's neck.

*yūn* Sgl. is., *yūl*: *yūrd* p. 2, *yūy*: *yūrd*  
 p. 3, *yūy*: *yūrd* s., *yūln*: *yūld* Ishk.,  
*yurn*: *yurd* Zar. to grind. — *xuṣāri*  
*yūnuk* is., *xōṣāri yūnuk*, *yūnīs* p. 3  
 grinding. — Cf. Yd. *yāy*. V. § 138,  
 and s.v. *wuṣōk*.

*yūnək* Sgl. p. 3 pine-marten. — Cf. Wkh.  
*wīnek*, Yd. *wūy*.

*yūr* Sgl. is., p. 3, *yūr* p. 1, *yūr* p. 2 stone,  
 rock. — Cf. Yd. *yar*. V. § 27.

*yur'ya* Sk. ambling. — Wkh. id., cf. Turk.  
 Prs. *yarya* a swift horse.

*yārē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ārē* Zb. avalanche.

*yarx* Gr. animal's droppings. — Cf.

- "Wkh." *ræx*, Zānganī Kurd. *rex* id., Sar. *riš* excrements \**irx* < Av. *hizra*-thin excrements?
- ya'str* Sk. prisoner. — Ar.-Prs.
- yō'tuk* Sgl., 'yetik Sk., Gr., *ya°* Zar. bridge. — < \**ētk*, v. § 24. Cf. Yd. *yaya*.
- yēv*: *yēvd* Sgl. p. 3, s., *yiv* p. 2, *iv*: *ivd* Zar. to spin. — *yēven* *boš*, *yēvdəm* Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *yī*.
- yiv'dok* Sgl. is., p. 2, *iv°* p. 1, *ivduk* Gr., *kivduk* (?) Sk. thread. — V. *yev*.
- yæx* Sgl. is., p. 3, *yæx* p. 1, *yæx* p. 2, *yæx* s., *yæx* Sk., Ishk., Zar. ice, frost. — *daryāo* *yæx-o* *kuok* p. 2 the river is frozen. — Prs.
- yō'xōai* Sgl. is., *ō'xōai* p. 1, 3, *u'x°* s., *ixvōi* p. 2, *ō'xōi* "Wkh.", *ixō* Sk., Zar. *ixā* Gr. sister. — *rōi-xōai* *mnen-ē* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *ixō*. V. § 92. Cf. also Shgh. *ka(x)uōi* woman < \**ka-hwāhā*?
- yōz* Sgl. is., *yūz* p. 2, Zar., *yās* Sk., *yuz* Gr., *yū* MFB firewood. — *cō kū yūz°* *xāšəm* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. *žūz*, Shgh. *žiz* firewood, Psht. *žōza* taggot, *žaz*, Prs. *gaz* tamarisk, Sak. *gyaysa*, Oss. *qāz(ā)* reed. — V. Walde-Pokorny, I, 569 \**gēg(h)* (cf. e.g. Norw. *kage* low shrub).
- yōzda*, v. *košos*.

## Z

- za* Sk. —?—In *a'zi* *za* 'cē-wūnəm, *tō* 'zō 'cē-wūnē, 'au 'zō 'cē wūnū, *mæx* *ze* 'cē-wūnān.
- zē* Sgl. is. bowstring. — Prs.
- zī* Sgl. p. 3 such, like that. — *mənī zī* *Xudāi nēst*, *kā wo žanan* 'az *mā itari* *Xudā nēst*, *ke ūna bukušān*; *tā-ōō*

- ma zi cē-va gaxtog?* 'cīrā hami *kāri kardi-ast* (!) why hast thou done such a work? — Cf. Wkh. *azi* such, *hazī* like that. V. Texts, V, 78.
- zār*: *zūd* Sk. to sweep. — V. *astar*, cf. Shgh. *zedār*, etc. V. § 63.
- zīd*: *zūst* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to flow, run. — *wēn be zīdū*, *wēn zūst* p. 2; *wēk zīden* p. 3 I let the water run, 'dwe *mērēzəm*. — Cf. Yd. *zayal*.
- zūy* Sgl. p. 1, s. raven, *zāy* (with red beak); *zā(y)* Sk. crow; *zāyčuk* Gr. chough. — Cf. Yd. *zāyo*.
- zō'žōlog* Sgl. p. 1 humble-bee. — < \**uz-gartaka*?
- zō'žēr* Sk. linen. — Prs. *zayir* linseed.
- zūkām* Sk. a cold ('another word exists'). — Ar.-Prs.
- zōl* Gr. sleeve of a garment. — Cf. Shgh. *zuž*, Or. *zū*, Sar. *zul*, id. < \**zūša*, Oss. *dis*, *dus* < \**dušā*, Sängisāri *dū'se* < \**daušaka*, \**dū°*, or *dušya°*, Prs. (B.Q.) *jušša* < \**zūš'yaka* (?). Derivation from Av. *zūš* 'pretty, ornament' seems improbable. Possibly < \**duš* (with *z* from *zasta*?), cf. Prs. *dōš*, and, with reduced vowel, Lett. *pa duse* armpit, breast of a garment. But \**dus-o*, with vowel gradation, from \**deus*/*dus* would have to be an extremely ancient formation.
- zile'žim* Sgl. p. 1, is. earthquake. — *zaminžəm* (q.v.) + *zilzila*.
- zāf* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *zōf* "Wkh." yellow. — Cf. Yd. *zīt*.
- zamb'ūr* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 wasp. — Prs.
- zō'mūd* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, "Wkh.", *ze°* s. son-in-law. — Cf. Yd. *zā'mai*.
- zema'nī* Sgl. s., *kurčūn zēmā'nī* is. chicken. — V. *zēma'nōk*.



zā'mīn Sgl. is., p., Ishk., Gr. field, earth;  
Sgl. p. 1 floor. — *zāmīn-əm kōndəm*  
p. 2; *cafur* z°-ō p. 2 I have four fields.  
— Prs.

zāma'nōk Sgl. is., p., "Wkh." boy; zā'man  
Sk., zāman Gr. (Zb.) child. — *mən*  
*xān kōvō zāma'nāk-ō* Sgl. p. 3; z°  
*tawālīd šīd* p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *zāmon*.

zāmīn'zēm Sgl. p. 2 earthquake. — Prs.  
*zāmīnjumb*. V. *zīl'e'zēm*.

zēmī'stān Sgl. is., *zēm*° p. 1, *zēm*° p. 2,  
*zāmī'stān* Ishk., *zē*° Sk. winter. —  
Prs.

zē'nē- Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, °ēy- p. 1, s., *zē'nūd*  
p. 1, s., *zē'ney*: *zē'nūd* Ishk., *zē'nay*:  
*zē'nūd* Sk. to wash. — *zē'nēm* Sgl. is.,  
*xē dōst zē'nēyen* p. 1; *wēn zē'nē!* p. 2;  
*zē'nūd-əm* p. 1; *zē'nayum*; *zē'nai*; *azi*  
*xe dust zē'nūd* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *zēnay*.

*zīn*, v. *zūng*.

*zīn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Sk. saddle. — *zē'rō-zīn*  
Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.

*'zīna* Ishk. ladder. — Prs.

*zīnda* Sgl. p. 2 alive. — *az* z°-mō. —  
Prs.

*zīndōgō'nī kēn* Sk. to live. — Prs.

*zīn'hōr 'bō zīn'hār* Sk. never(?). — Prs.

*zēnz* Sgl. p. 2, *zēnj* p. 3, *zēnz*: *zūyēd* Ishk.,

Sk., *zānz*: *zōyēd* Gr. to seize, catch,

lift up, take on one's back. — *zenzen*

Sgl. p. 1. — Cf. Shgh. *zēz*: *zāšt*, Or.

*zōz* to seize, Sogd. *zyt* to hold. Av.

*zaza-* (*haz-*) to get hold of (with

secondary nasalisation) does not ex-

plain *zūyēd*, etc., while Skr. *ud-ānc-*

'to lift, elevate' does not quite suit

the meaning of the Sogd. word. Cf.

also Saka *biysamj-* to grasp?

*zūng* Sgl., Gr., *zīn* Ishk.(?), *zūg* Sk., *zōng*  
Zar. knee. — Cf. Yd. *zīk*, Wkh. *zun*,  
etc.

*zūngvīš* Sgl. is. calf of the leg. — V. *viš*.

*zangiāk* Sgl. is. wooden pegs for keeping  
the two strings of a pellet-bow apart.

*zār* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. poison. — Prs.

*zōr* Sgl. p. 2 strong, powerful. — *az zōr-mō*  
'*ba sar-i tu zōr astim*'. — Prs.

*zard* Ishk., *zārd* Sk., *zord* Zar. yellow.  
— Prs.

*'zardak* Sgl. p. 2 carrot. — Prs.

*zar'dolu* Ishk. apricot. — Prs.

*ziāt* Sgl. p. 2 much. — Ar.-Prs.

*zōt* Sgl., *zus* Ishk., Gr., *zōs* son, *zāt* Gr.  
(Zb.) son. — *zōt paidā šīd*; *cafur*

*zōt-ō mēnēn* Sgl. p. 2. — Av. *zāda-*  
birth, Turf. Phl. *zhg* boy. V. § 37.

*zē'vūk* Sgl. p. 1, 2, °uk p. 3, *zē'vūk* is., s.,  
Zb., *zē'vōk* Ishk., °uk Sk. tongue,

language. — *tī zē'vūk pō'zinum* Sgl.

is.; *tō 'mēmā yāš 'kūnā zēvāk-d* Sk.

tell me if there is an ancient word.

— Cf. Yd. *zēvīy*. Also the Yazgh.,

Yaghn., Sogd., Oss. forms go back

to \**hizwāka* (> Saka \**hizwāka*).

\**hizwā* is retained in Shgh., etc. (*zev*)

and prob in Psht. (*šībo*), while Wkh.

*zīk* goes back to \**hizwāka*. S. and

W.Ir. have \**hizwān*, which is influenced

by *dantān*.

*zaxm* Sgl. p. 2, *zaxm* Sk. wound. — z°-o

*šōk*. — Ar.-Prs.

*zax'mī* Sgl. p. 2 wounded. — *az-mō* z°

*šōk*. — Ar.-Prs.

## Ž, Ž

*ža* Sgl. p. 2, *jē* p. 3 before, in front of.

— *az tū ža-mō 'pēš-i tē-im*; *tō mēn*

*ža-ōš 'tō pēš-i mā-s[ī]*; *aḏa āḏam tō*

*ḥ-ō* he is before thee; *oḃōš pādšā jē*

he came before the king; *is mēn jē*

'*pēš-i mā biā*'.

\* *žā'ok* Sgl. is., p. 1, *γucōk* "Wkh." male markhor; *žucōk* Gr. (Zb.) deer. — Cf. Yd. *mā-žucōk*?

*žāduk* Sk. murderer. — V. *žan*.

*žāla* Sgl. is., *°lā* p. 3, *žāla* p. 1, Sk., *j°* Zb., Ishk. hail. — Prs.

*žan*:- *žōd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *jan*:- *jođ* s., *žan*:- *žad* Sk. to kill. — *tōfa(k)* *žanen*; *az-om wa žōd 'ura kuštam'*; *ženāy-om žōd* I extinguished the fire; *va ženāi žan!* Sgl. p. 2; *wayim Xō'dā 'žanem*; *va-tō Xōdā-im žōd* p. 3. — Cf. Prs. *žadan*, etc.

*žān'žek* Sgl. is., *°žek* p. 1, 2, *žān'žek* p. 3, *žanjek* s. entrails. — Possibly < \**žānj-ek* < \**žarnači*, cf. Psht. *žanai*

catgut (with IE. \**gh*-, but cf. Lith. *žarnà*, Skr. *hirā* with \**gh*).

*žōšt* Sgl. is., p. big, large. — *am ādam cō mōčaf j/žōšt* is.; *am xān žōšt, hađ xān riziāk* p. 1; *cārvā cō vōz žōšt-ō* p. 2; *žōmanōk žōšt šīd* p. 3.

*žwondok* Sgl. p. 2, *žōn'dōk* p. 1, *žūnduk* Ishk., Sk., Gr. hungry. — *az ž°-mō* p. 2; *iculāi ž°-om vōd* p. 2; *az-im ž° žō'duk* Sk. — < \**a-j(i)wantaka*, cf. Skr. *a-jīvant*- destitute of a livelihood.

*žōndokī* Sgl. p. 2, *žāndāki* Gr. (Zb.) hunger, famine. — *yo ž° šīd* p. 2. — V. *žwondok*.

*žit* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *žic* p. 3, *žic* Ishk., *žic* (ž-?) "Wkh." coal. — Cf. Or. *žej*.

### List of Placenames.

*Inji'gān* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s. Lutkuh. Cf. Yd. — Mj. *Yidg*. — Leitner, Dardistan in 1895, map of the Chitral expedition, gives the form *Hingan*.

*Izi'vūk* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *Īz°* s. Zēbāk. — *Izivū* bē to Z.

*Baš'gal* Sgl. p. 2 the Bašgal valley in Nuristan.

*Čūtrād* Sgl. p. 3, *Čē'trāl* p. 2 Chitral. — V. *Šām*.

*Dō'rā* Sgl. p. 3, *Dēr'rā* p. 1 the Dorah Pass. *Flaxma'rig* Sgl. p. 3, *F'laxma'lik* s., *Flakhmarikh* Indian Survey, n. of a village in Sanglech.

*Faizō'bōd* Sgl. p. 2 Faizabad.

*Gōgōrd Dašt* Sgl. p. 2 n. of a place below Lake Dufferin.

*Gazke'stān* Sgl. p. 2 "The Tamarisk Place" (?), n. of a place near Lake Dufferin.

*Kāfēr'stān* Sgl. p. 2 Nuristan; *mō Kāfirēn* among the Kāfirs (of Lutkuh).

*Kō'stān* Sgl. p. 1, *Kō'estān* p. 2 Chitral.

*Kī'vī* Sgl. p. 1, 3 Chitrali. — Cf. Yd. *Kūa*, v. BSOS, VI, 441.

*Lān'dūr* Sgl. p. 3 n. of a place in Lutkuh below Shoghor.

*Mande'žān* Sgl. p. 2, s. Munjan; *Mande'žī* adj. p. 3. — Cf. BSOS, VI, p. 439.

*Pa'rōy* Sgl. p. 2 Kafir. — Cf. Yd. *Pōrāyo* Nuristan.

*Pōroy* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *Pōrōy* is., *Parch* Indian Survey, *Fareg* Burhan ud-Din, *Pōruy* Mj. n. of a village in Sanglech.

*Pōrūn* Sgl. p. 2 Parun, Prasun in Nuristan.

*Ški'tūl* Sgl. is., p. 3, s. (p. 3 also *°ūd*), *Skitūl* p. 2, *Iskitūl* Indian Survey, Curzon, *Isketul'* B.U.D. n. of a village in Sanglech. — < \**uska-γ*



*San'lēš* Sgl. p. 3, °ēš p. 2, °lē p. 1 (Prs. form?), *Sang'lēš* p. 1 *Sanglich* Ind. Survey, Curzon *Sanglech*. — *Caṅ'lēš* (= *c-San'lēš*) p. 2 from S. — Not with Herzfeld, AMI, VII, p. 59 < M.Prs. *saxvališ(ā)n*, *saxvalicān*.

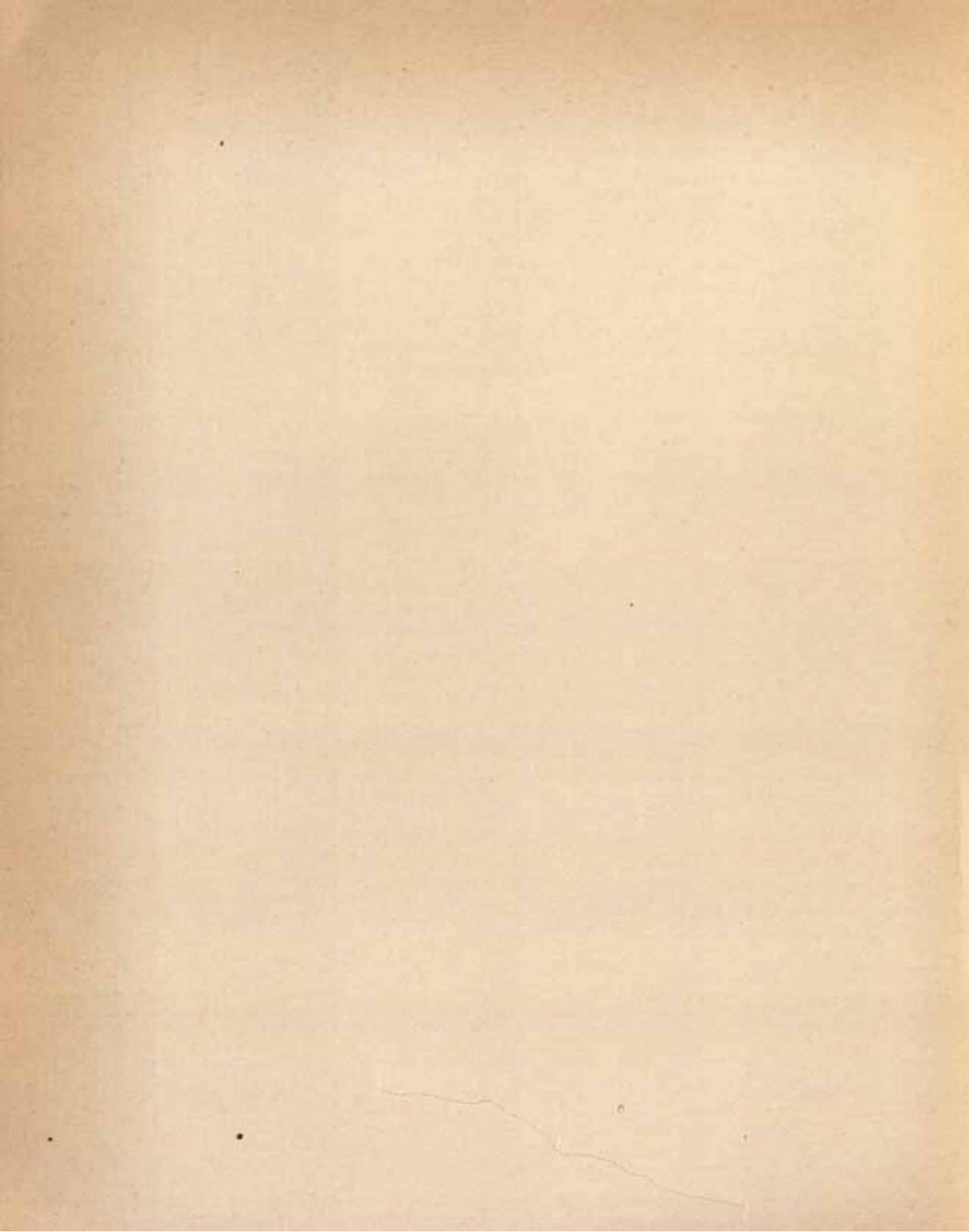
*Šo'ṛot* Sgl. p. 3, s. Shoghor in Lutkuh. — Cf. Yd. *Šo'royo*.

*Škāsīm* Zb., *Škāšm* Ishk. Ishkashim.

— Cf. Anc. Chin. \**Sək-ka-šjem* (v. Marquardt, *Ērānshahr*, p. 224), Beruni *سكاشم*.

*Šām-Čatrāš* Sgl. s. Chitral. — Cf. BSOS VI, p. 440.

*Xōza* *Nimkū Sar'vār* Sgl. p. 1 Terich Mer in Chitral. — Cf. 'Tiraj Mīr or Sarowar', Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, quoted by Stein, Serindia, I, p. 51.





WAKHI





## INTRODUCTION

1. Our chief source of information about Wakhi is still R. B. Shaw's valuable, but of course incomplete and now in several ways insufficient, account.<sup>1</sup> The LSI. (Vol. X) adds further to our knowledge of this linguistically important dialect, besides giving a complete bibliography up to the date of the publication of the volume. To this I refer once for all. Recently S. I. Klimchitskiy has published some Wakhi texts, together with a short vocabulary and important notes on phonology and morphology.<sup>2</sup> A few Wakhi words are also given by Zarubin in his *Munji Vocabulary*,<sup>3</sup> and some remarks of a general nature are found in my *Rep. N.W. Ind.*, pp. 67 sqq.

Still no comprehensive account of Wakhi has been published, and since Geiger's short survey<sup>4</sup> no attempt has been made to trace the historical development of the language. The following notes may therefore, it is hoped, in spite of the insufficiency of the new material on which they are based, be of some use for the understanding of one of the most archaic, and at the same time most peculiar, of living Ir. dialects.

2. The material utilized for the following account of Wakhi has been collected by the late Dr. Sköld, by Lt. Colonel Lorimer, and by myself.

During my stay in Chitral 1929 I had occasion to interrogate

<sup>1</sup> On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhi and Sarikoli), JASB. 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Ваханские тексты, in Труды Таджикстанской язы, том III, лингвистика pp. 75—124; изд. Академия Наук СССР, 1936.—I did not see this article till my own account of Wkh. had already been written, and I have only been able to insert a few references to it.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 3, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Gr.Ir.Ph.* I, 2.

four inhabitants or natives of Wakhan, but each of them only for a very short time.

My informants were:

1. *Nabī*, a young man from Namadgūt in Russian territory. He was born in Zebak, but had been brought up in Wakhan and had lived most of his life and had married there. He asserted that he had learnt Wakhi as his first language.<sup>1</sup> Although his language was evidently Wkh., it was much mixed with Ishk. words. N.
2. A man from Wark, on the Afghan side of the river. His language was not really Wkh., but a kind of Ishk.—Sgl. interspersed with Wkh. words. The small number of grammatical forms noted were all Ishk.—Sgl. Thus *a'ze* 'I', *tə'fak* 'thee', *tumux* 'you', *kenen* 'I do'.<sup>2</sup> As remarked above<sup>3</sup> the Sgl.—Ishk. words given by W in the great majority of cases present the characteristic archaisms of the Sgl. dialect, thus, e.g. *ū* for Ishk. *ī* in *pūš*, *kurčūn*, *ō* for Ishk. *d* in *kiskūō*, *zəmūō*, etc. W.
3. *Alī Shāh* a 30—40 years old inhabitant of Khandūt. He admitted that he had lived for some time in Hunza, and, in spite of his assertion, I do not feel certain that he was really a native of Wakhan. He used several Khow. and other IA. words, and his pronunciation of Wkh. was in some respects incorrect or vacillating. X.  
—Regarding the sounds of Wkh. he quoted a Prs. proverb: *Fārsi hunar, Arab šakar, Waxi tinz-i-xar.*
4. *Shāh Nawāz Khān*, a village headman, about 50 years old, from Yamg in Russian territory. He was by far my best, and probably my only quite reliable, Wkh. informant. Unfortunately Y.  
I could only work with him for a few, short sessions.
5. Dr. Sköld's Wakhi material<sup>4</sup> consists of a list of words and a list of verbs corresponding to those given by Hjuler. He also gives a few Sk.

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Stein, Innermost Asia, II, p. 871, "Namadgut, though inhabited by Wakhis . . . is reckoned as belonging to Ishkashm."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rep. N.W. Ind., p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Ishk.—Sgl. § 8.

<sup>4</sup> V. Preface.



paradigms of verbs. I have not come across any information in his papers as to name(s) or home-village(s) of his informant or informants.

6. Colonel Lorimer with great kindness has permitted me to make full use of the copious vocabulary which he compiled from Wakhi settlers in Hunza in 1935. At the time when his vocabulary was placed at my disposal, I had already worked out my own, and I have only inserted a limited number of such words which appeared to be of special interest from the point of view of historical and comparative linguistics. Col. Lorimer's valuable Wkh. material will, I hope, be published in full.

3. The geography and history of Wakhan has been dealt with by several authors.<sup>1</sup>

It has since long been recognized that the name of *Xandūt*, the largest village in Wakhan, is represented by the Ancient Chinese form *xu-m-d'â-tâ*,<sup>2</sup> given by Hsüan-Tsang. It is also possible that Hsüan-Tsang's *Hu-mi* (*γuo-mjet*) may be identical with the modern village of *Yamit* (< \**Hamit(i)*?).

The Prs. names for the valley and its language, *Waxân* and *Waxi*, are evidently related to the native forms *Wuġ* 'Wakhan', *Āik* 'Wakhi' (language and inhabitant).<sup>3</sup> *Āik* is a curtailed form of \**W(u)ġ-ik*, and *Wuġ* may be derived from \**Waxšu*, with the development of *xš* mentioned below. This sound-change appears to be of some antiquity, since it is reflected not only in Hsüan-Tsang's name for the river *U-hu* (*uo-xuo*),<sup>4</sup> but also in Skt. *Vokkāna*, *Bhokkāna*,<sup>5</sup> and in Mas'ūdī's *Auxān* = *Waxān*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marquardt, *Ēranšahr*, passim; Olufsen, In the unknown Pamirs; Stein Innermost Asia, II, pp. 863 sqq., On ancient Central Asian tracks, pp. 311 sqq. [Cf. now also *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, ed. Minorsky.—Corr. note].

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Karlgren's reconstruction.

<sup>3</sup> Acc. to Sköld *Šik* is used in E. Wakhan.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Marquardt, *Ēranšahr*, p. 244.

<sup>5</sup> *Kṣemendra*, *Avadānakalpalatā* (transl. into Chinese 472 A.D.).—*Vakṣu*, Var.Br.S. and *Vaṅkṣu* M.Bh. 'Oxus', cf. Tib. *Pakṣu* (Tanjur Colophon, acc. to Lévi, J.A. 1933, p. 27) may have been borrowed from some other Ir. dialect.

<sup>6</sup> Marqu., *Ēranšahr*, p. 235. Cf. *ibid.* p. 234 about *Waxab* and *Waxšab*.

The derivation of the Burushaski name for a Wakhi *Guvits*, pl. *Guvirco*<sup>1</sup> is unknown.

4. The extent of the ancient fortifications in Wakhan, the ruins of which have been investigated by Stein,<sup>2</sup> and the description given by Hsuan-Tsang point to the existence of "an earlier population and resources far greater than those of to-day".

The present population of Russian Wakhan is estimated by Stein at some 3000 souls, living in about 200 households,<sup>3</sup> and by Klimchitskiy at 5000. On the Afghan side of the river the population appears to be more numerous, according to Minorsky there are 3500 inhabitants, living in 64 villages and hamlets.<sup>4</sup>

5. Among the inhabitants of Wakhan there are some Munji and Shughni settlers who do not speak Wakhi.<sup>5</sup>

But on the other hand the hardy Wakhis, accustomed to living at high altitudes, have in recent times overflowed into the upper parts of nearly all the neighbouring valleys, and have established themselves above the settlements of the older inhabitants. In some cases permanent immigration has been preceded by exploitation of summer pastures and of local supplies of fire-wood.

The Wakhi settlements in the Yarkhun valley in Chitral have been described by Stein,<sup>6</sup> and Colonel Schomberg<sup>7</sup> informs us that several villages in the Ishkoman valley in the Gilgit agency contain

<sup>1</sup> Lorimer, *Bur. Grammar*, I, Intr. pp. IV and XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Innermost Asia*, II, p. 869; *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, pp. 311 sqq. —Stein is evidently right in rejecting Olufsen's hypothesis that these "Kafir" forts were built by raiders belonging to the Shaposh-Kafirs of Kafiristan (Olufsen, *Through the unknown Pamirs*, pp. 176 sqq.).

<sup>3</sup> *On Anc. Centr. As. Tracks*, p. 311. In *Innermost Asia*, II, p. 869 another estimate is mentioned, which agrees with that of Minorsky (*Enzykl. d. Islam*, s.v. Wakhan), who counts 27 villages with 2000 inhabitants. Acc. to Olufsen, *op. cit.* p. 56, there are 172 households in Russian Wakhan, including Namadgut.

<sup>4</sup> From Burhan-ud-Din, Badakhshan i Kattagan, p. 154. Acc. to Bud-Din there are 27 villages in Russian Wakhan.

<sup>5</sup> Gauthiot, *MSL*, XIX, p. 133 f.; Olufsen, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> *Serindia*, I, p. 56; cf. also *Rep. N.W.Ind.*, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> *From the Indus to the Oxus*, pp. 81 sqq.



a strong, but recently immigrated Wakhi element. The Wakhi settlements in upper Hunza, including the Shingshal valley, are mentioned by several authors,<sup>1</sup> but the most detailed account of them is given by Lorimer<sup>2</sup> who estimates the number of Hunza Wakhis at 2411. Stein<sup>3</sup> mentions Wakhis living at Dafdar in Sarikol, and Dr. Jarring has kindly informed me that according to information received by him from an inhabitant of Guma, on the upper reaches of the Yarkand Darya, Wakhis had settled in the hills south of that place about 60 years ago, and use to come down to the weekly market, speaking a language of their own.<sup>4</sup>

Finally it may be mentioned that there is a village called Shund near the hot geysir in the Garm Chashma valley in Shughnan. There can scarcely be any doubt that this name is identical with the Wakhi word *sundr* 'hot', but it is not certain that it indicates the presence of Wakhis, at any rate not in modern times.

It is impossible to calculate the exact number of speakers of Wakhi, but we may perhaps guess that it lies somewhere about 10—15000.

6. There is nothing in written records, oral traditions or place-names which points to an immigration of Wakhis into Wakhan in historical times. We are not able to decide how long the language has been spoken in its present home, but all circumstances seem to indicate that Wakhi, in its essentials, is derived from the dialect of the very earliest wave of Ir. settlers in these regions, and that it has developed in relative isolation for a considerable period. This does not exclude the possibility that Wakhi may once have been ousted from other

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Stein, *Sandburied Cities*, p. 42; Schomberg, *op. cit.*, p. 215; Conway *Climbing in the Karakoram*, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Burushaski Gramm.*, Intr. pp. IV, XXXIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandburied Cities*, p. 64; *Innermost Asia*.

<sup>4</sup> Acc. to Jarring Pakhpas also are living near Guma, and besides at Kōk-yar, in Karatagh, and in the neighbourhood of Karghalik. The Turks believe that they speak Persian among themselves.—They do not appear to be Wakhis.

valleys by later immigrants, nor that the language may have been strongly affected by the admixture of other Ir. elements. The intricacies of Wakhi phonetical development can in fact only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that an assimilation of foreign elements, similar to that which we can observe to-day, has been going on for centuries.

7. The isolated position of Wakhi among the neighbouring Ir. dialects is shown by a number of phonetical, morphological, and lexicological peculiarities.

Wakhi alone among the surrounding Ir. dialects preserves intervocalic surd stops and—at least to some extent—*š*, changes surd fricatives to stops (also in groups with *r*), assimilates *rn* > *r*, does not change *sn-* into *zn-*, or *šm* > *m*, and develops a mixed vowel from ancient *ā*. Note also the Saka—Wkh. development of IE *k̑w* > *š*.

In the field of morphology may be mentioned the very peculiar forms of the personal pronouns, the infinitives and past participles containing an *n*, and the existence of *three* stems in some verbs. Note also the preservation of the ancient meaning of the root *baw-* in *vitt* 'became'.

The astonishing originality of Wakhi vocabulary will appear from the following short list of the more remarkable words not found in the neighbouring dialects.<sup>1</sup>

Nouns: *avārt* span, *bərin* knee, *bispür* eagle, *čərm(ū)* canal, *dəger* nail, *dʷrukš* bull, *dröst* sleeve, *ḍai* man, *ḍuri* stack, *ḍus* wasp, *ḍetk* brick, *kaš* boy, *mingas* sparrow, *mür* cloud, *nayd* night, *noyordum* bear, *pʷrčōd* girl, *pert* back, *pürz* evening, *regiš* beard, *röyat* young she-goat, *ramet* chewing the cud, *rip* hair, *rešip* whip, *rəwār* day, *rešip* whip, *skid* skull-cap, *skörd* bridge, *sʷpərdänj* flea, *šönd* raven, *šafš* hair, *šung* wood, *šapt* wolf, *tap* wing, *wədek* road, *vöin* light, *wrokš* Ovis Poli, *wuč* arrow, *wundr* field, *wānj* belly, *wuner* stable, *wiyin* pass, *yijin* felt, *yukš* male ibex, *yūmj* flour, *yinōt* dream, *yārgəl* finger, *yirk* barley, *yisp* shoulder, *yışək* plough-handle, *yaž* twig, *yičün* bridle, *zem* snow, *zaž* thorn, *žärž* milk, *žitr* woollen thread.

<sup>1</sup> For further details v. Voc., passim.



Adjectives: *baf* good, *γaf* much, *γeš* male, *ruzn* white, *sitrīn* barren, *šundr* hot, *šəyd* new, *šix* near.

Adverbs and Pronouns: *sak* we, *sāist* you, *v̄rōk* to-morrow, *wūd* to-day.

Verbs: *būt-* to overthrow, *car-* to do, *čalg-* to wish, *čərm-* to enter, *dedij-* to look at, *gafs-* to run, *γat-* to arrive, *hūmū-* to be, *kšūy-* to hear, *liv-* to slip, *nesi-* to lie down, *nezd-* to sit down, *pəðameš-* to swell, *permər-* to wither, *pūrind-* to sell, *pūtmūi-* to mimic, *rəč-* to go, *rand-* to give, *rasūd-* to break, *režup-* to sleep, *šand-* to mix, *tu-* to be, *vidāw-* to ride, *wāc-* to become, *wəzi-* to come, *žān-* to speak, *yāđ-* to pile up, *yūnd-* to carry, *yāw-* to eat, *yawer-* to select, *yāž-* to bear, *zūbed-* to burst, etc., etc.

8. But although Wkh. possesses a greater number of peculiar traits than most other Ir. languages, it naturally agrees with one or other of the neighbouring dialects on special points. None of these resemembrances, however, amounts to a special relationship between Wkh. and some other language together with which it might be said to form a group.

An ancient and important isoglott which unites Wkh. with Saka is the development of IE *k̑w* into *š* (*śś*).<sup>1</sup> We also find some lexical accordances between the two languages, cf. Voc. s.vv. *đai* and *hūmū-*. But the retention of intervocalic tennes, the development of *θr*, *θw*, *-š-*, the forms of the personal pronouns, and several other important traits separate Wkh. from Saka.

9. The special points of resemblance between Wkh. and Mj.—Yd. are mainly restricted to a number of words containing *l < đ*.<sup>2</sup> Some of these words may have penetrated into Wkh. through the contact with Munji settlers in Wakhan, but in several cases the Wkh. forms do not correspond to the Mj. ones. Thus we find Wkh. *malung* 'middle', but Yd. *malanē*, Wkh. *žil* 'sweat', but Yd. *xāl*; Wkh.w *lānd*<sup>3</sup> 'tooth', but Mj. of Wakhan *lāt* (Gauthiot). It is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. Reichelt, Idg. Jahrbuch, I.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 69. Cf. also Gauthiot, MSL, XIX, pp. 133 sqq., and Rep. N.W.Ind., p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> If correct.

perhaps possible that some Wkh. words with  $l < \delta$  may have come from Saraghlani (or Saraghlami?), a dialect which is at present separated from Wkh. by Ishk., but which may perhaps at an earlier date have been in direct contact with it. One of the three Saraghlani words given by Zarubin<sup>1</sup> is *wolike* 'water', cf. Yd. *wolo*, Mj. *wēla* 'irrigation channel', etc.<sup>2</sup>

And among the place-names from the Saraghlani (Sarghulami) district given by Burhan-ud-din<sup>3</sup> we find *Melengau* or *Melengab* as the name of a village situated on the middle one of three tributaries of the Zardiv river. We shall hardly be wrong if we identify *meleng* with Wkh. *malung* 'middle', and *au*, *ab* with Prs. *āb*.<sup>4</sup>

10. With the Shgh. group Wkh. shares the important suffix *-ung/-enj*, the development of the prefix *fra-* into *re-*, *ra-*, and a number of words, especially verbs. As might be expected, the accordances are most numerous between Wkh. and Sarikoli, the only member of the Shgh. group which is not separated from Wkh. by other, intervening, communities.

In some cases the Sar. word has apparently been borrowed from Wkh., ancient or modern. Thus, Sar. *sic* (but Shgh. *sej*) 'needle' < Wkh. *sic*; Sar. *xiðp* 'wolf' < Wkh. *šapt* (< \**šap'd*, in its turn from Khow. \**šapið* > *šapīr*); Sar. *kauk* 'spring' < Wkh. *kik* (< \**kōk*); Sar. *gažnez* 'earring' (but *yaul* 'ear') < Wkh. *gišniz* (*yiš* 'ear'); Sar. *wišk* 'calf' < Wkh. *wušk* (< \**wasyaka*); Sar. *imbat* 'to overthrow' < Wkh. *būt* (< \**ambut-*), etc.

Other Sar. words which have probably been borrowed from or influenced by Wkh. are: *reb* 'hair on the body', *yaž* 'ibex', *indij*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 24, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning given by Zar. may be due to some misunderstanding.

<sup>3</sup> Kattagan i Badaxšan, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Other Saraghl. place-names containing *l* are *Lučiv* and *Garaliv* (غزاليو). *-iv* may be the ancient obl. pl. ending. Unfortunately our knowledge of Saraghl. is restricted to these place-names and the three words given by Zarubin. Repeated endeavours to get hold of some information about the dialect through local officials have so far not proved successful, in spite of the kind interest shown by the Ministry of Education in Kabul and the Afghan Legation in London.



'slave', *zamān* (but Shgh. *žani*), etc.) 'snow', *pamez*- 'to dress' (but Shgh. *peniz*-): Wkh. *rip*, *yukš*, *andag*, *zem*, *pamec*. Some of the Sar. words given by Shaw as corresponding to Wkh. ones, may of course turn up in some other dialect of the Shgh. group. But it is safe to say that the contact between Wkh. and Sar. has been specially close. The profound differences which in many respects exist between Wkh. and the Shgh. group show, however, that the actual accordances are due more to secondary contact than to ancient relationship. On the whole Wkh. has been the influencing part, no doubt because Wakhis have settled in Sarikol from early times, but at least a few Wkh. words appears to be of Sar. origin: *žerač* 'knot' < Sar. *žereč* (with *ž*- < *g*-, characteristic of the Shgh. group); *sudj* 'smooth'; *rau* 'flame'. Cf. also § 30.

11. Also Ishk.—Sgl. presents a few instances of special lexical correspondence with Wkh. Cf. e.g. Wkh. *ktič* 'hut': Ishk. *krič*;<sup>1</sup> Wkh. *p<sup>2</sup>zöv* 'heart': Sgl. *övzui*, etc.; Wkh. *goč*- 'to do': Sgl. *gax*-; Wkh. *niviz*- 'to go out': Sgl. *nēz*-; Wkh. *pōv*- 'to drink': Sgl. *pōv*-; Wkh. *škāv*- 'to catch a cold': Ishk. *škōv*-; Wkh. *wūzəm*- 'to bring': Sgl. *žim*-, and other words.<sup>2</sup> Note also that Wkh. *žamak* 'moon' agrees with Ishk.—Sgl. and Mj.—Yd., but not with the Shgh. group. Some of the correspondences mentioned above are no doubt due to recent borrowing,<sup>3</sup> but others, such as *p<sup>2</sup>zöv/övzui*, indicate a certain amount of contact at an early date.

There are, however, no phonetical changes common to Wkh. and Sgl.—Ishk.,<sup>4</sup> and only a small number of special morphological correspondences.<sup>5</sup> The loss of the ancient distinction of gender<sup>6</sup> is common to Wkh. and Sgl.—Ishk., but it is also found in the neighbouring IA. language Khowar.

<sup>1</sup> But v. Sgl.—Ishk. § 22.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in Sköld's material (from W. Wakhan?).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Voc. s.v. *xədörg*, *fril*-, *kalibən*.

<sup>4</sup> Note, e.g., Wkh. *srtāč*, but Sgl. *wuznūl* < \**snušā*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the abs. gen. in -*an*, and the 2 pl. in -*əv* common to Sgl.—Ishk. and Western Wkh.

<sup>6</sup> V. § 105.

- On the whole it seems probable that Sgl.—Ishk. belongs to a later wave of Ir. settlers than Wkh., and that this latter language must be considered to form a separate branch of the north-eastern Ir. dialects.
12. The numerous Prs. lw.s in Wkh. need not detain us here. Their exact provenience, phonetical appearance, relative date, etc., present many interesting problems, which must, however, be discussed in connection with a general survey of the expansion of Persian in Tajikistan, Badakhshan and the Pamirs. The extreme variety of pronunciation of many Prs. lw.s points to repeated borrowing of the same words from various sources.—One example of double borrowing may be mentioned here: According to Sköld there exists, besides the naturalized loan-word *xalg* 'person, man, people (люди) (coll.)', also a more recent and 'literary' word *xalq* 'nation (народ)'. Also the provenience of the Turkish lw.s, many of which are common to Wkh. and Sar.,<sup>1</sup> must be left to be studied by the specialist. I have not been able to detect any words of undoubtedly Burushaski origin in Wkh.,<sup>2</sup> and the derivation of *för* 'walnut' from Tibetan<sup>3</sup> is highly improbable.
13. There are a few IA. lw.s in Wkh., the exact source of which cannot be determined. Thus: *čkar* 'partridge', *mutr* 'augury', and possibly *kend* 'woman'. Also a number of words containing a cerebral sound are probably of IA. origin. Examples are: *čat* 'horned cattle' (Sar. *čāt*); *čuṭ* *car-* 'to tear asunder'; *kaṭ-* 'to throw'; *kəṭ* 'short'; *qaṭ* 'mucus'; *kuṭōl* 'dagger'; *mōṇ* (?) 'male oorial'; *māṇḍ-* 'to rub' (v. s.v. *mānd-*); *paṭ* 'penis'; *peṭ* 'round'; *pṭok* 'bread'; *pəṇḍək* 'unripe apricots', etc., regarding which cf. Voc. s.vv.—There is also a curious, but possibly accidental, similarity between Wkh. *mingas*, etc. and the Kati-Kafiri words for 'sparrow'.

<sup>1</sup> V. Shaw's Voc. *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> As for Wkh. lw.s in Bur., cf. my Preface to Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, I, p. XXIV.—Add Bur. *diščik* (Conway *dishtik*) 'brick', v. § 73.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.



14. I have found no certain Shina lw.s in Wkh.,<sup>1</sup> but from Khovar are borrowed *türt* 'ford' (Khow. *thürt*); *šiven* 'rope' (Khow. *šimēn*); *šapt* 'wolf', Sar. *xiðp* (< \**šapið* > Khow. *šapir*). The number of lw.s from Khovar is, however, very restricted.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore most surprising that Wkh. should have borrowed the personal pronoun 1 pl. *spā* 'us' from Khow. *ispa* (< \**spā*), and probably also *sav*, *sab* 'you' from Khow. *bisa* (< \**bsā* < \**vasā*). Also the occurrence of a cerebral *č* is probably due to Khow. influence.<sup>3</sup>

What renders the borrowing of Khow. pronouns into Wkh. all the more astonishing is the fact that Wkh., which at any rate in our days is the language of the poorer and politically and culturally less important community, has supplied Khow. with a considerable number of lw.s. It is not always easy to distinguish Khow. words of Wkh. origin from those belonging to other Ir. dialects, but in some cases there can be no doubt about Wkh. being the immediate source of the Khow. words.<sup>4</sup>

Examples are: Khow. *wxār* 'ladder'; *andāw* 'fever'; *do'yūr* 'finger-nail'; *ri'giš* 'beard'; *šax'gūr* 'entrails'; *šonthu* 'raven'; *xēl* 'sweat'; *pāz* 'breast'; *zox*, *jox* 'thorn': Wkh. *waxār*, *andav*, *dəgar*, *regiš*, *šəngər*, *šōnd*, *žil*, *pūz*, *zax*. Also Khow. *isprāsk* 'rafter'; *isprū* 'flower'; *bizbār* 'eagle, kite'; *axam-* 'to descend'; *kišipi* 'magpie'; *nošk* 'beak'; *yož* 'ice' may be of Wkh. origin; cf. *sipask*; *spray*; *bispür*; *žām*; *kiržepč*; *nüčk*; *yaz*. It is also tempting to derive Khow. *supuk*, Wershikwar *sapa* 'hoof', Burush. *sap* 'horseshoe' from a lost Wkh. form with *p* < *f*. On the other hand, Khow. *sar-* 'to appear' and *vor* 'smell' (Wkh. *südüy*, *vül*) may have come from any E.Ir. dialect, and it is impossible to tell whether Khow. *šā* 'black' has been borrowed from an older form of Wkh. *šiu*, or of Ishk. *šui*. There are also several words common to Khow. and Wkh. the origin of which is altogether unknown.

<sup>1</sup> As for Shina *lišfik* 'brick' < \*Wkh., cf. § 73.

<sup>2</sup> The Khow. words given by Wkh. x., excepted. They are, at the utmost, used within a very limited circle of Wakhi speakers.

<sup>3</sup> Note, on the other hand, the striking difference in the treatment of ancient *kue* > Wkh. *š*, but Khow. *šp*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BSOS. VIII, pp. 261 sqq.

15. The crossborrowing between Wkh. and Khow. can hardly have been conditioned merely by scanty communication across the Hindu Kush passes, or by the slight and apparently quite recent contact between the two languages in the Yarkhun valley.

We know that the Khos won Chitral proper from the Kalashas at a comparatively recent date, and that their original home—original of course to be taken in a relative sense—was Upper Chitral, the valleys round Mastuj.<sup>1</sup> Also the Kho settlements east of the Shandur Pass, in the Ghizr district of Gilgit agency, may be fairly ancient. We are therefore entitled to assume as a possibility that the Khos in early times may also have crossed the easy saddle of the Baroghil Pass and occupied at least some part of Wakhan, mingling with the Ir. Wakhis coming from the West.

But this remains a matter of speculation as long as no further documents are found which may throw light upon the early history of the Khos.

16. It is very probable that dialectical differences should exist within the extensive territory in which Wkh. is spoken. But so far very little is known about such variations. Differences of pronunciation, especially of vowels, are frequent in the available sources, but it is not possible to assign them to different parts of Wakhan. It may, however, be mentioned that Wkh.y., in accordance with Klimchitskiy's, Hjuler's, and Sköld's informants, used forms in *-əv* for the 2 pl. of verbs, while Wkh.x., Shaw, Stein and LSI had *-it*. The western neighbours of Wkh., Sgl.—Ishk. and Mj.—Yd., have *-əf*, but Sar. and Shgh. have *-id*. It may therefore be surmised that an isoglott separating W.Wkh. from E.Wkh. passes between the villages of Yamg and Khandut. Similarly Sköld and Klimchitskiy give *kərt* 'did' (cf. Wkh.y. *kerk* 'has done') while Shaw has the more regular form *cart*. Also the variation between intervocalic *-d-* and *-d̥-* may be of a local nature, *-d̥-* possibly belonging to W.Wakhan, where influence from Ishk. might be suspected. As for the forms of the infinitive v. § 157 sq.

<sup>1</sup> As for the ancient name of this region cf. BSOS. VI, p. 441.



## PHONETIC SYSTEM

17. For reasons explained above<sup>1</sup> only one of my Wkh. informants, viz. Wkh. y., can be relied upon with regard to the phonetical structure of the language. In the main Y's sounds agree with those given by Shaw, Sköld, Lorimer and Klimchitskiy. Discrepancies, especially in the pronunciation of vowels, may either be due to dialectical and individual variation or to inexact notation.

### *Consonants.*

18.

	Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive . . . . .	<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>t̪, &lt;d̪&gt;</i> <sup>2</sup>		<i>k, g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate . . . . .		<i>c, (j)</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>č</i>	<i>č, j</i>			
Fricative . . . . .	<i>f, v</i>	<i>(θ),<sup>3</sup> ð</i>			<i>χ, ʁ</i>	<i>x, γ</i>	<i>h</i>
Sibilant . . . . .		<i>s, z</i>	<i>š, ž</i>	<i>š, ž</i>			
Nasal . . . . .	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>[ŋ]</i> <sup>4</sup>		<i>[ŋ]</i> <sup>4</sup>		
Lateral . . . . .		<i>l</i>	<i>&lt;l&gt;</i> <sup>2</sup>				
Rolled . . . . .		<i>r</i>					
Semivowels . . . . .	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

<sup>1</sup> § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Not used by Y.

<sup>3</sup> Very rare.

<sup>4</sup> Not a separate phoneme.

19. The consonant system of Wkh. appears, as far as it is possible to judge from our present limited knowledge of the language, to be based upon the following correlations:

1. Voiced: *b, d, (ḍ), g, (j), ĵ, v, ḍ, ṛ, γ, z, ẓ, Ẕ.*

Surd: *p, t, ṭ, k, c, č, f, θ, ʃ, x, s, š, ʂ.*

There are no voiced counterparts of *q* and *č*, and *ḍ* and *j* are rare and uncertain phonemes. The great number of correlations of voice in Wkh. are worth noticing.

2. Plosive: *p, b, t, d, k, g, q.*

Fricative: *f, v, θ, ḍ, ʃ, ṛ, x.<sup>1</sup>*

3. Plosive: *t, d, ṭ, ḍ.*

Sibilant: *s, z, š, ẓ.*

But *š* and *ẓ* have no plosive counterparts.

4. Plosive: *t, d, ṭ.*

Affricative: *c, (j), č.*

A very fragmentary group of correlations.

5. Plosive: *p/b, t/d, ṭ/(ḍ), k/g.*

Nasal: *m, n, (ṇ) [ŋ].*

6. Labial: *p, b, m, f, v*

Dental: *t, d, n, θ, ḍ, c, (j), s, z.*

Retroflex: *ṭ, ḍ, ṇ, č, š, ẓ.*

Palatal: *č, ĵ, š, ẓ.*

Velar: *k, g, [ŋ], ʃ, ṛ.*

Uvular: *q, x, γ.*

Aspiration of surd stops has been noted occasionally in Y: *k'ōm* 'palate' (Bell. *khom*); *p'ūn* 'palm' (Bell. *phūn*); *p'ūz* 'breast'. Cf. X *k'āla* 'ram'; *p'ūd* X 'foot'; *p'ānz* N 'five'; *k'ənd* Sk. 'wife'. But it seems to be much less marked than in most other Pamir dialects.

20. *Labials*: *f* and *v* are labio-dentals. *w* is a bilabial semi-vowel.<sup>2</sup>

*Dentals*: The voiced affricate *j* is very rare. I heard it only in *jəi* 'bowstring' (L. *j/zēi*). Kl. gives also *jūṛ* 'yak' and *jəqlāi* 'small'

<sup>1</sup> Either *γ*, or (if *x, γ* are taken to be velar sounds) *q* is without a counterpart.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Kl. a bilabial, voiced "sonant".



(Sh. and Sk. also *j*). But Wkh. y., etc. *zəka'lai*. The numeral 'five' has *j* acc. to Sk., Kl. and Z., but Sh. and my informants had *pānz*, etc.

It is doubtful whether postvocalic *d* and *ð* are separate phonemes. Wkh. y. always has *-d*.

*ð* is of rare occurrence, especially in non-initial position (cf. Voc. s.vv. *pīðu* L., *yoð* L.). Phonetically *r* is alveolar.

*Palatals*: *y* is phonetically nearly a fricative.

*Cerebrals*: Y had initial *t̪* only in *t̪ör* 'walnut' and no examples of *q̪*. This may, however, be due to accident. Kl. gives *q̪* also in initial position. *ŋ* is a variant of *n* before *q̪* (*pəŋq̪ək* Sk. 'bud', *māŋd-* 'to rub', but Y *mānd-*). Independent *ŋ* was heard only in the pronunciation of W, and not with certainty true Wkh.

Kl. gives two words with *ʃ*. I never heard this sound.—To my ear *š*, *ž* and *č* were retroflex sounds, and Kl. also at first took them to be "cerebrals". Afterwards he had the pronunciation of the Wkh. sounds analysed by Ščerba, who comes to the conclusion that *š* is dorsal and resembles Engl. *sh*, while *ž* is coronal and akin to Russ. *ž*. I have not the slightest doubt that this analysis is phonetically more correct than Kl.'s and my own (which was based on a very short observation). But I am still inclined to believe that the *š* series *phonologically* belongs to the retroflex sounds, and the *ž* series to the palatals. Kl. groups the *š* sounds with the dentals as 'dorsals', and the *ž* sounds together with *r* as 'coronals'.

It did not always seem easy to distinguish the two series of *š* and *ž* sounds, nor *š* from *š̌* (or *š̈́*, *š̈́* from *x*, *γ*), and considerable variations are found in the different sources. But in the great majority of cases my notation of Y's pronunciation agrees with Kl., and usually also with Sk. There can at any rate be no doubt about the existence of three separate series. Cf. e.g.: *diš-*, *dišt* Y, X, Sk., Kl. 'to know'; *dāšt* X, Sk., Kl. 'plain': *xāš-*, *xāšt* Y, Kl. 'to pull' (but *-š* Sh., Sk.); *ništ* Y, *nəyāšt* Kl. 'went out': *Wuž* Y, Kl. 'Wakhan'; *gož-*, *gožt* Y, X, Kl., etc. 'to do'.

A 'cerebral' *l̥* is used in a few words by X, and a similar sound is probably denoted by L's *l̥*.

*Velars*: I have followed Kl. in grouping *ṣ*, *ṣ̣* with the velars, and *x*, *ɣ* with the uvular *q*, although I am not certain about the correctness of this classification. Acc. to Kl. *x* is akin to Russ. *x*, and identical with Shgh. etc. *ṣ* (= *ṣ̣*). To my ear Shgh. *ṣ̣* has much more of the *ṣ̣* character than Wkh. *ṣ̣*, which appeared to me to be a slightly advanced *x* (something between German *ach* and *ich*, but more allied to the former sound).

*ŋ* is not a separate phoneme, but a variant of *n* before *g*.<sup>1</sup>

*Glottal*: In spite of Kl.'s remarks to the contrary I believe that *h*, at any rate in the speech of Y, must be considered as a phoneme, but one with a very limited range of employment and very unstable. It is chiefly found in initial position.

21. Final voiced consonants usually become unvoiced. Thus, e.g.: *riç̣*, *ruç̣*, *rūç̣*, *yāç̣*, *yirç̣*, *tux̣*, *pəɽ̣*, *səḳ*, *skōɽ̣*, *naɽ̣*, *faɽ̣*, *qəɽ̣*.

Wakhi possesses a geminated *tt* (common in preterital forms), and to some extent *kk*, perhaps also other geminates.

### Groups of Consonants.

22. Groups of consonants are numerous and frequent. Especially to be noticed are groups of surd stops (in final position): *kt*, *tk*, *pk*, *pt*, etc. Acc. to Shaw we also find *ɽt* and *θt*.<sup>2</sup> A number of other groups occur in the preterital stems and in the 3 sg. present. In these forms we also find a number of morphonological changes.

Through loss of short, unstressed syllables more complicated groups occasionally arise, as in *ḳsṭgā* Sk., *č̣ḳər*, *tp̣ār*, *dg̣ör* (v. s.v. *dəger*).

Characteristic of Wkh. are the numerous groups of stops followed by *r*. A short svarabhakti-vowel is sometimes developed, e.g. in *ḅṛin*, *ḅṛit*, *ḍṛev*, *p̣ṛič̣*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *taç̣* X is a variant of *\*tugg*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *speðk*, *speðk* L. sole.



Other frequently occurring groups of consonants are: *kš, gn, γn, vd, vn, xt, xs, fs, ft, fst, γz, γ/γd, rk, rt, rx, rč* (and all other possible combinations of *r* + cons.), *nd, nj, ng, nđ, nz, mb, md, lg, ld, st, sk, sp, št, št, šk, šp, zd, zg, zn, žd, žg, žt, žn*, etc.

### Vowels.

23. I feel very diffident about the possibility of establishing the vowel system of Wkh. from the material which I was able to collect, and it certainly varies a good deal in the different parts of Wakhan; but according to the pronunciation of Y, my most reliable informant, I believe it to be of the following type:

#### Short Vowels.

<i>i</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
	<i>a</i>	

#### Long Vowels.

<i>ī</i>	<i>ĩ̄</i>	<i>ū</i>		<i>ĩ̄</i>	<i>ũ̄</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	or, possibly:	<i>ē̄</i>	<i>ō̄</i>
				<i>ā̄</i>	<i>ū̄</i>

24. *i* is a wide sound (*ɪ*): *b<sup>u</sup>rit, đirs, đirgā*.  
*e* is frequently open (*ɛ*): *d<sup>u</sup>ger, kend, xεšt*. But I have noted *e* in *čey, dendik, đrev-, dežd, ĵer, kerk, t<sup>u</sup>rešp, žeč, yez, zem*, etc.  
*a* was frequently heard as *ʌ*: *sʌ'min, sʌn'duq, čʌžm*. But *sak, šač. ā* in *s<sup>u</sup>pərdān*) is prob. a palatalized variety.  
*u* is wide (*ʊ*): *nəruk, p<sup>u</sup>rs*. Before *y* we find *ũ* in *kšũy*.  
*ə* is found both in stressed and unstressed position: *čkar, dəyd, gəzd, kəł, kəž, məst, nə'davn-, pətr, rəyd, rəx'nig, səkr, s'təž, wəsk, wəšk, žərz, žə'mak*, etc. The delimitation between *e* and *ə* is often uncertain.—*p<sup>u</sup>zöv* probably stands for *\*p<sup>u</sup>zəv*.

- *i* appears in *kirpa*, *kiš*, *ḍis*, *ḍitr*, *gūḍim*, *kik*, *wiṣ*. It appears to be distinguished from *ī*.
- o* in *goṣ*, *kipok*, *k'roṣ*, *noyordum*, *solx*, *xošk*, etc. is an open sound (ɔ).
- ī* appears e.g. in *ḍit*, *skiḍ*, *ḍin*, *rəxnig* (but Kl. *rəxnēg*).
- ē* is narrow, and appears only in lw.s: *bēd*, *bēwa*, *bēx*, *mēšak*, *pēča*, etc.
- ī* is high, mixed, unrounded. Cf. *ṣū*, *kīnd*, *kīrən*, *məḍīr*, *sīr*, *sū*, *ṣīr*. The vowels in *ebūr*, *hūb*, *pū'd* (L. *puēd*), *ṣiu*, *ṣūi* probably represent attempts to denote varieties of this sound, conditioned by the nature of the neighbouring consonants.
- ā* is a palatal *a*. Examples are, e.g.: *ṣār*, *nān*, *yāngəl*.
- ū* occurs, e.g. in *xūn*, *pūn* (*pū'n*), *p'ūz*, *yūnd*.
- ō* is a low and wide *ō*, sometimes of a rather advanced type. Examples are the Prs. lw.s: *ambōy*, *diōr*, *dəryō*, *kōm*, *kōna*, *rōn*, *rōst*; but cf. also *pōv*, *škōrd*, *škōrē*, *tōr*, *tōrt*, *vōč*, *v'rōk*, *xəḍōrg*, *yīnōt*, *yōč*. In a number of Prs. lw.s I have noted *ā* (or *ā*<sup>1</sup>): *āṣak*, *dāmād*, *kitāb*, *v'rāzū*, *xālī*, etc., but I am inclined to believe that this notation represents merely a variant of *ō* (*ō*), and not a separate phoneme. Cf. also *wāft*- (pret. of *ūf*-) = *wōft* Z.

25. The phonological distinction between short and long vowels appear to be clearer than in Yd.—Mj., but dubious cases no doubt occur. The overshort vowels are probably either unstressed variants of short ones, or svarabhakti vowels; e.g. in *d<sup>u</sup>rukš*, *d<sup>u</sup>raxt*, *d<sup>u</sup>rev*- (*drōv*- Sh., Kl.), *k<sup>u</sup>rust*, *ḍōg<sup>u</sup>n*, etc.

I have noted the following diphthongs: *āi* (*pāi*); *ūi* (*kūi*, *trūi*); *ōi* (*jōid*); *īu* (*nīu*, *īu*), *īū* (*ṣīū*), *au* (*ṣau*, *v'rau*).

26. In Sköld's material we find, corresponding to Y's vowels: *i*, *ī*,<sup>2</sup> *u*, *e*, *ə*, *o*, *a*; *ī*, *ī*,<sup>1</sup> *ū*, *ē*, *ā*, *ō*.—*ā* and *ō* are probably variants of *a*, *o*, or of *ā*, *ō*, and *ē* is a variant of *e*, the exact quality of which I am unable to determine. It is not clear whether his *ā* is meant to design an independent phoneme, separate from *ō*.—In some words

<sup>1</sup> Swedish long *ā*.

<sup>2</sup> Written *ū*, *ū* in some of his notes, but corrected into *ī*, *ī*.



Sk. gives vocalic  $\text{r}$ ,  $\text{ŋ}$  and  $\text{m}$  (e.g.  $\text{r̥ndag}$ ,  $\text{r̥ndag}$ ), but these may be variants of  $\text{ər}$ ,  $\text{rə}$ , etc.

The vowel system of the village of Langar Kishm<sup>1</sup> as described by Kl. agrees fairly well with that of Yamg. We find the short vowels  $\text{i}$ ,  $\text{ü}$  (corresp. to  $\text{ĩ}$ ),  $\text{u}$ ,  $\text{ə}$ ,  $\text{ö}$  ( $\text{ô}$ ),  $\text{a}$  ( $\text{ä}$ ), and the long vowels  $\text{ĩ}$ ,  $\text{ü̃}$ ,  $\text{ē}$ ,  $\text{ū̃}$ ,  $\text{ā}$ ,  $\text{ō̃}$  (5). Kl.'s  $\text{ö̃}$  ( $\text{ỗ}$ ) corresponds to my  $\text{ε}$ , at any rate in some cases ( $\text{kö̃nd} = \text{kēnd}$ ). The total number of his vowel phonemes amounts to 13, the same as I believe to have found in Yamg.

<sup>1</sup> The above section was written when I got his paper.

## HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

### Consonants.

#### Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

27. Initial surd stops remain. Thus, e.g.: *kūi* 'who'; *kibīt* 'pigeon'; *k-*, *t-*, *p-* *kerk* 'hen'; *tu* 'thou'; *t'pār* 'axe'; *tač* 'thirsty'; *pac-* 'to cook'; *pū'd* 'foot'; *pətr* 'son'; *pānz* 'five'; *p'ū(ʔ)n* 'palm of the hand'. Regarding aspiration cf. above, § 19.

We find a change into a fricative in *ḡāw-* 'to burn'; *ḡin* 'hot'; *xūf* 'foam'; *xāš-* 'to pull'. Cf. Sar. *ḡau-* 'to burn', and v. above Yd.—Mj. § 63, Sgl.—Ishk. § 18.<sup>1</sup> If we are right in assuming that ancient *ḡ-*, *x-* resulted in Wkh. *t-*, *k-* the change into fricatives in these words must be late, or they must be lw.s. The change of *\*kaf-* > *xaf-*, and of *\*taf-t* > *\*ḡaf-t* might be due to a kind of assimilation.

Sonorization has taken place in *gahal* Sh. 'lazy, slow' (< Prs. *kahal*) and possibly in *gīz-* 'to rise', if < *\*kēz-* < *\*xaiz-*.<sup>2</sup> The derivation of *gəč-* 'to do' < *\*karš-* is very uncertain, and with *gāč-* 'to totter' cf. not only Sar. *wa-koč-*, but also Yd. *γoži-*.

*čūy* Sk. 'multicoloured' is borr. from Shgh., and *čir-* Sh. 'to sing' from Sar. (cf. Av. *kar-* 'to praise', etc.). It is tempting to derive *čəč-* 'to kill' from *kuš-*, but the *č-* may have come from a present base *čauš-*.

28. The fate of ancient *č-* is uncertain, just as in Yd.—Mj. and *č-* Sgl.—Ishk.

<sup>1</sup> V. Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, p. 299. Cf. also Saka *khava-* 'foam' < *\*xapa-* < *kafa-*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> But a derivation < *\*an-gēz-* < *\*an-kēz* < *\*han-xaiz-* is more probable.



In most genuine Wkh. words we find *c*-; e.g., *cəbūr* 'four'; *cum* 'how much'; *cə-waxt* 'when'; *car-* 'to do', etc.<sup>1</sup> But we also find *č*-, not only in lw.s and words of unknown origin, but also in *čərm* 'canal', *čažm* 'eye';<sup>2</sup> *čip-* 'to pick'.<sup>3</sup> As for *čāw-* 'to go', v. § 55.

*Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.*

29. Intervocalic tenues are, as a rule, retained.<sup>4</sup> Thus *-k-* in *maks* 'fly'; *tuk-* 'to go'; *tīk* 'willow', and, with ancient suffix *-ka-*, *detk* 'brick'; *mərtk* 'dead'; *purk* 'mouse'; *yupk* 'water'; *wuvuk* 'willow'; *würk* 'lamb'; *kīk* 'spring'; *doek* 'inflated skin'; *yašk* 'tear'; *zīk* 'tongue'; *žīk* 'Wakhi', and past ptc, such as *žinak*, *žanetk* 'said'. —*yūk* L. 'dewlap' is of unknown derivation.

In secondary contact with *n*, *m* and *z*, but not with *r*,<sup>5</sup> *k* becomes *g*: *mīzg* 'urine'; *namurzg* 'rake'; *yīng* 'raw'; *wvrzg* 'right (hand)'; *đūng* 'snare'; *đəng* 'seed'. Cf. also *andag* 'slave' (< \**andg*, or lw.?). but *rānj* 'fast, light'. *γarāy* Sh., St. 'collar', and *rečey* L. 'a fast' may be lw.s. Note *səgin* Y, *sigin* Sh., B. 'horse-dung', but *skin* L. 'yak's dung'.

30. Intervocalic *-t-* remains in *ət* Kl. 'and'; *bət* Kl. 'again'; *đit* 'smoke'; *-t-* *kibit* 'pigeon'; *kūt* 'roof'; *kat-đit* 'soot'; *klīč* 'hut'; *pīvd̥r* 'small mussuck'; *rōyət*, *rōyd* L. 'young she-goat'; *sāt* 'baking-pan'; *wist* 'twenty'; (*y)ət*, *-et* 'this'; in pres. 3 sg., e.g., *pīt* 'he drinks', and in preterites and past participles such as *vīt* 'was'; *žatum* 'I said'; *detem* 'I gave'; *pīlk* 'drunk', 'rotten'; *pəčētk* 'cooked'; *setk* 'satisfied', etc.—*gōt-* 'to obtain'; *γat-* 'to arrive'; *žot* L. 'early supper'; *dētər* Sk. 'memory' are of uncertain origin.

The unstressed preposition *pu* < *pati* has lost its *t*, but it is

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc.

<sup>2</sup> With assimilation < \**cažm*? Cf. Kl. *čəžm* with complete assimilation.

<sup>3</sup> Probably with retention of *č* before *i*. V. § 33. Cf. the parallel development in Saka. But cf. Yd.—Mj. § 44.

<sup>4</sup> V. Geiger, § 20.—Cf. the retention of *-š-* as an unvoiced sound.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 76, 80. But cf. *parg* 'ashes'; *perg* 'necklace'.

retained in *pütmüi* 'to mimic'; *pütrüz* 'to lean against'; *pütžärm* 'wooden trough', and, with sonorization, in *pazdan* 'to recognize' (Sar. *padždn*). It is doubtful whether *pūmez* 'to dress'; *peterō* 'to spring from one root' and other verbs with *pa-* contain ancient *pati*. More probably they have ancient *api*- or *upa*-. Also the derivation of *pətuən* L. 'repair' from *\*pati-dāna* is uncertain.— It is not likely that *pač* in *pačrax* 'to arrest' goes back to *pati* (+ *\*rač* < *raxš*?).<sup>1</sup>

The geminated postvocalic *tt* which occurs in some preterital bases must be due to internal development in Wkh.<sup>2</sup>

Verbs in original *āu* or *āi* have past stems in *d*, e.g., *staud* (*stau*-) 'praised'; *sədōid* (*sədūi*-) 'appeared'; *wōzdōid* (*wīzdey*) 'washed'; *porōd* (*puru*-) 'washed'; *varōid* 'howled'. This is possibly due to influence from Sar., where we find *staud*, *parod*, *varaud*, etc.

*xədōrg* (*xedōrg*) 'watermill' is prob. borrowed from Ishk. (we should expect genuine Wkh. *\*xətirk*); *sudγ* 'smooth' from Sar.

Also *madāč* 'mare' must be a lw. And *pārd* 'last year' < *\*parut*- may have been influenced by *\*sard* 'year', cf. *pardīngi* 'of last year': *sērdīngi* (*\*sardīngi*) 'of this year'.

31. The only instance of ancient *-p-* given by Geiger is *nəpūs* 'grand-child'. Other examples are: *yupk* 'water'; *təpār* 'axe'; *rečup* 'to sleep'; *rīp* 'hair on the body'; *repk* 'refuse, sweepings'; *d'repč* 'broom'; *nipes*, etc. (v. s.v. *nəbəs*) 'comb'; *rešip* 'whip'; *šipk* 'twig, rod'; *škop* 'castrated'; *šūp* 'night's halt'; *čip* 'to pick'; *šāp* 'to suck'; *žip* 'to spin', and, with early contraction, *špūn* 'shepherd'. Of unknown derivation are: *čup* 'small hawk'; *drūp* 'to scratch'; *kipok* 'cuckoo' (?); *lup* 'big'; *rapic* 'to lose the way'; *sup* 'spider'; *šilāp* 'to splash'. Regarding *rīpk* 'neck-rope' cf. sub. *-b-*. *ruparu* Sh. 'opposite' is adapted from the Prs. form.

We find *-b-* in *kibit* 'pigeon' (influenced by the lw. *kabūt* 'blue');

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *čərm* 'to enter' < *\*ati-ram-??* But v. Voc. s.v. *tanž* 'to fold sheep'.

<sup>2</sup> After a stressed vowel?



*kəbūn* 'wooden bowl, dish' (of uncertain derivation), and in *nəbəs* 'comb' (v. above).

*tovn*, *tov cerāk* 'to twist' is borrr. from Prs. *tāv*, cf. Sar. *tuv čīgao*. Also *parvēy-* 'to attain' may originally belong to another dialect. *andav* 'fever' might be derived from *\*han-tafya-*, and *ḡāw-* 'to burn' has prob. got its *-w-* from the past *\*ḡawd* < *\*tafta-*. The causative suffix *-v-* is probably of foreign origin.<sup>1</sup> The derivation of *tətvārt* 'the year before last' < *\*tṛta-parut*, and of *vṛōk* 'to-morrow' from *\*aparaka-* is quite uncertain.

32. The retention of intervocalic stops appears to have been the rule in the dialect which forms the main base of Wkh. Cf. the similar archaism in the much less isolated W.Bal. But in this respect, as well as in many others, the development of Wkh. may have been troubled by the admixture of foreign elements in various ways, and it is very difficult, perhaps even on principle impossible, to decide which irregularities are due to the internal development of the language.

33. The treatment of intervocalic *-č-* is parallel, on the one hand to that of intervocalic surd stops, on the other to that of initial *č-*.

The regular outcome of ancient *-č-* is *-c-*. Thus: *sic* 'needle'; *ričn* 'smokehole'; *ḡic* 'to milk'; *ce* 'from'; *pac-* 'to cook'; *pec* 'face'; *ḡock* 'skin bag' (< *\*dačaka-*?). The derivation of *rapic-* 'to loose one's way'; *ručəpc* 'cousin', and *iska-cusk* 'top of the shoulder' is unknown.

Before an *i* ancient *č* retained its palatal character. Thus: *šač* 'dog' (< f. *\*sua-čī*); *voč* 'paternal aunt'; *dṛrepč* 'broom'; *antərč* 'sister-in-law'; *wolč* 'quail'; *yōč* 'duck'; *wič* 'moth'; *dārč* 'thread'; *vašč* 'milkpail', which all may go back to feminines in *-či-*. In secondary contact with *n* we find *-nṣ̌*.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the adj. suffix *-enṣ̌*, *-unṣ̌* (f. of *-ung*); *stranṣ̌* 'durree, rug'; *spərdänṣ̌* 'flea';

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 136.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 79.

- *šinj* 'corner'; *wānj* 'belly'. Cf. *yūmj* 'flour'.—*vīč* 'outside' may go back to *\*abyačī*. *rečsγ* 'fasting' is a lw.,<sup>1</sup> and the derivation of *nūčk* 'beak'; *šačūv-* 'to strain', and *tirīč* L. 'dark' is uncertain. Regarding *žārj/ž* 'milk' v. Voc. s.v. *rāuj* Sh. 'flame' is probably borrr. from Sar.<sup>2</sup>

As to the development of *-čy-* cf. § 55.

### Voiced Stops and Affricates.

34. Wkh. belongs to the group of N.E.Ir. dialects in which voiced stops were changed into fricatives at an early date.

Ancient *g-*, from which *γ-*, has become slightly palatalized (*ǰ-*), at any rate in the dialect of my best informant Y,<sup>3</sup> and in the varieties of Wkh. described by Sk., L., Z. and Kl.<sup>4</sup> The same sound is probably denoted by Shaw's italic *g*.<sup>5</sup>—X pronounced *g-*, e.g. in *giū* 'cow'; *gi'dim* 'wheat', etc. One would certainly be inclined to regard this merely as an incorrect rendering of Wkh. *ǰ-*, if it were not for the past ptc. *ki'tetk* (= *ǰatetk* Sh.) 'arrived' (< *\*ktetk* < *\*g(a)tetk*) of *gat-* (*ǰat-* Sh., etc.) 'to arrive'. Cf. also *kšūy-* 'to hear', if < *\*gušaya-*. It is therefore possible that a certain section of Wakhis really pronounce *g-*.

Examples of *ǰ-* are: *ǰiū* 'cow'; *ǰidim* 'wheat'; *ǰār* 'stone'; *ǰiš* 'ear', etc.—Cf. the parallel palatalization of *š*. *γ-* appears chiefly in lw.s, but, according to Y, W, Sk., Sh., etc., also in a number of genuine Wkh. words. Thus, e.g.: *yaš* Y, W; *ǰāš* Sk., Sh. 'mouth'. It is impossible to decide whether this notation does represent the real pronunciation of Wkh.

*gi* 'excrement' is an early lw.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 29.

<sup>2</sup> This would also account for the diphthong. But Sh. gives Sar. *sāuz*.

<sup>3</sup> Also in some of the words given by W.

<sup>4</sup> Note the further palatalization in *šip-* 'to spin' (if not early lw. from Sar., cf. *šerāx* 'knot'), and *yip* L. 'fat' (= Khow. *γip*).

<sup>5</sup> Which I have transcribed with *ǰ*.



35. In intervocalic position we find  $\gamma$ ,  $\check{\gamma}$  in  $\delta i\gamma$  Y,  $\delta i\check{\gamma}$  Sk. 'butter-milk';  $r\check{\gamma}i\check{s}$  Sk.,  $re\gamma i\check{s}$  Sh.,  $regi\check{s}$  Y 'beard' (Khow.  $r i\gamma i\check{s}$ , bor. from Wkh.);  $r\check{\gamma}g\ddot{u}m$  Sk.,  $ra\gamma\ddot{u}m$  Sh. 'heifer';  $spr\check{\gamma}$  Sk. 'flower';  $r\check{\gamma}\check{\gamma}at$ ,  $r\check{\gamma}\check{\gamma}d$  'young she-goat' (if < \**fra-gatā*);  $y\ddot{u}\gamma\check{\gamma}ne$   $\gamma\check{\gamma}r$  L. 'anvil' (\**ā-gana*?). The derivation of  $\check{\gamma}ir\ddot{o}v$ :  $\check{\gamma}ir\ddot{o}gn$  Sh. ( $\check{\gamma}er\ddot{o}gn$  Kl.) 'to be stuck' and of  $prig\ddot{i}n$  Sh. 'horse-clothing' (Sar. *parwein*) is unknown.  $t\ddot{u}\gamma$  'she-goat' may be a lw.
36. Examples of  $\delta < d$  are:  $\delta\check{\gamma}d$  'daughter';  $\delta i\check{r}$  'sickle';  $\delta i\check{t}$  *d* 'smoke';  $\delta i\check{c}$  'to milk';  $\delta i\gamma$  'buttermilk';  $\delta i\check{r}$  'distant';  $\delta e\check{t}k$  'brick';  $\delta i\check{z}$  'wall'.

A number of words with *d* probably go back to ancient forms in \**han-d*, e.g.  $d i\check{s}$  'to know';  $d u\check{r}z$  'to seize'; possibly also  $d\check{a}r\check{c}$  'thread'.  $d e\delta i\check{\gamma}$  'to look' is due to dissimilation.<sup>1</sup> *dast* 'hand' is bor. from Prs., and  $d\ddot{u}r$  'belly' may, in spite of its vowel, be an ancient lw. from Ishk.  $d\ddot{u}r$ . All sources agree in having *d* in  $d e\delta i\check{k}$  'tooth'. In this word the initial may have been influenced either by Prs. or by Ishk.—X has  $\delta i\gamma$ ,  $\delta i\check{r}$ , but  $d e\delta d$ ,  $d i\check{t}^u r$ ,  $d i\check{c}$ , etc. This may, however, be due merely to his imperfect knowledge of Wkh.<sup>2</sup>

$l\ddot{e}w$  'demon' belongs to a dialect of the Yd.—Mj. type, cf. also W.  $l\check{a}nd$  'tooth';  $l\check{a}st$  'hand',<sup>3</sup> and  $m\check{e}l\check{u}ng$  'middle';  $\check{\gamma}i\check{l}$  'perspiration';  $v\ddot{u}l$  'smell';  $w\ddot{u}l\check{u}n$  'to shake apricots' (\**wi-dunau*?).<sup>4</sup> Note the rendering of Wkh.  $\delta$  by Shina *l* in  $l i\check{s}t i\check{k}$  'brick', v. Voc. s.v.  $\delta e\check{t}k$ . Burushaski has, however,  $d i\check{s}\check{\gamma}i\check{k}$ .

37. For ancient *-d* Sh., Z., Kl., L., W. and Be. have the expected *-d* sound  $\delta$ ,<sup>5</sup> while Y., X., Sk., St. and Hj. in most cases have *-d*. Cf. the Voc. s.vv.  $m\check{a}d$  'waist';  $p\ddot{u}d$  'foot';  $m\check{e}d i\check{r}$  'noon';  $s\check{k}i\check{d}$  'cap';  $w\ddot{u}d$  'canal';  $s\check{e}d\ddot{u}i$  'to appear';  $w\ddot{u}d\check{g}$  'to-day';  $v\check{e}d e\check{k}$  'path' the lws  $m\check{a}d\check{a}\check{x}$  'mare';  $k\check{s}\check{a}d$  'wide';  $x\check{e}d\ddot{o}rg$  'watermill', and also  $\check{s}\check{a}d$  'six'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 52.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 2.

<sup>3</sup> If true Wkh. words. Hayward's '*las*' '10', '*shal*' '6' are prob. misheard for  $\delta as$ ,  $\check{s}\check{a}d$ .

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 9.

<sup>5</sup> Written ( $\delta$ )z by Be.

Note, however, Y *pōdn* 'saddle'; *nəḍavn-* 'to embrace'; *piḍiŋ-* 'to take fire';<sup>1</sup> St. *maḍür*, *waḍuk*, and Sk. *ṣūdi* 'theft' but *ṣūd* 'thief'. This variation must be due to difference of dialect.<sup>2</sup>

Other examples of *-ḍ-* are: Sh. *škōḍ-* 'to break'; *rōḍ-* 'to flee'; *nūḍn* 'to sit' (v. Voc. s.v. *nezd-*); *zūbeḍ-* 'to burst'; *viḍāw-* 'to ride'; L. *naduun* 'quiver'; *waḍ* 'handle'; *speḍk* 'sole'; *pāḍ* 'ligature', and, with unknown etymology, *šīḍ* 'uphill'; *peḍeṣən* 'breast work'; *yīḍesen* 'ripened crops'. Note Kl. *pərməyūŋ* 'belt' with *y* from Prs. As to *-l- < -ḍ-* v. above.

Y *rəstəv-* 'to break' = Sh. *raṣeḍūv-* does not prove any great age for the no doubt secondary transition of *-ḍ- > -d-*, since a similar form is also given by Kl. (*rəstəv-*), who always has *-ḍ-* in modern postvocalic position.

If *ṣapt* 'wolf' is borrr. from early Khow., it goes back to *\*ṣapθ < \*ṣap(i)ḍ*, cf. Sar. *ṣiḍp*.<sup>3</sup>

38. Initial *b-* results in *v-*, e.g. in *vānd-* 'to bind'; *vīr* 'load'; *vīt* *b-* 'was'; *vərz* 'long'. X hesitated between *vīt* and *bīt* 'was', and gave *bidek* 'road' corresponding to Y *vədek*. Cf. his pronunciation of *γ-* and *ḍ-*.

All sources have *furz* 'birch', with unexplained *f-* for *v-*. Cf. also Voc. s.v. *fuks* 'snake': Ishk. *vuks*.

39. Intervocalic *-b-* results in *-v-*: *pōv-* 'to drink' (pres. 3 sg. *pīt*); *-b-ḍviy-* 'to steal'; *ḍrev-* 'to sew'; *səmvər* 'yoke' (*\*sami-bara-*); *nuc-* 'to soak'. Also *viḍāw-* 'to ride'; *viṣiv-* 'to sweep' (*\*abi-xšwaib-ʔ*); *vizam-* 'to rub', and *vīč* 'outside' probably contain ancient *\*abi-*. With *ṣūv* Sk. 'cornbin' cf. Ishk. *ṣōv*; and with *pəzīv* 'heart' Sgl. *ōvzui*. Be. *gawust* 'fist' may stand for *\*ṣavust*, if connected with Skr. *gabhastī*.

X has, as might be expected, *-b-* in *pōb-* 'to drink'; *sab*, *sav* 'you', and *drīp-* (for *drīb-ʔ*) 'to sew'.

<sup>1</sup> Ancient prefixed forms.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 16.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v., and cf. § 14.



40. The only certain instance of *j* is Y *jəi*, L. *j/zēi* 'bowstring'; cf. *j* Kl. *jəl* 'string of an instrument'. *juj* 'yak' and *jək/qlai* 'small' (v. s.v. *zəkalaī*) are not true Wkh. words.—But cf. *či* < \**či* (§ 33).

Intervocalic *-j-* is perhaps found in *wuzem-* 'to bring', if < \**ā-jamaya-*. *sprež-* L. 'to blossom' < \**spra(j)a-ya-*. The derivation of L. *yōž-* 'to bear' and *wižik* 'ibex' is unknown.

#### Cerebrals.

41. St. gives *t* in *hāt* 'eight', but all other sources have the regular *t* (< *št*). I have noted dental and cerebral *t* in Y *b<sup>r</sup>rt/t* 'elbow', cf. St. *b<sup>r</sup>ruť*, but Sk. *b<sup>r</sup>rət*, Sh. *bōret*.

All other words with *t* are of IA, or unknown, origin. Thus: *ət* Sk. 'open'; *baṇḍ* X 'walking stick'; *čať* 'horned cattle'; *čuť* Sk. 'asunder'; *doťki* X 'calf, 1 y. old' (?); *kať-* 'to place, throw'; *kəť* 'short'; *kuťol* W 'dagger'; *pať* 'penis'; *peť* 'round'; *pťok* Sk. 'bread'. The only word with *t-* is *ťor* 'walnut'.

We find *ṇ* in *māṇḍ-* (but Y *māṇḍ-*) 'to rub'; *pāṇḍək* Sk. 'unripe apricot'; *ṇ* only in W *məṇū* 'apple' and *mōṇ* 'urial', which are certainly no true Wkh. forms; and *l* in X *keľi* 'yoke peg' which is a Khov. word.

#### Surd Fricatives.

42. We find ancient fricatives retained in *xūr* 'ass'; *xūn* 'house'; *fīak* 'shoulder-blade'; *šām-* 'to descend'; *yīš* 'ice'; *ūf-* 'to weave'; *parwuf-* 'to plait', *xuf* 'foam'. The initial fricatives in *xāš-* 'to pull'; *xuf* 'foam'; *θāuc-* 'to burn'; *θin* 'hot', and the *θ* in *yoθ* 'nest' (< \**ā-haḍa-*?) are of secondary origin. Cf. also *šec* 'bread'; *skaf-* 'to trip'; *pīḍu*, *pḍū* 'mosquito', and *yīšūn* 'bridle', the derivation of which is uncertain.

In a number of cases we find, however, Wkh. stops corresponding to fricatives of other Ir. languages.<sup>1</sup> Thus: *kāṇḍ-* 'to laugh'; *gīz-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *θr*, *xr* > *tr*, *kr*.

'to rise' (< \*aŋ-kēz- < \*haŋ-xaiz-); *kik* 'spring' (< \*xākū, cf. Orm. *xākō*, etc.<sup>1</sup>); *kəbūn* 'wooden bowl' (if < \*kəmbūn < \*xumbāna); *kās* 'to thresh' (if < \*xad + sa-); *rūk* 'forehead, brow' (cf. Prs. *rux*); *pēi* 'paddle, shovel'; *ramet* 'chewing the cud' (if < \*raumaḍa-); *tap* 'wing' (cf. Rosh. *tēf*); *yīnōt* 'dream' (\*hufnaḍā?), and, possibly, *dəger*, *djör* (Cap. *hindiger*) 'finger-nail' (if < \*ngör < \*n(a)kōr, cf. Sar. *našaur* < \*naxōr). Cf. also Khow. *supuk*, Werchikwar *sapa* 'hoof'; Bur. *sap* 'horseshoe', prob. from Wkh. \*sap(ak), and possibly Khow. *auzetu* 'heifer', which might be borrowed from a Wkh. form derived from \*abi-zaḍyā and corresponding to Yd. *pəzeḥr*.

Wkh. *pūz* 'breast' corresponds to Mj. *fūz*, and Wkh. *kap* 'hump' to Av. *kaofa*, etc. But we find *p* also in Khow. *pāz*, Sar. *puz* (both of which words may however be l.w.s from Wkh.), and in Sar. *kiep*, Orosh. *kūp*, etc.

It seems probable that ancient initial and intervocalic fricatives were changed into stops in Wkh., just as was the case with fricatives followed by *r*.<sup>2</sup> Words containing fricatives may be borrowed (e.g. *xūn*, *fāk*), or due to mixture of dialect.

In the name of the village *Xandut* (Hüan-Tsang *Xuən-d'ā-tā*) *x* may go back to *hw*.

In *yōc* 'duck' (< \*āḍiči?) *ḍ* has possibly been dropped before *č*.

#### Sibilants.

43. Initial and intervocalic *s* remains in Wkh. Thus: *sū* 'hare'; *sic* *s* 'needle'; *skid* 'skull-cap'; *səkr* 'red', etc.; *nesi* 'to lie down'; *nūs* 'to lose'; *pos* 'fat sheep'; *ḍas* 'ten', etc.
44. Also *z* remains unchanged: *zik* 'tongue'; *zem* 'snow'; *zart* 'yellow', *z* etc.; *wuz* 'I'; *wāz* 'to fall'; *māzg* 'urine'; *yez* 'yesterday'; *vizam* 'to rub to powder'.

<sup>1</sup> Sar. *kauk* < Wkh. \*kōk.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the parallel development in W.Bal., Par. and some dialects of Kurd.



45. There is no certain instance of ancient *š*- in Wkh. But it is possible that *šāp*- 'to suck'; *šīr* 'dung', and perhaps a few other words may contain Ir. \**š*- < \**k̂s*-.

46. The treatment of intervocalic *š*- is varied, and it is difficult to determine the genuine Wkh. development of this sound. One fact appears, however, to be evident: Wkh. did not change *š*- into \**ž*- as do most of the neighbouring Pamir dialects, Saka, Psht., Orm., Par., etc.

We find *š* and *š* in Y, X, Kl. *yiš*, etc. 'ear': Sk., Sh., Z *yiš*, etc.; Y, X *regiš*, etc. 'beard': Sk., Sh. *rəyiš*, etc.; Y *ramuš*- 'to forget': Sk., Sh. *rīmūš*-, etc.; *š* in Y, X, Sh., Z *šiš* 'louse'; Sk., L. *mūš*-, *muš*- 'to conceal, steal' (\**mušya*-?); Y *pīš*, etc. cat; Sh. *wušūy*- 'to untie'; *š* in Y *yišek* 'plough-handle'; *š* in Y, X, Sk., Kl. *sitəš*, etc. 'daughter-in-law'; Sh. *pīš* 'biestings'. In all these words Ir. *š* goes back to IE. *s*. IE. \**k̂s* and *qy* apparently yield the same result in Wkh.<sup>1</sup> Thus: Y *tiš*- 'to shave': X, Sk., L. *tūš*-, etc.; Y, W, Sk. *kīš* 'vulva'; L. *peš*- 'to ripen'; Sh., L, Kl. *pšēw*-, etc. 'to return' (\**apačya*-); Sh. *pargōš*- 'to be entangled' (\**pari-guz* + *s*?). Of uncertain origin are: L. *rūš* 'Ovis Poli'; *nereš* 'boiling over'; *wušeng* 'entire (bull)' (< \**wršanaka*?); *yišīr* 'threshold'; *mešen* 'along with'; Y, Sh. *diš*-, *diš*-'to crush' (cf. L. *dešen* 'millstone'); Y, X *məš(ū)* 'ankle' (cf. Sh. *mašin* = Sar.).

*mai* 'sheep, female urial' probably belongs to a dialect of the Yd.—Mj. type (cf. Mj. *mīyo* 'sheep'). *kal(ɪbən)* 'armpit' appears to be of Ishk. origin, although this dialect has now adopted the Prs. form *kaš(viš)*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *fril*- 'to crumbe': Ishk. *vrēl*- 'to break'.

There remain to be explained *šād/d* 'six',<sup>3</sup> and *yākš*- 'to boil',

<sup>1</sup> As to Yd.—Mj., cf. § 75.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sar. *bijel* < \**upakaša*-, Sogd. *pkšy* 'side, flank'.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly with dissimilation of sibilants from \**šūz* (cf. Oss. *āxsūz*), with unexplained *z*.

if correct and connected with Av. *yaēš-*. Regarding *žamak* 'moon', cf. 60.

As to *ž* in groups of consonants cf. § 74.

ž

### Nasals.

47. Initial *m-* and *n-* remain: *mād* 'waist'; *maks* 'fly'; *mərt* 'dead', *m-*, *n-* etc.; *nāu* 'nine'; *nə* 'not'; *naŋd* 'night', etc.

Intervocalic *m* and *n* remain, e.g. in *ŋidim* 'wheat'; *səmvər* 'yoke'; *-m-*, *-n-* *zem* 'snow'; *yəm* 'this'; *būn-* 'to winnow'; *kīn-* 'to draw a sword'; *pūn* 'palm of the hand'.

In secondary contact with *g* (< *k*) *m* and *n* are assimilated into *-ŋ*. Thus: *nong* 'name'; *ying* 'raw' (but *yūm* 'flour' < *\*āmači-*); *diŋg* 'springe' (but Sar. *dom*); *m'lung* 'middle' (if < *\*madama-*); *dəng* 'seed', *-ung* < *\*ānaka* (f. *-en*).

*mingas* 'sparrow' is dissimilated into *wiŋgās* Sh., *iŋgas* X. Cf. *šiven* 'rope' < Khov. *šimeni*. A very special case is *dəger* 'nail' (Capus *hindiger*), if < *\*n(d)gōr* < *\*n(a)kōr*.<sup>1</sup>

### Liquids.

48. Initial *r* occurs in *ričn* 'smoke-hole'; *rūyn* 'ghee', etc.; intervocalic *-r-* in *ŋār* 'stone'; *mar-* 'to die', etc.

Ancient *l* is retained in *yāngəl* 'finger'; *liv-* 'to slip' (< *\*sleib-*), *l* while *lič-* 'to lick' is probably a lw. The etymologies of *lup* 'big'; *namul-* 'to hem'; *parköl-* 'to excavate'; *šilāp-* 'to splash'; *wulun-* 'to shake apricots', etc. are unknown, or uncertain.

We find *l* < *r* in *wolč* 'quail'; *plöŋgōšt* 'finger-ring'; *kučöl* W 'dagger'. *l* interchanges with *r* in *wəra* Y: *wēla* X 'gums'; *miŋgōr* Y: *miŋgōl* X 'beak'; *xariyōn* X *xilian* Sh. 'nephew'; *palč* Y, X, Sh., Sk.: *parč* Be. 'leaf'. There is apparently a tendency in Wkh. to change *r* into *l* before *č*, and perhaps before *tk* (restitution of *r* in perfect stems?). We find *r* retained in *pərčōd* 'maid'. But this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 42, 77.



word has ancient simple *r*, while *l* in *palč*, *walč*, *walk*<sup>1</sup> go back to, or form part of, ancient groups of consonants. Cf. the change of *r* > *l* before certain consonants in Saka. Note the insertion of *l* in *šolx* 'branch' (< Prs. *šāx*?).

#### Glottal.

49. Initial *h*- is lost in *wəsk* 'dry'; *yīr* 'sun' (Av. *hūr*-); *yīnōt* 'dream' *h*- (\**hufnaðā*?) ; *yoyut* Be. 'groin' (< Av. *haxti*-); *andag* 'slave'; *ce* 'from'. The prefix *ham*- has in many cases been reduced to *m*-, *n*-, which is assimilated to a following consonant.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the general disappearance of *h*- in all neighbouring languages it seems probable that *hūb* 'seven' and *hāt* 'eight' have got their *h* from Prs. But why *hūmi*- 'to be'?

Intervocalic *-h*- is lost in *sū* 'hare'; *šūi* 'sister'; *nezd*: *nein*- *-h*- (*nieng*) 'to sit', and possibly in *rōin* 'light', if < \**bāhanī*. Cf. \**hy*- in *ḍai* 'man, lad'; *kūi* 'who'; *māy* 'month'. As to *wu'xen* 'blood', cf. § 62.

#### Semivowels.

50. Initial *w*- remains. Thus: *wād* 'watercourse'; *walk* 'kidney'; *w- wīn*- 'to see'; *wūr* 'rain'; *wān* 'belly'; *wunuk* 'willow'; *wūr* 'lamb'; *wušūy*- 'to untie', etc. — *w*- is lost through assimilation in *ūf*- Y (analogically *āft*-) 'to weave', but *wōf*- Z, *wuf*- Sh.; *w'sen* X, N 'blood': *wu'xen* Y. Note *šik* 'Wakhi' < \**w(u)šik*.

There is a number of words of unknown origin having initial *w*-, e.g., *wu'ner* 'stable'; *wīnek* 'marmot'; *wuč* 'arrow' (< *ušč* < *išuči*?) ; *wušeng* 'entire (bull)'; *wižik* 'ibex'.

In *γəš*, *γəš* 'male' (Prs. *gušn* < *varəšna*) and *γer* 'wool' (if connected with Av. *varənu*-) *w*- has become *γ*-. These words may originally belong to some other dialect, cf. Par. *w* > *γ*- and Saka *wi* > *gu*- (before labials).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *walk* 'kidney', § 80.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 76 sq.

51. Intervocalic *-w-* remains in *yāw-* 'to eat'; *čāw-* 'to go'; *drāw-* 'to reap'; *vidāw-* 'to ride'; *rāwez-* 'to fly'; *yawer-* 'to select'; *wasēr-* 'to become cold'; *wazem-* 'to squeeze out'; *wūndr* 'field' (the three last words with *awa-*). In modern final position *āw* often results in a diphthong: *ȳū* (Z *ȳūw*, Sk. *ȳīw*) 'cow'; *nīu* 'millrace'; *nāu* 'nine'; *yau* 'that'; *tau* 'thee'; *žāu* 'grain'; *šāu*, *šēw* 'horn'; *vrau* 'eyebrow'. Cf. *īu*, *īw* 'one'.

Between Wkh. *i* and a following consonant *w* is elided. Thus: *yīt* 'he eats'; *drīt* 'he reaps'; *čīt* 'he goes'. The development probably was *awa* > *au* > *i*.<sup>1</sup> But cf. also *pīt* 'he drinks' (*pōv-*), *θīt* 'it burns' (*θāw-*, with secondary *w*).

52. Initial *y-* is retained in *yāw-* 'to eat'; *yūm* 'twin'; *yač* 'twig'; *y-yašk* 'trained, taught', and possibly in *yīrk* 'barley'; *yūnd-* 'to take away'; *yaz* 'ice'. Regarding *antərč* sister-in-law, v. Voc. s.v.

*žāu* 'grain, provisions' is of foreign origin (cf. Khw. *žō*). *žōδ-* Sh. 'to sow' (Sar. *yēδ-*) is probably identical with *žēδ-* Sh. 'to strew, sprinkle' (Sar. *ȳieδ-*). The derivation of this verb is uncertain.

53. Intervocalic *-y-* appears in *pūtmy-* 'to command'; *zūy-* 'to roll -y-up'; *səduy-* 'to appear'; *ȳīy-* 'coire'; *rami-* Sh. 'to command'; *wušūy-* 'to untie'. Cf. also *trūi* 'three'; *pāi* 'curds'; *wīyīn* 'pass' (\**wi(y)-ayana-*?). *-y-* was elided in *mədir* 'noon' < \**madya-ayara-*; *pezīn*, *pīzən* 'udder' prob. < \**payah-zana-*; *tī* 'thy' < \**taya*? As for *pēi* 'paddle', *s̄trei* 'female' v. Voc. s.vv.

Note *dēdič-* 'to look after': Av. *diday-*.

#### Prothetic *w-* and *y-*.

54. Wkh. has a tendency to develop prothetic semivowels before ancient initial vowels, in accordance with all neighbouring Ir. dialects.

Thus, before original *u*, we find a prothetic *w-* in *wəšk* 'dry'; *wūč* 'high'. In *wuz* 'I' unstressed *a* was changed to *u* at an early

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *au* > *i*, § 99.



date, and in *wurzg* 'right' *r* became *ur*. But note *wūzem*- 'to bring' (< \**ā-jamaya*-?); *wūdg*, *ūdg*, etc. 'to-day' (< \**adyaka*?).

Prothetic *y*- is much more frequent, and numerous examples will be found in the Voc. Cf., e.g., *yāngəl* 'finger'; *yupk* 'water'; *yukš* 'male ibex' (with development of *y*- before the change of the vowel into *u*); *yurm* 'forearm'; *yaš* 'horse'; *yīšn* 'iron'; *yīž* 'ice', etc., and even the Prs. lw. *yaf'ta* 'week'. In *yīr* 'sun' < *hūr*-, and *yīnōt* 'sleep' < \**ūn*- < *hufn*- the vowel must have moved towards \**ū*, *i* before the prothetic *y*- was added.

No prothetic semivowel appears before the unstressed initial vowels in *andav* 'fever', *andag* 'slave'. The absence of *y*- in *īu* 'one' (besides *yīu*) is probably also due to lack of stress. In *hūb* 'seven', *hat* 'eight' the Prs. *h* (v. § 49) has prevented the development of a prothetic *y* or *w*.

### Groups of Consonants.

#### First Component an Affricate.

55. Ancient *čy* (< *čiy*, *čay*) apparently results in *č* (or *čʔ*). Cf. X, Kl. *čy* *čāw*- 'to go': Sk. *čāv*-, Sh. *čau*-; Y, Kl. *rəč*-, X *reč*- 'to go': Sk. *rəč*-, Sh. *rač*-.; Sk. *wəṛəč*-, Sh. *wareč*- 'to remain'; Y, X *pə/ičetk*, Sh. *pōčetk* 'cooked' (from *pačaya*-, cf. Sh. *pōč*-.; but cf. L. *peš*- 'to ripen' < *pašya*- < \**pačya*-).<sup>1</sup> Cf. regarding *sy*, § 72.

#### First Component a Voiced Stop (or Fricative).

56. As to the derivation of *ḍəγd* 'daughter' from \**duxtā* or *dugdā*, *gd* cf. Yd.—Mj. § 87.

The derivation of *žārž*, etc. 'milk' < \**gžara-čī* is probable, but *gž* not certain. On the other hand we find *šuc*- 'to gnaw' (cf. Ishk. *šāw*-) corresponding to Prs. *jāwīdan*, etc. (< \**gž*-?).

<sup>1</sup> v. § 46.

- *xūyūn* Sh. 'husband's sister' (Yd. *xuyēyeno*); *piðing*, *piðn-* 'flamed up' probably contain *n* < *yn*. *rūyn*, *rūyən* 'ghee, grease' is a lw., or has in any case got its vowel from Prs. or Ishk. No reliance can be placed upon the retention of *γ* in the place-name *Šiγinōn* 'Shughnan'. As to *žk* < *γn* + *k*, cf. § 61, and as to *γn* in past stems v. § 152.

The only certain instance of *gr* is *γrūng* 'heavy'. *gr*

Ir. *d* (ð) is assimilated to a following *n* in *ne-in-* 'sat down' (*nezd-*); *rənn-*, *rən-* 'fled' (*rəd-*); *rasen-* 'broke' (*rased-*, v. *rəstəv-*); *zūbōn-* 'burst' (*zūbed-*, v. s.v. *zūbūt-*).

57. Ancient *dr-* is preserved, or, more probably, *ðr* has been differentiated *dr* into *dr*. Thus: *drev-* 'to sew'; *drūp-* 'to scratch'; *drāw-* 'to reap', etc.

It is possible that *-dr-* was transposed into *rd* in *wīrdina* L. 'clear sky', cf. Skr. *vidhra-*, etc. Cf. also *vardezn-* 'to press down' < *\*abi-dranj-*?

Ir. *dw-*, through *ðv-*, became *b-*.<sup>1</sup> Thus *būi* 'two'; *bət* 'again'; *dw* *bār* 'door'; *būn-* 'to winnow'; *bāj* 'thick'; *bərīn* 'knee'(?). In postvocalic position *v*: *savand-* 'to throw away' (< *\*hača-dwan-*?), and *-əv* pers. suff. 2 pl. < *\*dwam*, *\*dwai*.

As to *-dy-* in *mād/ð* 'waist', etc., cf. § 37. *dy*

58. Ir. *bd* is possibly represented by *vd* in *drevd* 'sewed'; *nadevd* *bd* 'affected' (v. Voc. s.vv. *drev-*, *nədav-*). The derivation of *vədek* 'path' is uncertain.

Ir. *bz* has become unvoiced (through analogy with other verbs) *bz* in *nadevs-*, *nadefs-* 'to affect', etc. V. Voc. s.v. *nədav-*, which furnishes an instance of ancient *bṇ*. *bn*

Initial *br* results in *v(ə)r-*: *vərau* 'eyebrow'; *varīn-* 'to shear'; *br* *vareš-* 'to fry'; *vrit* 'brother'. In postvocalic position we find metathesis in *sērv* Sh. 'hole'. Scarcely *mūr* 'cloud' < *\*amawr* < *\*ham-abra-*.

<sup>1</sup> After the sonorization of *-ðw-*, cf. § 65.



*First Component a Surd Fricative.*

59. In spite of its preservation of intervocalic surd stops and of *š*, Wkh. follows the other Pamir languages in the voicing of the groups *ft* and *xt*.

Thus *γd* < *xt*: *nayd*, *nāyd* 'night'; *vāyd* 'night-mare'; *teyd* *xt* 'shrap'; *tayd*, etc. 'went'; *rāyd* 'went, moved' (*rāq*); "yoghut" Be. (*\*yoyd*?) 'groin'. Note also the lw. *coyd* Sh. 'when' < *\*cə-waxt*. The etymology of *šayd* 'new' is unknown.

Secondary formations are the past stems: *tōēt* Sh. 'went'; *pacd*, *pōšt* 'cooked'; *čukt* 'beat' (*čuk*).

Wkh. *vd* < *ft* (*bd*?) appears in a number of past stems. Thus: *ft* *čavd* 'picked' (*čip*); *pacvd* 'cooked' (*pacūv*), and other causatives.<sup>1</sup> Secondary preterites are, e.g., *āft* 'wove' (*ūf*); *rožopt* 'slept' (*režup*); *θit* 'burnt' (*θāw*).

*hūb* 'seven' is irregular. A metathesis of *\*avd* into *\*adv* > (*h*)*ūb* is unlikely.

60. Ir. *xš* occurs in *šūp* 'night's halt'; *šāy* 'to kill', and possibly in *xš* *šafš*, *šāfš* 'hair'. *šād* 'six'; *šipk* 'rod' probably go back to forms in *xšw*. Cf. also *šui* 'moraine' (Skr. *kṣaya* 'decay'?).

*kšūy*, *kšən* 'to hear' can have nothing to do with Av. *xšnā*, as suggested Air.Wb. s.v. It is possibly derived < *\*g(u)šaya*.

Intervocalic *xš(w)* appears as *š* or *ž* in *yašk* L. 'taught', *yežk* Sh. *-xš* 'learning' (< *yuxšaka*); *yaž* 'twig' (*\*yaxša*); *Wuž* 'Wakhan' (< *\*waxšu*); *yōšt* L. 'agreement' (< Av. *āxšti*); *višiv* 'to sweep' (*\*abi-xšwaib*); *rešip* L. 'whip' (< *fra-xšwaipa*).

*rakš* 'grey, brown' is probably adapted from Prs. *raxš*.—*vrokš* Sh. 'male Ovis Poli' is of unknown origin; *drukš* 'bull' may go back to *\*drušk* < *\*drušdk* < *\*dṛždaka* (v. Voc. s.v.). *yukš* 'male ibex' may have been influenced by the ending of these two names of male, horned animals, and go back through *\*yuks* to *\*yusk* < *\*āsuka*. A derivation of *bakš* 'husband's brother' < *\*ham-baxša-ka*, or *\*ham-paxšaka* is very uncertain. *yaškš* 'to boil' can hardly be derived from Av. *yaēš*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 149.

Ir. *xšn* was apparently simplified into *xn* after the change of *xšn* original *xn* into *ɣn*, if *ruɣn*, etc., 'white' and *rəxniɣ*, *rəxniɣ* 'fire' are not early lw.s.

The only instance of *xs* is *šōxs* 'to pass' (lw.?). But cf. Voc. s.v. *xs* *picev*.

61. Ir. *xm* is sonorized into *ɣm* as in other Pamir dialects: *taɣm*, *xm* *taɣm* 'grain'. *tuxm* is a lw.

Similarly *xn* > *ɣn* (*gn*) in the following past stems: *pamegn*- Sh. *xn* 'dressed' (*pūmec*); *rapagn*- Sh. 'lost the way' (*rapic*); *waregn*- Sh., *wəɾəɣn*- Sk. 'remained' (*wəɾəɕ*); *đōgən*, *đōɣn* 'milked' (*đic*). Possibly also *vardeɣn*- Sh. 'pressed down' (*vardenz*-) and *šōgn*- Sh. 'filled into' (*šōnz*-).

In secondary contact with *k* we find *šk* (< \**ɣ(n)k*) in: *warešk*, *pamašk*, etc.

62. Ir. *xr* is changed into *kr* in *səkr* 'red'. Cf. the development of *xr* *θr* and *fr*. This change is probably connected with that of surd fricatives into stops in other positions.<sup>1</sup> Note also the retention of *vr*-, *ɣr*-.—*čērām* 'threshing-ground' (Yd. *xurom*) cannot go back to \**xrama*-. Kl. *xərüθ*- 'to snore' may be an onomatopoeic word.

Ir. *xw* < *hw* has lost its labial element and results in *š*. Thus: *xw* *šū* 'sister'; *šil* Sh. 'perspiration'; *šān*- 'to speak'; *šūnen* 'own'; *šat* 'self'; *šūrs* (*xūrs* Sk.) 'father-in-law'; *šāš* (*xāš* Sk.) 'mother-in-law'; *rešup*- 'to sleep'; *wušən* 'blood' (< \**wahwani*-). *šām*- 'to descend' probably has ancient *x*-, in spite of Khow. *xwam*-, *xam*- (Ir. lw.).

*xəđōrg* 'water-mill' is a lw.;<sup>2</sup> *xōfs*- 'to fall asleep' is borrr. from Prs., and also *xūžg* 'sweet' may be of non-Wkh. origin.<sup>3</sup> Note *šilian* Sh.: *xariyōn* Y, Z, etc. 'nephew' (sister's son?).

The only possible example of \**xw* < *kw* is *ruk* 'forehead', if < \**hraxwa* = Prs. *ruḫ*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 42.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 30.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 82.



63. If *θīn* 'hot' and *yīnōt* 'dream' go back to *\*θafna-* and *\*hufna-*, *fn* has been completely assimilated, in contradistinction to *βn* (*bn*) (only recorded, however, in the present base *nedavn-*).

The prefix *fra-* has resulted in *ra/e-* in: *rəgūm* 'heifer' (*\*fragāmā*); *fr-* *regiš* 'beard' (*\*fra-gaiša-*); *rōyət* 'young she-goat' (*\*fra-gatā*); *rami-* 'to command' (*\*fra-māy-*); *ramuš-* 'to forget' (*\*fra-muš-*); *rapic-* 'to lose the way'; *rūr-* 'to stretch out', etc. (*\*fra-ar-*); *rəst-əv*, *rased-* 'to break' (*\*fra-sid-*); *rešip* 'whip' (*\*fra-xšēaipa-*); *režup-* 'to sleep' (*\*fra-hwap-*); cf. also *rešpuuk* 'bobbin, shuttle'; *rəwār* 'day' (*\*fra-wahra*). — *fəryəmč* 'she-calf, 1 y. old' and *fril-* 'to crumble' are not true Wkh. forms.

On the analogy of *tr*, *kr* < *θr*, *xr* we might expect to find *pr* in originally stressed syllables. But the derivation of *puru-* 'to wash' < *\*praw-* is uncertain on account of Sar. *paro-* (Wkh. lw.?), and Sar. *parōd*, Or. *perōd*, etc. correspond to Wkh. *prūt* 'first, foremost', which has been compared by Geiger with Skr. *pravātā*, but which is more probably connected with Av. *paouraya-*, Old Prs. *paruviyata-*. *p̄rič* 'worm' (cf. Sgl. *p̄čuk*) has certainly nothing to do with Par. *ruč*, Kafiri waig. *pruč* 'flea' < *\*pruči*.

On the other hand *rūn* 'shelf' (*rōn* Sar.; cf. Sgl. *frūn* 'plank') seems to show that *fr-* was assimilated in all positions. I am unable to explain the relation between *v̄rōk* 'to-morrow' and W.Yghn. *f̄rōk*.

Intervocalic *-fr-* possibly results in *-rf-*. Cf. *γər̄f*, *γ(ē)erf* (= *γ̄-ē*) *-fr-* L. 'fireplace' < Av. *gufra-* 'deep'?

Ir. *fšy* occurs in *teš* 'steam' < *\*tafšya-*.

*fšy*

64. Ir. *θr* results in *tr*: *trūi* 'three'; *pōtr* 'son'; *θitr* 'sickle'; *žitr* 'thread' *θr* (*\*yaištra-*); *witrin-* 'to sky' (*\*wi-θrahna-*, or *\*wi-t̄rhna-*?). The etymology of *dētər* Sk. 'memory' is unknown. *čatr* 'parasol' is borr. from IA, and the same is the case with *citr* 'spindle' (the Wkh. form corresponding to Yd.—Mj. *čēša*, etc., would be something like *\*cēš*).<sup>1</sup> Also *mutr* 'augury' and *trakč* 'bitter', *trāč* Sh. 'bad tasting' are probably IA. lw.s.—*tor* Sh. 'net' is of Prs. or Ishk. origin. It is, perhaps, possible to derive *tirič* L. 'dark' from *\*taθrya-čī*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, § 70.

As to *yōtr* 'nest', v. s.v. *yod*. *t'rā* 'thither' probably contains ancient *\*tarah*.

65. Ir. *θn* appears to have resulted in *t(n)* in *haret*, *arat* St. 'cubit', but *θn* this sound-change is phonetically improbable. Cf. *bərin* 'knee' (< *\*dwariθna* < *\*dwariθra*??).

Intervocalic *θw* was sonorized into *θv* > *θv*, from which *b*:<sup>1</sup> *cəbūr* *θw* 'four'; *cəbrēm* 'four days hence'.

### First Component a Sibilant.

66. Ir. *sk* remains in *skid* 'skull-cap'; *sken* 'puppy'; *sək* (*sk-əm*) 'on, sk above'. Cf. also *skaf* 'to trip'; *skōrd* 'bridge', and *skurf* 'rough', which may contain ancient *\*sk-* or *\*us-k-*.

As in other Ir. dialects the sandhi-form has prevailed in some cases: *škop* 'castrated (bull)'; *škurg-* 'to seek'; *škāv-* 'to catch a cold'; *škōrē* 'burning coal'; *škəndiv-* 'to break'.

67. Ir. *st* remains. Thus: *sliy-* 'to send'; *stau-* 'to praise'; *stin* *st* 'post, pillar'; *silār* 'star' (prob. lw.). The etymology of *stōrs* 'plough-share' is unknown. Postvocalic *st* occurs in: *pist* 'bark, skin'; *nāst* 'is not'; *yost* 'fowl-house' (*\*ā-stā*?); *vāst* 'bound'; *zirest* 'turned in a lathe' (*zirānd-*).

Wkh. *šč* in *yašč* (*yarē*, *ya-ič*) 'bone', and *xašč* (*xaišč*, *xa-ič*) 'damp, wet' corresponds to e.g. Yd. *st* in *yastē*, *xusto* (Sgl. *xāst*).—*\*sti/y* was possibly palatalized into *\*s't'* > *šč*. Cf. also *žēč* 'bread'; *mič* 'fist, double handful'; Yd.—Mj. *xcisto*, *mišč(a)*. *vašč* 'milk-pail' might be derived from *\*basti-*.

68. Ir. *sp* appears in *sṣpūndr* 'ploughshare'; *sṣrəy* 'flower'; *sṣrēž-* 'to *sp* blossom'; *sṣpərdān* 'flea'; *sṣpən-* 'to fill up' (*\*us-parna*?). *sipask* 'rafter' is of unknown origin. Intervocalic *-sp-* occurs in *naspar-* 'to thread down'; *yīsp* 'shoulder' (of uncertain etymology).
69. Wkh., as well as Saka, distinguishes between ancient *sp* and *sw*. *sw*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 57.



This latter group results in *š*.<sup>1</sup> We are here in the presence of an important and very ancient isoglott which connects Wkh. and Saka.

After early Ir. *\*š*, or *\*č* (< IE *k̑*) *w* was palatalized into *ū*, and this sound, in its turn, helped to preserve the palatal character of the preceding sibilant, with which it was assimilated.

Examples are: *šač* 'dog'; *šiš* 'louse'; *yaš* 'horse'; *yīšn* 'iron', and probably *pšīn* Sh. 'patch' (cf. Yd. *paspōn*, etc.). Burushaski *šandi* 'cut crops lying on the ground' might possibly be a lw. from a lost Wkh. word connected with Saka *ššandaa* 'earth' (< *\*swantakā*).<sup>2</sup>

70. Wkh. *wūč* 'very high' may go back to *usča*. But the same form *šč* is also found in Ishk.

Initial *str* is retained in *s'trei* 'female', cf. Or. *s'trēj*. But in *str* intervocalic position the group was simplified into *sr*, from which *š*. Thus: *wiš* 'straw' (< *\*wastra*). Cf. *yaš* 'mouth' < *\*gaštra*. *čitr* 'spinning-wheel' with early dissimilation < *čā(s)tra*, or, probably, borr. from IA.<sup>3</sup>

71. Assimilation of *sr* > *š* is common to many Ir. languages. Wkh. *sr* examples are: *šəu* 'horn'; *šin* 'anus'; *šin* 'hip' (*\*srauni-čī* ?);<sup>4</sup> *yašk* 'tear'; *šaš* 'mother-in-law'; *šiš*, *šižn* 'near' (*\*srišna* 'clinging to'?). The etymology of *wəši* 'to fear': Orm. *γ<sup>w</sup>aš<sup>r</sup>* is uncertain. *širāw* Sh. 'to tell one's beads' (< *srāvaya*) must be a lw.

Note the metathesis of secondary *sr* in *šurs* 'father-in-law'. Cf. *pīrz* 'evening' (Voc. s.v.).

Ir. *sn* was assimilated into the surd group *sn̥*, from which *st* in *sn̥* *sītəx* 'daughter-in-law'. Cf. also *šn* > *št* in *pōšt* 'heel' (lw.), *yīšt* Be. 'iron', and *Langar Kisht* (Curzon) = *Kiš(i)n*. Internal *sn*, on the other hand, was sonorized into *zn* (*yāzn* 'inflated skin' < *\*ā-snā*), from which *zd* (*wuzdi* 'to wash' < *\*awa-snāya*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Saka *šš* (= *š*).

<sup>2</sup> V. Bailey, BSOS, VII, 294.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 64.

<sup>4</sup> But why *ū* < *au*?

<sup>5</sup> Possibly a lw.

72. Assimilation of *sy* > *š* has taken place in *diš* 'to know' (\**han-sy* *disya*- or \**han-dišša*-?); *nāš* 'to be lost'; *wāšk* 'calf'. I heard *š* in *kaš* 'boy': Sk., etc. *kāš* (Av. *kasyah*-), and in *regiš* 'beard': Sk., etc. *rəyīš* (\**fra-gaisya*-); L. gives *š* in *peḍemeš* 'to swell' (\**pati-dmasya*-?) and in *teš/š* 'empty': Sk., Sh. *tōš*. All sources have *š* in *šū* 'black' (< *syāva*-?). I am unable to explain this interchange between *š* and *š*.

Cf., however, *maž* 'me' (if < \**mazyā*); *žə* 'my' (if < \**az-ya*-), *zy* and *raž*, *ražek* 'sitting dais'; *yōž* 'to bear' (< *ā-zaya*-??). V. § 55 regarding \*čy.

Ir. *z*g possibly in *magž* Be. 'brain'.

Ir. *z*d is found in *nezd* 'to sit down'. *wāst* W 'fat' is an Ishk. *z*d word.

Ir. *z*b remains, through differentiation, in *zūbed* 'to burst' (v. s.v. *z*b *zūbūt*-) < \**uz-bid*-. But note *zūwāy* 'to roll up' < *uz-wāy*-, without change of the semivowel into a fricative. This may, however, be due to influence from the uncompounded verb. The word for 'tongue' does not go back to a form in \**zv* < *zw*.<sup>1</sup> The etymology of *pizāni* 'morning meal' is unknown.

Ir. *z*m possibly in *rizəm*, *riəm* 'soot', cf. *rezg* 'saline efflorescence' *zm* (\**rizaka*-).

Ir. *z*r only in the compound *zərend* 'to scrape' (< \**uz-rand*-). *z*r

73. Wkh. *sk* < *šk* in *wāsk* 'dry' is unexplained. *pāšk* 'dung' is a lw. *šk*

We find, however, also *st* < *št* in *māst* 'fist',<sup>2</sup> and possibly in *št* *pōst* 'parched grain', Shgh. *pišt*, Ishk. *put*, Par. *pīst* (but Prs. *pist*). Preterites of the type *nōst* 'lost' (*nīs* tr.) are secondary, and so is *nāšt* 'was lost' (*nāš* intr.). But *wāšt* 'fell', *nēšt* 'went out' and *wīšt* '(the sun) set' (*wāz*-, *niwiz*-, *wiz*-) have the appearance of being ancient forms. *əštīr*, etc. 'camel' is probably a lw. A third development of *št* is into *t*: Thus (h)*āt* 'eight' (poss. an Ishk. lw.); *detk* 'brick' < *dištik* < *dīsti-ka*-, cf. the early Wkh. lw. in Shina *lištik*). A

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v. *zīk*.

<sup>2</sup> But *mič* Sh. 'double handful' (< *muštyah* pl.?), cf. § 67. Sh. gives both *mōst* and *mič* as corresponding to Sar. *mut*. Cf. Bur. *mūči*, *moṣṣi* 'plough-handle' from IA.



derivation of *büt* Be. 'clothes' from *\*ham-pušti-* is of course extremely uncertain.

I am unable to explain the diversity of the development of Ir. *št* in Wkh. It will be noticed that *məst*, *pōst* (and *wəsk* 'dry') have IE *s*, while *wāšt*, etc. contain an ancient palatal. It would, however, be unsafe to assume that Wkh. should have retained dental *s* in the groups *\*u/ist*, *\*u/isk*.<sup>1</sup>—*hāt* 'eight' might be an Ishk. lw. But Shina *lištik* which can, for geographical reasons, scarcely have been borrowed from an early Ishk. form, shows that the change from *št* > *t* must have taken place also in Wkh. Cf. also *pert* 'animal's back' < *\*pršti-*.

74. Ir. *šp* is possibly contained in *wəšp* 'plough-pole', v. Voc. s.v. *sp*  
 As to *šn* v. above, § 71. *šm* is sonorized in *čašm* 'eye'; cf. *šəmak* *šn*, *šm*  
 'moon' (v. Voc. s.v.). I am unable to explain Sk. *taxm* 'thirsty'.  
 As to *šy* in *peš-* 'to ripen'; *pišew-* 'to return' cf. § 46.  
 We find Ir. *ž*, in *nežyar-* 'to swallow', *neždun* 'weeding'. *žg*, *žd*

#### First Component a Nasal.

75. Although Wkh. has retained ancient intervocalic tenues, we find that sonorization has taken place after a nasal. At any rate there is no certain instance of *nt* in the scanty material available to me.<sup>2</sup>  
 Examples of *nt* are: *dendik* 'tooth'; *mānd-* Y 'to rub' (*mant-?*); *nt*  
*žümānd-* 'to wring'; *wündr* 'field' (Av. *avantara-*); *tond* Be. 'thread'  
 (*\*tantu-*); *kənd* 'woman, wife' (Skt. *kāntā-?*). *wīnd* 'saw' is a secondary  
 formation. *židim* 'wheat' probably goes back to a form *\*γ(n)dīm*  
 < *\*γ(a)ntūm*. In *witriθt* 'shies' (*witrin-*) *θt* < *nt* is of secondary  
 origin.—Final *-nt* is reduced in the verbal ending 3 pl. *-ən*.  
 76. A possible example of *mp* is *büt-* 'to overthrow' (Sar. *imbat-*) < *mp*  
*\*ham-pataya-*. Cf. *büt* Be. 'clothes' < *\*ham-pušti-*(?) and *bakš*  
 'husband's brother' (< *\*ham-paxšaka-?*). *kəmpəl* 'blanket' is of IA  
 origin.

<sup>1</sup> As for *iš*, *uš*, cf. § 46. Note also *sk* > *šk*.

<sup>2</sup> *Anterč* L. 'sister-in-law' is of unknown origin.

No certain instance of *ŋk* occurs. Secondary *n + k* results in *ŋk* *ŋg* in the suffix *-ung*, etc. Cf. § 29.

It is possible that *giz-* 'to rise' goes back to *\*ŋgiz- < \*ŋkiz- < \*han-xaiz-*.

The numeral *pānz*, *pānj* 'five' is probably a genuine Wkh. form. *nē* may also be contained in some verbs in *nj/z*: *vardenz-* 'to press down', *ženj-* 'to fill'. But cf. *nemenj-* L. 'to dance' (*\*ni-mančya-??*). Secondary *n + ċ* results in *nj*, cf. § 79.

77. Examples of *ŋg*, *nd* and *nj* are: *yāngəl* 'finger'; *kānd-* 'to laugh'; *ŋg*, *nd*, *nj* *rānd-* 'to bind'; *škəndiv-* 'to break'; *ranj* Sh. 'fast, light'.

*rārand-* 'to abuse' is of unknown origin, and *rānd-* 'to give', *nūnd-* 'to plant', etc. may have a secondary nasal in the present base.

Initial *\*nd-* resulted in *d-*: *diš-* 'to know' *< \*handisya-*, cf. *ŋg* *> g*, and *mb/p* *> b*. Cf. *dəger* 'finger' *< \*n(d)ger* (§ 47). Note *tūngur* Sh. 'thunder' (v. s.v. *tandūr*) with dissimilation.

Ir. *mb* apparently was less resistant than *nd*, *ŋg*, and was assimilated *mb* into *m*. Thus: *vizam-* Sh. 'to rub into powder' (Sar. *vizāmb-*); *žām-* 'to descend' (Prs. *xambidan*); cf. *pūtrūm(b)-* Sh. 'to scare away, arrest'.

But in secondary initial position *mb-* may have resulted in *b-*, just as *mp-*, etc. There is, however, no certain example, *bāi* Sh. 'cave' (Ishk. *ambi*) might have original *mp*.

78. It is possible that *\*anθ* developed through *\*aθ* into *aθ > at*. *nθ* Cf. *ramət* 'chewing the cud' *< \*raumanθa-*, and *mutr* 'augury', which may, however, be a lw. But note *mānd-*, *žūmānd-*. The derivation of *yīžūn* 'bridle' from *\*ānzana-* is extremely doubtful. Cf. also § 42, about Khov. *auzetu*.

At any rate *n* appears to have been lost before a sibilant: *δus ns* 'wasp' (*< \*dansa-*); *peδemeš-* 'to swell' (*\*pati-dmansya-*), and possibly also *was* 'roof-beam' *< \*wansa-*.

79. Ir. *nm* was dissimilated into *rm*: *čarm* 'watercourse' (*< \*čan-man-*); *nm* *pūtčərm* 'wooden trough' (*< \*pati-hwān-man-?*). Regarding *šūrm* 'dung', v. Voc. s.v.



In secondary contact we find *wōzōnd* and *wazāmd* from *wuzem* *m + d* 'to bring', etc.

As for *m + k*, c. v. §§ 29, 33, and cf. *somj* Be. 'hoof'. *m + k, c*

*First Component a Liquid.*

80. Ir. *rk* is probably preserved in *kerk* 'fowl', and *yark* 'work'. In *rk* secondary contact we find *rk* in *purk* 'mouse'; *würk* 'lamb', etc.

But note *pārg* 'ashes' (Sgl. *park*).

Ir. *rt* is retained in *řärt* Sh. 'to collect, to tuck up one's sleeves' *rt* (\**gart*); *wert* 'to knead'; *wirt* 'mill-stone'; *đert* 'manure'; *tōrt* 'the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow' (cf. *tōtvārt* 'the year before last' < \**trta*); *turt* 'ford' (Khow. lw.?), and in the past stems *naspart* Sh. 'tread down'; *wasērt* 'cooled' (*wasēr*); *mōrt* 'died' (*mār*); *kōrt* 'did' (*cār*). The etymology of *sanguart* L. 'beetle', and of *avart* 'span' is unknown.

In a number of past stems, most of which have exact counterparts in Sar., we find *rd*. Thus *wōdlōrd* 'held' (*wīdār*); *škūrd* 'sought', etc. Influence from Sar. is not excluded. But cf. also *derd* L. 'carved'; *wīrdān* L. 'mill-wheel' (lw.?).—*skōrd* 'bridge'; *nikerd* 'central part of a room'; *kard* Sh. 'crooked' (Sar. *čerd*) are of unknown origin. As for *pārd* 'last year' v. § 30.

*wolč* 'quail' prob. < \**woltč* < \**wartiči*, cf. Ishk. *wōrc*. Prs. *lexx-walč* must be a dialect form. We find a change of *rt* > *lt* also in *walč* (*welk* L., etc.) 'kidney', cf. Sgl. *wolk*. Cf. the Saka development of *rt* > *l* before a consonant, and v. § 48.

*kəř* 'knife'<sup>1</sup> is very strange, but might perhaps be an early adaptation of Ishk. \**kēr* (> *kīl*), with substitution of *ř* for *r*, a sound unknown to Wkh.

There is no example of ancient *rč*. *pərčōd* 'girl' may go back to *rč* \**pari-č*, v. Voc. s.v.—Cf. also *škōrč* 'coal'; *yōrč* 'part of floor'.

81. If *cār* Sh. 'kite' (Sar. *cāry*) is a correct and genuine form *γ* has *ry* been dropped. In *sprəř* 'flower' (cf. Av. *sparəya*.) the *r* has been

<sup>1</sup> I do not know what sounds Bi.'s '*kurej*' is intended to express.

- transposed.—*merg* L., *marg* Sh. 'female Ovis Poli' and *mingas*, etc. 'sparrow' are probably lw.s.<sup>1</sup>

Ir. *rd* occurs in *wuserd* 'this year'; *sērdingī* 'belonging to this rd year'; *wōrd* 'tripe' (Av. *varədvā-* 'soft'); *peterd-* 'to spring from one seed'; and possibly in *sperdān* 'flea' (v. Voc.). Regarding *d* for *ḍ* cf. § 37. *gerdān* 'neck' is a Prs. lw., and *vardenz-* 'to press down' probably goes back to a root in *d-*. Some of the words mentioned under *rt* may contain ancient *rd*.

Wkh. *drev-* 'to sew' goes back to *\*dyb-*.

Wkh. *yaf* 'much' probably corresponds to Sogd. *yarf*, with loss of *r* in an accessory word. *skurf* Y 'rough' is of unknown origin. As to *yerf* 'fireplace' v. § 63.

82. Ir. *rs* remains unassimilated as in Yd.—Mj. Thus: *purs-* 'to ask'; *purs* 'rib'; *ḍirs* 'goat's hair'.

Also *rz* remains: *cārzy* 'awl'; *furz* 'birch'; *durz-* 'to seize'; *lamərz* 'sloping down of a field'; *mərz* 'hungry'; *namurzg* 'rake'; *vərz* 'long'; *vōrz* 'pillow'. Cf. also *ḡərz*, rhyming with and probably identical in meaning to Prs. *ḡarz* 'bustard'. From *\*hwarz/uka-* we should expect Wkh. *\*ḡurzg*,<sup>2</sup> and *xūḡg* 'sweet' is probably of Ishk. origin.—Note *mōrḡ* L. 'dew', and *yārs/z*, etc. 'juniper'.

But *rš* appears to have been assimilated. The examples are, *rš* however, not clear. Thus: *taḡ* (*tāx* Sh., *taxm* Sk.) 'thirsty'; *γəḡ* 'male' (lw.?). *wušəng* 'uncastrated bull' (*\*wəḡšanaka-*, but note *ḡ*). *xaḡ-* 'to pull' is common to most Pamir dialects, and *ramuḡ-* 'to forget' may contain ancient *-uḡ*.<sup>3</sup>

The only example of *ršt* is *pert* L. 'back of an animal'. *purst* *ršt* 'asked' is a secondary formation, and *kōšt* Sh. 'cultivated' (*kūr-*) is probably influenced by Prs.

But *ržd* has been assimilated in *dežd* 'seized' (*durz-*). Cf. the treatment of *ḡd*.

83. Before an *m* Ir. *r* has been retained in *yurm* 'forearm'. But from *rm*, *rn*

<sup>1</sup> From Kafiri? V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62. Also Psht. distinguishes between *\*rš*, *\*ršt* > *ḡ*, *ḡ* and *\*rs*, *\*rst* > *ḡt*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 46.



*rn*, which has been assimilated into *n* in most neighbouring Ir. languages, we find *r* in *mur* 'apple' (Sar. *mān*, etc.).<sup>1</sup> The derivation of *span* 'to fill up (of a river)' from *\*us-prna-* is very uncertain (note pret. *spāt*). The retention of the *n* of the present suffix would, however, be possible, even if *rn* became *r(r)* in other positions. Cf. the parallel development in Saka. *pūn* 'palm of the hand' has Ir. *n*, not *rn*. *palē* 'leaf' possibly from *\*parē* <sup>2</sup> < *\*parnačī*.

In secondary contact *r* + *n* appears to have resulted in *ndr* (< *\*nr*), if *sṣpūndr* 'ploughshare' is to be derived from *\*spārana-*.

### Assimilation.

84. Numerous cases of assimilation of various kinds have been brought to notice in the preceding paragraphs. Others will be mentioned in connection with the reduction of hard groups of consonants, which takes place before the *k-* suffix of perfect stems and before *t* in pres. 3 sg. Cf. also *wēlk* < *wāltk* 'kidney'; *ṣāt* 'did' < *\*g(ə)ṣāt*; *səmbōnak* 'pellet-bow' < *saṅbānak*.

### Dissimilation and Differentiation.

85. Dissimilation of nasals occurs in *lāmərz* L. 'slope of a field' (if < *\*ni-marza-*); *lamurzg* L. < *namurzg* Sh. 'rake', *san'dāl* 'anvil' < *sin'dōn*. Cf. also *yamān* Kl. 'one another' (*\*g(y)an-an?*), and *šiven* 'rope' < Khw. *šimenī*.

Loss of *r* through dissimilation is probably found in *tətvārt* 'the year before last' (< *\*tərt*), and possibly in *pərčōd*, *pürčōd* 'girl', if from *\*parčar*, cf. Skr. *parīcarikā*.

Note also *dēdiy-* 'to look at' < *\*dēdiy-*. But *lədōw(ak)* Kl. 'to give' < *\*dāda-*?

A clear case of differentiation is the change of *ḍr*, *xr* > *tr*, *kr*.<sup>3</sup> In *ḍr* the differentiation has perhaps been preventive.

<sup>1</sup> But Saka *rr* < *rn*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *wōlē*, § 80.

<sup>3</sup> V. §§ 62, 64.—Ir. *\*pāni-* 'palm of the hand' < IA?

### Metathesis and Intversion.

86. Examples of metathesis are: *tapk* L.; Be., etc. < *pāt̪k* 'eyelashes'; *riyud* L. < *dəgər*, *dəyər* 'finger'.—*vəcər* W. 'eyebrow' is merely a mispronounced form of Ishk. *vric*.

Intversion in groups of consonants occurs in: *ǰürs* 'father-in-law'; *sprəy̌* 'flower'; *spündr* 'plough-share' (< \**spārana*-?), and possibly in *pīrz* 'evening' (< \**upa-azara*-?). Regarding *drukš* 'bull', etc., cf. § 60.

### Vowels.

87. For reasons briefly indicated Yd.—Mj. § 138 it is much more difficult to follow the development of Ir. vowels in a modern Pamir dialect than it is to give an outline of the changes of consonants and consonant groups.

The exact phonetical value of many ancient Ir. vowels is unknown, and as no older stage of these dialects is accessible to us, it is in most cases a hopeless task to trace, with any degree of certainty, the actions and counteractions exerted by accent, assimilation and other factors.

In the case of Wkh. we are also handicapped by the fact that no recorder of the language has been in a position to devote to this work sufficient time for arriving at absolutely certain results as regards the exact vocalization of a great number of words, or for determining the undoubtedly considerable individual latitude of pronunciation. Nor do we know much about the dialectical distribution of vowel variations.

And, last not least, it is frequently impossible to ascertain whether a word is genuine Wkh. or not. In the case of Wkh. the definition of the terms 'genuine' and 'borrowed' presents problems of more than usual complexity, and many loan-words have passed through some of the more recent Wkh. sound-changes.



All we can do is therefore to make an attempt to indicate a few main lines in the development of Wkh. vocalism. But in many cases we are restricted to give a mere statement of complex and bewildering facts.

*Ir. a.*

88. *Ir. a* remains as *a* (*ā*) in Wkh.:

a. Before an ancient group of consonants. Thus: *andag* 'slave'; *andav* 'fever'; *ṣaṣ* 'mouth'; *hāt* 'eight'; *kānd-* 'to laugh'; *kaṣ* 'boy'; *mānd-* 'to shampoo'; *nādav-* 'to clasp'; *nayd* 'night'; *pānz* 'five'; *rand-* 'to give'; *rānjik* 'light'; *spray*, *sprəy* 'flower'; *šānd-* 'to mix'; *sārdingī* 'of this year'; *vāyd* 'night-mare'; *vānd-* *vāst* 'to bind'; *yāng(ə)l* 'finger'; *yark* 'work'; *yašē* 'bone'; *yāzn* 'mussuck'. In *maks* 'fly'; *pārd* 'last year'; *pārg* 'ashes' (but *purk* 'mouse'); *wānj* 'belly'; *zārt* 'yellow'; *žārē* 'milk' the group of consonants is of secondary origin.

b. After or before palatal consonants: *yašē* 'bone'; *yaš* 'horse'; *yaṣ* 'twig'; *yāngəl* 'finger'; *ṣār* 'stone'; *ṣat-* 'to arrive'; *ṣām-* 'to descend'; *ṣān-* 'to speak'; *ṣat* 'own'; *šāp-* 'to suck'; *šapt* (š-?) 'wolf' (lw.); *cār-* 'to do' (< č-?); *tač-* 'to go'; *pāc-* 'to cook'; *nāš-* 'to be lost'.

c. After or before *ḍ* (*d*)? Thus: *ḍai* 'man'; *ḍas* 'ten'; *māḍ* 'waist'; *šāḍ* 'six'; *pāḍ* 'ligature'; *wāḍ* 'handle'. But *wāḍ*, *wāḍ*, etc. 'water-course'; *ḍus* 'mosquito' (< \*a-); *ṣūḍ* 'thief'.

Other, unexplained, examples of *a* are: *wār* 'male oorial'; *wās* 'roof-beam'; *wāz-* 'to fall'; *t̪pār* 'axe'; *bār* 'door'; *sār* 'head' (lw.?), and *yurm* 'forearm' (< ar- < \*r-); *ṣūz* 'firewood'; *wāšk* 'calf'; *čāṣm*, *čā-*, *čō* 'eye'.

89. *Ir. a* results in *u* (or Sh. *ü*) not only in the neighbourhood of labials, but also in other positions, the nature of which I am not able to define.

Thus, e.g.: *būn-* (*bün-*): *bōnd* 'to winnow'; *kūt* 'roof'; *xūr* 'ass'; *wūr* 'lamb' (*wār* 'oorial'); *režup-*, *rīžüp-* 'to sleep'; *Wuṣ* 'Wakhan';

*xūf* 'foam'; *pūs* 'ram'; *pūr̥k* 'mouse'; *pūp* 'father'; *wunuk* 'willow'. In *hūb*, etc. 'seven' and in *mūr* 'apple' there may have taken place an early lengthening of *a* > *ā*.

I can only register the varying developments of *a* in *dendik*, *dūndūk*, etc. 'tooth'; *kend*, *kōnd* (< \**kānti*?) 'woman'; *rəd*, *rōd* 'to flee'; *wuz* 'I'; *pər̥cōd* 'maid'; *wōlč* 'quail'; *đor* L. 'valley'; *mōđ* L. 'to curdle'. In many words the vowel appears to vary considerably in different villages, v. Voc. passim.

Unstressed *a* results in *ə* in: *nəpūs* 'grandson'; *təpār* 'axe'; *cəbūr* 'four'; *rəgūm* 'calf'; *məđir* 'noon'; *məlung* 'middle'; *pezin*, *pizen* 'udder'; *səgin* 'dung'. But, with assimilation to the following vowel: *sigin* Sh. 'dung'; *kibit* 'pigeon'; *ȳidim* 'wheat'; *regiš* 'beard'; *pūtmūi* Sh. 'to mimic'.

Regarding loss of unstressed *a*, cf. § 104.

#### Ir. *ā*.

90. Ir. *ā* apparently resulted in early Wkh. *ū*. This stage of development is preserved before nasals. Thus: *ȳrūng* 'heavy'; *mūm* 'grand-mother'; *nūnd* 'to plant'; *nūng*, *noŋg* 'name'; *pūn* 'palm of the hand'; *rəgūm* 'heifer'; *spūndr* 'plough-share'; *wūndr* 'field'; *xūn* 'house'; *yūm* 'flour';<sup>1</sup> *kəbūn* 'wooden bowl'; *špūn*, *špuun*, *špūn* Sh. 'shepherd'. Sh. gives *ū* also in *rūn* 'shelf'; *nađūn* 'scabbard' (= L. *nađuan* 'quiver'); cf. *neždun* L. 'weeding'.

Before or after a labial we find *ū* in: *ūf*, *wuf* 'to weave' (pret. *āft*, *wōft* with early shortening?); *būi* 'two'; *yupk* 'water'; *yūm* 'flour'; *nəpūs* 'grandson'; *ȳūv* 'cornbin'; *cəbūr* (Kl. *cəbūr*, etc.) 'four'; *pūz* 'breast'; *purs*, *pīrs* 'breast'; *wūr* 'rain'; *āūi* 'sister' (< \**xw*); *pū'd*, *pūd*, etc. 'foot' (but v. Voc. s.v.); *pūy* 'to putrify'; *purz* 'evening' (v. Voc. s.v.).

But cf. also *zūy* 'fat'; *pūk* 'onion'; *yukš* 'male ibex'; *yūyənə ȳər* 'anvil', if these words contain ancient *ā*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 92.



91. A delabialization, which affects also lw.s with  $\bar{u}$ ,<sup>1</sup> has taken place in other positions. Thus: *sīr* 'cold'; *mādir* 'moon'; *ḍitr* 'sickle' (with secondary shortening before a group of consonants); *kīk*, *kīk* 'fountain'; *tīk* 'willow'; *stīy* 'to send'; *yīy* 'coire'; *vīt* Sk. (but *vrit* Y, *vrit* KL, etc.) 'brother'; *ruy* L. 'to bay'; *ḍuri* L. 'stack'. Also before a labial: *yīu* 'cow'; *pəzīv* 'heart'; *ḡiw* Sk., *ḡiu* Y 'horn'; cf. *nīu* Y (= \**nīu*?) 'mill-race'.

Note *škūr(g)* 'to seek'; *tiṣ* Y 'to shave'; *tūš* L. 'to fashion with an axe', etc.

92. After initial *y* a palatalization into *i* has taken place.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *yīšn* 'iron'; *yīrzn* 'millet'; *yīng* 'raw'; *yīxūn* 'bridle' (< \**āxāna*-??); *yīsp* 'shoulder' (< \**ā-spā*-?).

Dubious cases are: *yōc* 'duck' (< \**āḍiči*-?); *yāḍ* 'to pile up' (\**ā-dā*-?); *yōst* 'fowl-house' (\**ā-stā*-?); *yōšt* 'agreement' (*āxšti*-?); *yod*, etc. 'nest' (\**ā-hada-ḍra*-?); *yōž* 'to bear' (\**ā-zaya*-?).

In *sīi* Y 'hare' (\**sā* < \**saha*-); *hūb*, etc. 'seven'; *wīš*, *ūš* 'grass', etc., *a* has probably been lengthened into *ā* at an early date.

In Prs. lw.s we frequently find *ō* or *ā* < *ā*, representing the local Tajiki pronunciation. Also *sāt* 'slate'; *tōr* 'neck', 'back of the head' must probably be lw.s.

#### Ir. *i*.

93. Ancient *i* is preserved in the neighbourhood of a palatal sound in *šiš* 'louse'; *diš* 'to know'; *dedīy*, etc. 'to look'; *čip* 'to pick'. Possibly, with lengthening, in *bərin* 'knee' (v. Voc. s.v.).

The relaxation of the high-front articulation common to many E.Ir. languages appears in: *zem*, *zam* 'snow'; (*a*)*yem*, *yəm* 'this'; *yez* 'yesterday'; *teyd*, *taɣd* 'sharp'; *ḍetk* 'brick'; *bət* 'again'; *ḍet* 'given' (\**dita*-). *rasēḍ*, *rasūḍ* Sh. 'to break, cut'.—*pōst* Sh. 'parched grain' may have 'ə' or a labialized vowel, cf. *pōv*, *pūv*, *pōv* 'to drink' (\**piba*-), with *i* surrounded by labials.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *nīr* Sk. 'light'; *brīt* 'moustache'; *angīr* 'grape'; *pīl* 'money'; but *ambūr* 'tong'; *janūb* 'south' (prob. of more recent origin), and *gī* 'excrement' (ancient lw.).

<sup>2</sup> Except before a remaining labial. Cf. *yūmj*, *yupk* above.

In the originally unstressed prefixes *ni-*, *abi-*, *wi-* the development of *i* is apparently partly regulated by vowel-harmony. The result, however, varies a good deal according to the informant or recorder. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *nəbəs* (*nī*<sup>o</sup>, *na*<sup>o</sup>) 'comb'; *nəḍavn-* (*naḍəvs-*) 'to stick'; *naḍuun* 'quiver'; *nimil-* (*na*<sup>o</sup>) 'to hem'; *namurzg* 'rake'; *nesi-* 'to lie down'; *nəviš-* (*nī*<sup>o</sup>, *ne*<sup>o</sup>) 'to write'; *nezd-* (*nō*<sup>o</sup>, *na*<sup>o</sup>) 'to sit down', etc.; *viḍāw-* 'to ride'; *višiv-* 'to sweep'; *vizam-* 'to rub', etc.; *wəɾəfs-* (*wa*<sup>o</sup>) 'to stand'; *wəɾəč-* 'to remain'; *wušūy-* 'to untie'; *wəšiy-* 'to be afraid'; *witrin-* 'to shy', etc.

*Ir. i.*

94. *Ir. i* remains: *pitt-* 'drank'; *pītk* 'drunk'; *wīs-* 'to set (about the sun)'; *wīst* 'twenty'; *varin-* 'to shear'; *žik* 'Wakhi' (\**waxšika*?). *yīšək* 'plough-handle' probably has ancient *ai*.

*Ir. u.*

95. Also *u* shows a tendency to lose its specific articulation<sup>1</sup> and become a neutral, unrounded vowel, written *ə* (Y, Sk., and Kl.), *ɨ*, *ö*, etc. My not very reliable informants X and W pronounced *e* in several words. There is probably much variation according to dialect.

Examples from Y are: *ḍəɣd* 'daughter'; *ḍögən-* 'milked' (*ḍic-*); *məst* 'fist'; *pətr* 'son'; *səkr* 'red'; *s'təč* 'daughter-in-law'; *wəsk* 'dry'; *kīš* (Sk. *ə*) 'vulva'. Cf. *təš* Sk. 'empty'; *rəḍ-* Sk. 'to flee'; *ət*, *et* Kl. 'and'. Cf. also the lw. *əmr* Sk. 'age'. The etymology of *ḍəɣd* Y, etc. 'new' is unknown. In unstressed syllable *yāng(ə)l* 'finger'.

But *yA/ešk* L. (*yečk* Sh.) 'taught'; *sərv* Sh. 'hole'; *sic* 'needle' (with *i*-umlaut).

Sh. *sūm* 'hoof' (W *ə*); *angüšt* 'live coal'; *būč* 'he-goat' (Y *u*) are lw.s. Cf. also *kirpa* Sk. 'bed-clothes' and other examples of Prs. *u* > *ɨ*.

An early lengthening has probably taken place in *yinōt* 'dream' < \**hufnaḍā*.

<sup>1</sup> V. § 93, and cf. Yd.—Mj. § 149.



Ir. *ū*.

96. Ir. *ū* results in *i*: *đir* 'distant'; *đit* 'smoke'; *ȳidim* 'wheat'; *niv* 'now'; *pīlk* 'rotten'; *stīn* 'post'; *vīt* 'was'; *yir* 'sun'; *zīk* 'tongue' (\**hizūka*). Cf. *stīk* 'play' ~ Khov. *ištuk*, etc.

*tu* 'thou' goes back to a form with ancient shortening of *ū* (later, however, than the change of *u* towards *ə*).

Regarding the development of *ū* in lw.s cf. § 91.

Ir. *r*.

97. Ir. *r* is represented by Y *ər*, *er*, Sk. *ər*, Sh. *ör*, etc., in *kərt* Sk., Kl. 'did'; *kərk* Sk., *kerk* Y 'done'; *ȳəš* Y 'male'; *kərk* Sk., *kerk* Y, X, *körk* Sh. 'fowl'; *mərt* Y, Sk., Kl., *mert* X, *mörtt* Sh. 'died' (*məri*- Sk.); *vərz* Y 'long'; possibly in *mərz* Y, Sk., *merz* X, *marz* Sh. 'hungry'. After *p*, *f* and *w* we find a rounded vowel in *purs*- Y, *pörs*- Kl., Sh., *pərs*- Sk. 'to ask'; *furz* Y, Sh. 'birch'; *wurzg* L. 'right'. Cf. also *đərt* L. 'manure'; *đirs* Y, Z, *dürs* Sh. 'goat's hair'; *sprəȳ* Y 'flower' (if < \**sprȳga*). Also *wuserd* Y 'this year' may contain ancient *r* (v. Voc. s.v.).

But note *tört* 'the day before yesterday' (if < \**tȳta*, cf. *tətvärt*); *taž*, etc. 'thirsty'; *wāltk*, etc. 'kidney'. The derivation of *d'rukš* 'bull' < \**dr̥daka* is for several reasons very dubious, cf. *də/ežd* 'seized' (*durz*-).

*purs*, etc. 'rib, breast' probably goes back to Av. *pərəsu*, not to \**pārsua*.

Ir. *ai*.

98. Ir. *ai* is monophthongized into *i*. Thus: *īu* 'one'; *wīn* 'to see'; *điz* 'wall'; *đisiv* 'to show'; *mizg* 'urine'; *naȳdīn* 'dawn'; *nesi*, *nəsi* 'to lie down' (< -i- or -aya-?); *liv* 'to slip' (IE. \**sleib*-, or \**sleub*-).

With shortening into *i*: *yič* 'ice'; *čil* 'perspiration' (lw.?) *lič* 'to lick'; *rešip* 'whip'(?).

Note *yət* Kl., (*ac*)et, etc. 'this', possibly with vowel influenced by *yəm*.

The development of *i* > *ö* (= *əʔ*) in *pös* Sh. 'white leopard' (Sar. pis, v. Voc. s.v.) is unparalleled. *mai* 'sheep' is a lw.

### Ir. au.

99. Ir. *au* developed through *ū* into *ī*. Thus: *ḍīc* 'to milk'; *ḍīy* 'thick milk'; *ṣīš* (*ṣīš* Sk.) 'ear'; *kīk* 'lynx, wild dog(?)'; *kibit* 'pigeon'; *pīst* 'skin'; *ričn* 'smoke-hole'; *riṣ* 'hair on the body' (\**raupi*-?); *rīz* 'to rip up a seam' (Sar. *raoz*-); *skīd* 'skull-cap'; *šin* 'anus'. Cf. also *mīr-prič* 'ant', if < \**maur* < \**marwi*.

*vūl* 'smell' is probably borrowed from Yd.—Mj., and also *rūyn* 'grease, ghee' and *šin* 'hip' may be lw.s.

In *ṭayum*, etc. 'seed' *au* has probably been shortened. If *ramet* 'chewing the cud' goes back to \**raumaḍa/i* a shortening may also have taken place in unstressed syllable.

I am unable to explain the *e* of *drepč* 'broom'; *ḍeš* L. (*ḍöš* Sh.) 'late' (< *daušā*-?); *reṣk* 'refuse'; *pūmec* 'to dress', and the *a* of *kap* Sh. 'hump'. *čkar* 'partridge' is borrowed from IA.

### Umlaut and Vowel Harmony.

100. The palatalizing influence of a following *y* or *i* is less evident in Wkh. than in most other Ir. languages.

On the one hand we find an apparent palatalization of the vowel in *sprež* 'to blossom' (\**sprjya*-); *mūš* 'to steal' (\**mušya*-); *peš* 'to ripen' (\**pašya*-); *wasēr* 'to become cold' (\**awa-sārya*-); *nīs* 'to lose' (\**nasaya*-); *teš* 'steam' (\**tašya*-); *sič* 'needle' (\**suči*-); *wužen* 'blood' (\**wahwani*-); *haret* 'ell' (\**araḍni*-?); *kend* 'woman, wife' (\**kānti*-?); *būt* 'clothes' (\**ham-pušti*-); \*-*en* fem. of the adj. suffix *-ung* (\**-ānači*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In L. *pert* 'back' and *ḍerd car* 'to carve wood' < \**pršti*, \**dyti*-, *er* may be the regular outcome of *r* in the Hunza dialect of Wkh.



But, on the other hand, we find *mād* 'waist', and *wād* 'irrigation-channel', without any trace of umlaut. Note that both words have *ḍ*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *nāš*- 'to be lost' < \**nasya*-, where the palatalizing force of *y* may, however, have been absorbed into *š*.

The only possible instances of *u*-umlaut are *purk* 'mouse' and *würk* 'lamb',<sup>2</sup> as compared with e.g. *parg* 'ashes'.

101. There is a marked tendency in Wkh. to assimilate unstressed vowels to following stressed ones. Cf., e.g., *režup*- (*rižúp*- Sh.) 'to sleep', but pret. *rožopt*; *pütrüz*- Sh. 'to lean against', but pret. *pätürz*-; *ḍaviy*- Sk. 'to steal', but pret. *ḍovoid*; *wīdər*- 'to hold', but pret. *wōdōrd*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

#### Final Vowels and Consonants.

102. All final consonants are lost, with the possible exception of *-d* in *šād* 'six'. Note the secondary loss of a final consonant in the personal suffix 3 pl. *-ən*, and in the dative suffix *-ər* (< \**arda*-). Cf. also *nəbəs* 'comb' < \**nipesn* (v. Voc. s.v.).

Final vowels remain only in original monosyllables, with the possible exception of *žə*, *žu* 'my', if < \**azyā*.

#### Stress and Contraction.

103. The principles of accentuation underlying the development in Wkh. appear to have been of the ordinary middle-Ir. type.

A long penultima was stressed. Thus: *cəbūr* 'four'; *ȳi'dīm* 'wheat' (\**gantūma*-); *ki'bīl* 'dove'; *nə'pūs* 'grandson'; *rəgūm* 'calf'; *ēkər* 'partridge' (\**ē(i)kōr*, lw.); *bə'rīn* 'knee' (\**dwariθna*-?); *dūr* 'belly' (\**antāra*-?).

Before a short penultima the antepenultima, whether long or short, was stressed: *wīst* 'twenty'; *nūng* 'name'; *mīzg* 'urine'; *rīcn* 'smoke-hole'; *yupk* 'water'; *yīšn* 'iron'; *wəšk* 'calf' (\**wasyaka*); *nezdəm* 'I sit down' (\**niḥazdami*); *zart* 'yellow'; *šapt* 'wolf' (lw.,

<sup>1</sup> Also in Saka *d* prevents umlaut of the preceding vowel.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Shgh. *wārg*, with *-g* < *-uka-*, and Yd.—Mj. *parγ*, etc. (§ 175).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 93, about \**nī*-, \**abi*- and \**wī*-, and v. Geiger, § 60, 2.

< \*šapīð); *s'pūndr* 'plough' (\*spārana-); *pīt* 'he drinks' (\*pibati); *čīt* 'he goes' (\*čaut < \*čyawati), etc.

104. Before the accent a vowel is elided in: *čkər* 'partridge'; *kīč* 'hut'; *čīk* 'Wakhi'; *kšūy* 'to hear' (\*gušaya-?); *stran* 'carpet' (\*staranačī); *wīr* 'single-handed (in a family)' (\*a-wira-); *vi-dāw* 'to ride' (abi<sup>1</sup>); *wa-sēr* 'to become cold' (\*awa<sup>2</sup>); *pəwəz* 'drift-wood' (\*upa-waza-); and cf. the words with initial *b*, *d*, *g* < *ham* + *p/b*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the development of *pati* v. § 30.

There appears to be no trace in Wkh. of ancient accentuation of the fourth syllable from the end. Therefore we find, from *nəsi* 'to lie down', Sk. pret. *nəst-am* (\*ni-sita-), but perf. *nəsət* (\*ni-sitaka-).

The dialectical elision of a vowel in Sh. *rūžp* (: Y *režup*) 'to sleep'; *rəstəw* Y (*rasədav* Sh.) 'to cut'; *pīcew* Y (*pīdisiv* L.) 'to light a fire'; *čāt* 'made' < \*g(ə)čāt (*goč*); *cprēmər* (*cəbrēm*) 'three days hence' are probably of more recent origin than that which has taken place in the words mentioned above.

The infinitive suffix *-āk* is stressed (e.g. *cə'rak* 'to do', *d'yāk* 'to beat'), except after a nasal (*dēng* 'to beat', *būng* 'to winnow', etc.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. § 76 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 107.



## MORPHOLOGY

### Nouns.

#### *Stem-Formation.*

105. The very limited material which I was able to collect consists mainly of lists of words, and adds little to our knowledge of the morphology of Wkh. In all main points it confirms, however, the information given by Shaw and Klimchitskiy. Also Sköld's material is mainly of a lexicographical character, although it contains a number of valuable verbal paradigms.

In these circumstances I shall abstain from trying to give a complete survey of Wkh. morphology and its historical development.

106. The distinction between ancient stems in *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *n*, etc. has been completely obliterated. Along with this development Wkh. has also lost the category of grammatical gender. The ancient suffix *\*-ānācī*, corresponding to a masc. *\*-ānaka-* (> *-ūng*, *-ūng*), still denotes a female being, e.g. in *indigun* Sh. 'female slave' (: *andag* 'male slave'), and *varenj* 'pregnant', but it is without any grammatical significance. The same is the case with the words containing an ancient suffix *-cī*, e.g. *fəryəmē* 'female calf'; *yōc* 'duck'; *antərē* 'sister-in-law'; *yūm* 'flour'; *šün* 'hip', etc.<sup>1</sup>

107. The Ir. *ka-* suffix results in *-k* (*-g*) in a large number of words. Thus, e.g., *ḍetk* 'brick'; *purk* 'mouse'; *waltk* 'kidney'; *yupk* 'water'; *yāšk* 'tear'; *mīzg* 'urine'; *worzg* 'right'; *γ<sup>2</sup>rūng* 'heavy'; *yīng* 'raw'; *nūng* 'name'; *kīk* 'spring'; *zik* 'tongue'. This suffix is no more productive, except in the formation of the pf.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 33.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 155.

But there is a productive, stressed suffix *-ak*, *-ək*, *-ik*, used largely in the formation of diminutives.<sup>1</sup> Thus *āt'šak* 'lightning'; *šauparak* 'bat'; *badxarak* 'n. of a bird'; *bučak* 'small he-goat'; *ustōdək* 'spider'; *šaxək* 'hail'; *šendik* L. 'vine'; *š/šendik* L. 'gum'; *winek* 'marmot', etc. In some cases I have noted stress on the root-syllable, e.g. *dendik* (but Sk., etc. *dəndək*) 'tooth'; *fīak* 'shoulder-blade'. This suffix is partly of Prs. origin (many of the words in *-ak* are Prs. lw.s), but in some cases it may go back to an oblique case *\*-a'kahya*. Cf. the infinitives in *-ak*, but *-ng*.<sup>2</sup>

As for words in *γ* (*γarāy* 'collar'; *madāy'š* 'mare'; *ričay* 'fast'; *sudγ* 'smooth') v. § 29.

108. A suffix *-ī* is used to form abstract nouns in Sk. *γūd-i* 'theft'; *šundr-ī* 'heat'; *sūr-ī* 'cold'. It may be of Prs. origin. Cf. Kl. *-ēy* (*šundr-ēy*, *sūr-ēy*) of unknown origin.

Of Prs. origin is also the adjective suffix *-ī* in *jigār-ī* 'brown'; *xōk-ī* 'grey', etc. But in *sērd-ing-ī*, *pard-ing-ī* 'belonging to this, to last year' at any rate the first part of the suffix is genuine (< *\*(a)inaka*). Cf. Kl. *sōl i šaxək-in* 'belonging to last year'.

I have not come across the adjective suffix *-ēy*, or the suffix forming nomina agentis *-akūzg*<sup>3</sup> mentioned by Kl., p. 92.

### Noun Inflection.

#### The Article.

109. Wkh. has differentiated the indefinite article *ī* from the numeral *īu*.

#### Case and Number.

110. The only ancient Ir. case-forms preserved in nouns in Wkh. are the abl., instr., etc., sg. in *-en*, *-an*,<sup>4</sup> and the corresponding pl. form in *-v*.<sup>5</sup> These forms have been treated by Tedesco, ZII, IV, 154 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kl., p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> §§ 104, 157.

<sup>3</sup> < *\*akzūg* < *\*aka-zāka* 'son of' > 'connected with'??

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 199.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kl., p. 94. Acc. to Kl. the sg. suffix *-en* is sometimes added to (ə)v.



111. The accusative has usually the same form as the nominative (e.g. *iyam xalg yupk pīt* Y 'this man drinks water'; *icuz tar kitāb randəm* Y 'I give you a book'). But a form corresponding to Shaw's acc. in *-a* and Kl.'s in *-i* appears in *tu mārek kitābe detāi* Y 'you gave me a book'; *rəxnīgi pīcevəm* Y 'I kindle the (or: a) fire'; *šunği škəndivəm* X 'I break the (or: a) stick'; *žə pətrei pūmecevum* Y 'I dress my son'.<sup>1</sup> The origin of this form is uncertain, but it might be derived from *\*-ē < -ahya*.
112. The dative ends in *-ar*, *-er*, *-ər* sometimes with the addition of a particle *ke* (Kl., Hj. *-ək*, Sk. *-ək*, e.g. in *yurmək*, besides *yurmər*). This suffix may be derived from *\*-ard < \*ardai*, *\*ardam*.
- As for the prepositions *ce*, *pu*, *da*, etc., cf. § 132.
113. As stated by Shaw<sup>2</sup> "the noun in the genitive is merely placed before the governing noun without any sign." Thus, e.g., *žə yāš mād* Sk. 'the back of my horse'; *draxt pist* Sk. 'bark' (but *pist-i diraxt* X). Sometimes the Prs. construction is used by X in the tale,<sup>3</sup> e.g., *dast-i istež* 'the daughter-in-law's hand', etc.
- The *-e* which appears in *yeū tate noŋg* X 'his father's name' is scarcely an ancient oblique case suffix, but merely the euphonic vowel employed by X after a final consonant, e.g. in *niude* 'he wept'; *i degde tūet* 'there was a daughter', etc. But note the Wkh. phrase *yāše yūrē* 'horse's grain' in Lorimer's Bur. Vocabulary.
- Kl., p. 95, mentions a predicative genitive in *-ən* (*yi dāyən tu yi pərnəc* 'a man had a churn'). Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 214.
114. The nom. pl. is formed by the addition of *-išt*, as stated by Shaw, e.g. in *xalgišt* Y 'people', or *-išt* Sk., Kl., e.g. *kəndišt* Sk. 'women'; *skidišt* 'caps'. This form is evidently borrowed from the Prs. collective-abstract in *-išt(t) < -išn*.

<sup>1</sup> *ayou pādšāra sa'lām gošt* X 'he saluted the king' may either contain a Prs. dative in *-ra*, or a form *a-salām*, with the prefixed acc. *a-* mentioned by Shaw.

<sup>2</sup> P. 12.

<sup>3</sup> And also by Kl.

## Composition.

115. Compounds of genuine Wkh. origin do not appear to be very numerous, and they conform to the ordinary Prs. types. Thus, e.g., *bəč-đəyd* 'female cousin (: uncle's daughter)'; *draxt-pist* 'bark of a tree' (but cf. also § 113); *gidim-žec* 'wheaten bread'; *γəši-yāngəl* 'thumb'; *hīb-vrīt* 'Charles' Wain (: The Seven Brothers); *đas-iu* 'eleven'; *naydīn-yupk* 'dew'.

Ancient compounds are, e.g., *žasirz* 'wife's sister' (< \**hwasura-zā*); *noyordum* 'bear', and *sanguurt* 'beetle'.

As for ancient nominal and verbal compounds with *abi-*, *ā-*, *us-*, *fra-*, *ham-*, *nī-*, *niš-*, *pati-*, *pari-*, *wi-*, etc., v. Voc.

## Numerals.

116. 1. *iu* (ī) Y, X, N, (h)ī W; *yiw* Sk.  
 2. *būi* Y, X, N, W, Sk.  
 3. *trūi* Y, X, N, Sk.; *trūi* W.  
 4. *cəbūr* Y, X, N, W; *cəbūr*, *ir* Sk.  
 5. *pānz* Y, X; *p'an's* N; *pāns* W; *pānqz* Sk.  
 6. *šād*, *šād* Y, X, N, Sk.; *šād* Y, W.  
 7. *hūb*, *hōb* Y; *hūb* X; *ūb* N; *hībđ* (l) W; *ūb*, *ib*, *ūb* Sk.  
 8. *hat* Y, *hāt* X, W, *at* N, *āt* Sk.  
 9. *nāu* Y; *nāu* X; *nau* N, *nāb* W, *nā.u* Sk.  
 10. *đas* Y, N, Sk.; *das* X, W.  
 11. *đas-iu* N, Sk.; *das-iu* X; *das-hi* W.  
 19. *das-nab* W.  
 20. *wist* Y; *bist* N, Sk.; *bist* W.  
 30. *sī* N; *trūđas* Sk.

The vigesimal system prevails as in other Pamir and Hindukush languages. Thus, e.g., Kl. *cəbūr bist* '80' (but *bist* at *cəbūr* '24'); *trūbist* Sk. '60', but *trūđas* '30'.



The numerals from 11—19 agree in their formation with the Shghn. group and with Khowar, not with Ishk.—Sgl. and Yd.—Mj.

*būi* has probably got its diphthong from *trūi* (< Av. *θrāyō*, with long *ā*?), cf. the adaptation of the numeral '3' to '2' in Kurdish.<sup>1</sup> Regarding *šād* v. § 46.

117. Ancient ordinals are apparently preserved in *bət*, *tōrt* and *cəbrēm*, v. Voc. s.vv. Regarding modern ordinals in *-üŋg*, v. Kl. p. 92. Note the distributive *igōn igōn* 'one each'.

### Pronouns.

#### Personal Pronouns.

##### 1st Prs. Sg.

	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>wuz</i> (= N)	<i>wuz</i>	<i>wuz</i>
Acc. (Obl.)	<i>maž</i>	<i>maž</i>	<i>maž</i>
Gen.	<i>žə</i> (= N)	<i>žu</i>	<i>žə</i>
Predic. Gen.		<i>žunan</i>	<i>žənən</i>
Dat.	<i>mar</i> , <i>mār-ek</i>	<i>mar</i> , <i>mar-k/g</i>	<i>mār-ək</i>
Agent		<i>wuz-um</i>	

##### 2nd Prs. Sg.

	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>tu</i> (= N)	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>
Acc. (Obl.)	<i>tau</i>	<i>tau</i> ( <i>tī</i> )	
Gen.	<i>tī</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>tə</i>
Predic. Gen.	<i>tīnen</i>	<i>tīnen</i> , <i>-ən</i>	<i>tīnən</i>
Dat.	<i>tar</i> , <i>tār-ek</i>	<i>tawar</i> (-ke)	<i>tār-ək</i>
Loc.			<i>tər-tau</i>

<sup>1</sup> Gārrūsī *sō*, with *ō* from *dō*, acc. to communication from Barr.

1st Prs. Pl.			
	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>sak</i> (= N)	<i>sak</i>	<i>sāk</i>
Gen.	<i>spa</i>	<i>ispa</i>	<i>spō</i>
Predic. Gen.		<i>ispacan</i>	
Dat.		<i>sakar</i>	<i>sākək</i>

2nd Prs. Pl.			
	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>sāis(t)</i>	<i>saš</i>	<i>sāyis</i>
Acc. (Obl.)	<i>sāv</i>	<i>sab</i>	
Predic. Gen.	<i>sāvan</i>	<i>sab/fan</i>	<i>sāv-ək</i>
Dat.		<i>sabar</i>	

- W gave the purely Sgl. forms *aze* 'I'; *tafak* 'thee'; *tumux* 'you'.
119. For reasons unknown to us the system of Personal Pronouns in Wkh. has been much more thoroughly refashioned than those of most other Ir. languages. The stems *mana*, *ahma-* and *(yu)šma-*, which play such an important rôle elsewhere, have disappeared, and have been replaced by others of uncertain derivation. Any attempt to trace the origin of these forms must necessarily be hazardous.

- An archaism of Wkh. is the preservation of four different stems in the paradigms of the sg. (*wuz*, *ma-*, *maž*, *žə*, and *tu*, *ta-*, *tau*, *tī*).
120. The acc. *maž* 'me', which according to Shaw is also used as the base for the loc., instr. and abl., and according to Kl. (*maž*) as an agent, may phonetically be derived from *\*mazya*.<sup>1</sup> This form would correspond to Skr. *mahyam* and lend support to the theory that *h* < *gh* is original in this word, Gathic *maibya* having got its *b* from *taibya*. Probably, at the time when the dative and the genitive were confounded in Ir., Wkh. *\*man* was supplanted by *maž*, while, on the other hand, *taw* prevailed upon *\*tav*. Thus, e.g., Kl.<sup>2</sup> *māž*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 72.

<sup>2</sup> P. 98.



*xatt-əi* 'I said' < \**mazyā hwatam*, but *tāu* . . . *ḍett-əi* 'thou gavest' < \**tawa ditam*.

121. The dat. *mār-ek* contains the base *mā*, after which has been formed *tā* in *tār-ek*.<sup>1</sup> Kl. gives *mā* and *tā* as separate obl. forms. X *tawar*(*ke*) is a secondary formation.

122. Gen. 2nd prs. sg. *tī*<sup>2</sup> may go back to enclitic \**tai*. But the corresponding 1st prs. form *ḡə*, *ḡu* (Kl. *ḡə*) appears to be derived from a possessive adjective \**azyā*, and it is possible that *tī* represents ancient \**tuya*. But no parallel formations are known from any other Indo-Ir. language, and the derivation here suggested remains quite uncertain.

The predic. gen. forms in *-nen*, *-nan*<sup>3</sup> remind us of Sgl. *mānen*, *tōnan*, Ishk. *mānō*, *tīnō*. But in these dialects the first *n* has been transferred to the 2nd prs. from *mān-*, while no such explanation is possible in Wkh. Most probably \**ḡu-n*, *tī-n* were formed with the same suffix as *ḡay-ən* mentioned above, and then the full suffix *-en* was added.<sup>4</sup> Kl. gives *taw-ən* besides the older form *tīn-ən*.

123. The pl. forms are still more difficult to explain.

As for the gen. 1st pl. *spā* (Sk. and Kl. *spō*) borrowing from Khov. has been suggested.<sup>5</sup> And, in spite of the objections which may on principle be raised against the assumption of borrowing of personal pronouns, it seems impossible to reject this explanation. *spā* would be the expected older form of modern Khov. *ispa* (< \**spā* < \**aspā* < *asmā*), which must originally have been an oblique form, and no Ir. derivation can be found for the Wkh. form.

It is, perhaps, also possible to take *sā(-išt)* to be a lw. from ancient Khov. \**vsā* (from which \**bsa* > *bisa*, *pisa*).

But *sak* 'we' is not likely to be borrr. from Shina obl. *asu/o* (< \**asaka-ŷ*).

X predic. gen. *ispacan* is confirmed by Kl. *spōcən*, but the origin

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *tā*, which has been formed after the analogy of *mā*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ishk. *tī*.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw has *zui-an* 'mine'.

<sup>4</sup> V. § 113, and cf. p. 486, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> V. Shaw, p. 49, Tomaschek, *Centralas. Stud.*, 95 (< IA *sva-ŷ*), and Rep. Afgh. p. 79.

of -c- is unknown. A transfer from a lost form *\*ahmācā* > *\*māc-* is not probable.

The 2nd pl. obl. and gen. *sāv* has been formed with the ordinary suffix -əv. *sab* X may be a Hunza-Wkh. form, cf. *sabə* in a Wkh. sentence in a Bur. text.<sup>1</sup>

There are no enclitic possessive pronouns in Wkh. But -am, -at -an, -av are used to express the subject in the past tenses.<sup>2</sup>

### Demonstrative Pronouns.

124. The following forms occur in our material:

"THIS"			
Sg.	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>yem, iyem, iyam</i>	<i>yem, (h)a-yem</i>	
Acc.	<i>yimē</i> <sup>3</sup>		
Loc.	<i>(a)dʳ-əm</i>		<i>dəʳ-əm</i>
Obl.		<i>a-yēman</i>	
Abl.		<i>c-eman</i>	<i>c-əm</i>
Pl.			
Nom.		<i>a-<sup>1</sup>yemiš</i>	
"THAT"			
Sg.	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>yau, a-yāu</i>	<i>yau, ye, a-yau</i>	<i>yau</i>
Gen.		<i>yau, yeū</i> (?)	
Loc.	<i>dʳ-a</i>		
Dat.		<i>yowar, yaɰwark</i>	<i>yāwək</i>
Obl.		<i>yōwan</i>	
Pl.			
Nom.		<i>yāwiš</i>	<i>yāwiš, <sup>o</sup>ušt</i>

<sup>1</sup> Lorimer, Bur. Langu., II, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 154.

<sup>3</sup> *yimē detem tārek* 'I gave thee this'.



125. These two pronouns go back to Ir. *ima-* and *awa-*, while Y *acet* 'from this'<sup>1</sup> contains a stem *\*ita-*, from Ir. *aita-*, influenced by *ima-*.

Kl. gives complete paradigms for all three pronouns *yəm*, *yət*, and *ya(u)*, cf. Yd.—Mj. § 208 *mo*, *yo*, *wo*. But while the stems *(y)əm*, *(y)ət* remain through all cases, *yau* forms an ablative *c-an-ən*,<sup>2</sup> (corresponding to *c-əm-(ən)*, *c-ət-(ən)*), and a locative *d-am*, *sk-a(m)* (corresponding to *d-əm*, *d-ət*, and *sk-əm*, *sk-ət*). These caseforms probably go back to Ir. *ana-* and *ahmi*.

A prefixed *(h)a-*, corresponding in use to Prs. *ham-* in *ham-in*, emphasises the demonstrative force of the pronouns.

When used as adjectives the demonstratives are usually uninflected.  
V. Voc. s.vv.

### Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

126. *kūi*, *kui* Y, X, Sk., *ko-i* Sh. 'who?', 'somebody'.—Probably < *kahya*.

*kūm* X, *kum* Sh. 'which?'.—Probably < *\*kāma-* cf. Psht. *kūm*.

*čis*, *či* X, *čiz* Y, Sk., *čiz* Sh. 'what?'.—Prs.—V. Voc.

*ciim* X, Sk., Sh. 'how much?', 'how many?', 'some'.—Cf. Kl. *tum* 'so much', etc.

*čizi* Y, X 'something'.—Prs.

*žat* X, Sk. 'self, own'.—From Av. *xʰatō*. *žūnen*, *-an* X 'own'.—Cf. *žunen*, etc.

*cerak* Y, *cərek* Sk. 'why?'; *cə-waxt* Sk. 'when?' contains an ancient interrogative *cə* < *čit*.

*yan* 'other'.—< *anya-*.

*yamān* Kl. 'one another' is possibly derived from *\*(y)anān* < *\*anya-anya*. Cf. § 85. *(h)alamān* L. id. < *\*anyam-anya-?*

<sup>1</sup> *wuz acet xūnen nieštem* 'I went out of this house'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *cān* L. 'from there'.

*Use of the Cases and Prepositions.*

127. The subject of a transitive verb in a past tense is put in the nominative in my texts. Thus: *you nān ʔat* X 'his mother said'; *wuz ʔeč-em yitkem* Y 'I have eaten bread'; *ayou nāgde nikā kerk* X 'he arranged the wedding at night'. But note *uz-um ʔinak* X 'I have said'. Acc. to Kl., p. 98, a pronominal subject is put in the obl. case in such phrases: *māʔ ʔattai* 'I said', etc.

128. Regarding the special accusative form of nouns v. § 111. The object, when a personal pronoun, is usually put in the acc.-obl. Thus: *tu ʔizir maʔ di?* Y 'why dost thou beat me?'; *sak sāv dinen* Y 'we beat you'; *sāiš ʔizir maʔ dief?* Y 'why do you beat me?'; *wuz tau* (or *tī?*) *dīmēm* X 'I beat thee'; *wuz sab dīmim* X 'I beat you'.—*ʔizəv sāyiš wīndəv?* Sk. 'what (things) do you see?' is an example of the obl. pl. of an interrogative pronoun.

The "accusative" is used in a local or temporal sense in *yupk piōla kaṭum* X 'I pour water into the cup' (: *wuz yupk ar pīl kaṭem* Y); *ʔāu yūndəm ʔədōrg* Y 'I carry grain to the mill', and *wūd nāyd* Y 'to-night'.

129. Examples of the use of the dative are: *mark mālum ne vit* X 'it was not known to me'; *you nānar ʔat* X 'he said to his mother'; *yāwər nikā kerk* X 'he made a wedding for her'; *tu mar kiṭāb rand* Y 'give me a book'; *wuz tawar i rūpiā rāndəm* X 'I give thee one rupee'; *wuz tar kiṭāb randəm* X 'I give thee a book'; *wuz sabar . . . rāndəm* X 'I give you'; *sakar iḡon iḡon rūpiā rande* X 'give us one rupee each'; *tu mārek kiṭābe ʔetāi* Y 'thou gavest me a book'; *yimē ʔetem tārek* Y 'I give this to thee'; *mārek . . . nə fort* Sk. 'I will not' (: 'it doesn't please me'). Note also: *tu ʔiz yarkər wəzd* X 'what work didst thou come out for?'; *uz kend ʔilgakar wəzdim* X 'I came out to seek a wife', and *ʔizir* 'why?', 'what for?'.

A personal object is put in the dat.—probably through the influence of Prs.—in *wuz targ dišum* X 'I know thee' (but *wuz aya xalg dišem* Y 'I know that man'); *tu ʔizir-ke marg diḡ?* X 'why dost



thou beat me?' (but *tu čizir maž di* Y); *yašer 'peden guž* X 'saddle the horse' (but *yaš 'peden gužt*).

The dative denotes temporal or local relations in *purzer* X 'in the evening'; *tortor* X 'the day after to-morrow' (but *tört* Y); *šub'r halak* Sh. 'to pass the night'; *xonar rič* X 'go home'; *rešt xonar-ke* X 'he went home'; *i manziler-ke rešt* X 'he came to a halting-place'.

130. Examples of the genitive of pronouns are: *you nān* X 'his mother'; *yem žə xūn* Y 'this is my house'; *žu xonan ti xon lup* X 'thy house is bigger than my house'; *ispa xon lup* X 'our house is big'; *tə(ʔ) nūng* Sk. 'thy name'.

The predicative genitive is used e.g. in: *hayem xon 'žūnan* X 'this house is mine'; *yau xon tinan* X 'that house is thine'; *tinan čis yark tu?* X 'hast thou any work?'; *ayem xon ispacan* X 'this house is ours'; *yem xūn sāvan* Y 'this house is yours'; *i deyd saban tūet* Y 'you had a daughter'; *yem xūn žə žūnen* Y 'this house is my own'.

131. The ablative, with or without *ce* 'from', is found in: *(ce) xōnen niešk* X 'he went out of the house'; *wuz ce xūnen ništen* Y 'I went out of the house'; *uz a'yem 'xōnan* X 'I am from this house'; *wuz a'yēman rūpiā durzəm* X 'I take a rupee from this one'. In *žau ce wuš ništəm* Y '*yalla az kâ barā'ourdam*' *ce* is used without the abl. ending.

Note the comparative meaning in *žu xonan ti xon lup* X 'thy house is larger than mine', etc.

*az ayon jiniban* X 'for this sake, *az barā-i ū*' is a semi-Prs. expression.

132. The instrumental, which acc. to Shaw is formed with *da*... *an*, appears in *pu čakucen rəstəvəm* Y 'I cut with a knife'. Kl., p. 94, gives *xingārən* 'dagger' used as an instrumental, but cf. also *pə...ən* (p. 100).

On the other hand *da* denotes the locative in *'peden da dā'lān tū* X 'the saddle is on the veranda'; *da amī xon* 'in this house'

(semi-Prs.). Cf. the purely Prs. expression: *dar huzūr-i pādšā X* 'in the presence of the king'.

But *dr-* in *d'rēm* 'in this, here', *dra* 'in that, there' appears to be genuine Wkh.

### Adverbs.

133. 1. Local: *dārēm* 'here'; *dra* 'there'; *tārēm* 'thither'; *tārēt* Sk. 'there'; *kumjei* 'where?'; *ce-kūman* 'whence?', 'where?'; *dir* 'at a distance'; *šiš* (*šīšn*), *qarīb* 'near'; *wūč* 'up'; *baār*, *tar-vič* Sh. 'outside'; *tar sibās* Sh. 'behind'; *prūt* Sh. 'forward, first'.

2. Temporal: *niv* 'now'; *wūdg* 'to day'; *yez* 'yesterday'; *tört* 'the day after to-morrow, or before yesterday'; *cōbrēm* 'three days hence'; *wu'serd*, *imsōl* 'this year' (cf. the adj. *sērdingī* 'belonging to this year', *pardingī* 'belonging to last year'); *tətvārt* 'the year before last'; *ar'sōl* 'yearly'; *cə-waxt* 'when?'; *awal* 'formerly'; *bād* 'then'; *bət* 'further, again'; *cebas* 'again, then'; *subda'mik* 'in the morning'; *pūrzer* 'in the evening'; *waxtī* 'once'.

3. Modal, etc.: *yaḥ* 'very'; *čizir*, 'cerak' 'why?'; *cəm-jə'nīb* 'therefore'; *yō-yō*, *xō-xō* 'either-or'; *yān*, 'bale' 'yes'; *xūb* 'well'; *al batt* 'perhaps'; *ət* 'and'.

For particulars v. Voc. s.vv.

### The Verb.

#### Stems.

134. According to Shaw<sup>1</sup> "every Verb appears, in its various tenses, under four forms, which require to be known, in each case, before it can be conjugated. These are: The Infinitive form. The Present form. The Past form. The Perfect form."

To these four 'forms' must be added the 3rd sg. pres., wherever its stem differs from that of the 1st Sg.

<sup>1</sup> P. 14.



## The Verb Substantive.

135. The nominal construction is very common in Wkh. Thus, e.g.: *ha'yem xōn žunan* X 'this house is mine'; *uz ayem xōnan* X 'I am from this house'; *žu xōnan ti xōn lup* X 'thy house is bigger than mine'; *sak Waxi xalge* X 'we are Wakhis'; *sāišť kūi?* Y 'who are you?'; *yem xūn žə žūn(ən)* Y 'this house is my own'.

Among the few examples of the auxiliary noted by Sk. and myself are: *wuz-əm murz vitk* Sk. 'I have become hungry', and, in the present, *tu-t kūi?* Y 'who art thou?'; *sak-ən Xk-ən* Y 'we are Wakhis'.

*tei-* is used in: *sāk-ən tū* Sk. 'we were'; *saš kūi tūet* X 'who were(?) you', *čis xabar tēi?* X 'what is the matter?'. Note *tūet* X = *tū* 'he, she was' in the Tale.

Regarding *vit* and *woc-* v. Voc. s.vv.

## The Present Stem.

136. The only productive Present formation is the Causative in *-ev-*, *-əv-*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Thus: *pūmecev-* 'to dress somebody else' from *pūmec-*; *nezdəv-* 'to make to sit down' from *nezd-*. Wkh. *-v-* cannot go back to Ir. *-p-*, and the suffix must be of IA origin.<sup>2</sup>—*pšū-* Sh., causative of *pšin-*, *pšew-* 'to return' and *werxūv-* (from *werxar-* 'to flood') are irregular formations. Of *niv-* 'to extinguish' and some other causatives no simple forms are known.

137. A number of verbs have 1 sg. pres. in *-i(y)əm*, *-im*, and 3 sg. in *-it* (*-id*). Thus: Sk. *dəviyəm* (*dəvid*) 'I steal'; *kəmiəm* (*kimit*) 'I will'; *mərim* (*mīrid*) 'I die'; *nəsim*, Y *nesiam* (*nīsīd*) 'I lie down'; *wəšim*, Y *wəšiyəm* (*wišīd*) 'I am afraid'; *wəzim*, Y *wəziəm* (*wīzīt*, Y *wīzīt*) 'I come'; Sh. *ramiam* (*rimīt*) 'I command'; Kl. *pörviyəm* (*pērvīt*) 'I attain'. These forms must go back to ancient presents in *-āya-*, *-iya-*: *\*dabaya-*, *\*kamaya-*, *\*mriya-*, *\*ni-saya-*, *\*wi-sriya-*(??), *\*uz-aya-*(??),

<sup>1</sup> Sk. *picwəm*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Yd.—Mj. § 229 and the corresponding Psht. and Par. forms.

\**fra-māya*, \**pari-apaya* (anc. lw. ?). Also Sk. *ṛiṇām* (*ṛiṇā*) 'I copulate'; *jōyām* (*jōyā*) 'I read'; *sədūyā* 'it appears'; *səṭiṇām* (*səṭiṇā*) 'I send'; *sīyām* (*sīyā*) 'I rub'. Cf. also: Sh. *wuṣūyam* 'I untie';<sup>1</sup> *pūtmūiam* 'I mimic'; *zūwāyam* 'I roll up'; *wūzdiam*, Y *wuzdiem* 'I wash';<sup>2</sup> *kšūiam*, Y *kšūyām* 'I hear' (< \**guṣāya* ?), and, probably, Sk. *śāyām*, Y *šāyām* (*šāit*<sup>3</sup>) 'I kill' belong to this group. Wkh. *-iy*, *-ūy*, *-ūy* goes back to \**-āya*, but the distribution between forms in *-āya* and *-aya* has apparently in some cases been troubled.

But cf. also *pūmec* 'to dress' and *nīs* 'to lose', with apparent loss of *-aya*.

138. Presents in *-ya* are preserved in *diṣ* 'to know'; *pöc* 'to cook' (intr.); *töṣ* 'to empty out' (denom.); *nāṣ* 'to be lost'; *pōdmōṣ* 'to ferment' (if < \**pati-dmasya*); *tač* 'to go, move' (?); *muṣ* 'to conceal'; *ramuṣ* 'to forget', and *wasēr* 'to become cold'.

139. Ancient Presents in *-sa* are chiefly found in connection with *f*, *v*, e.g., *wəraf*s 'to stand'; *gaf*s 'to run'; *naḍef*s 'to stick' (Sh. *naḍevs* 'to affect, stain'), etc. Cf. also *šaxs* 'to pass through'. In *purs* 'to ask' the suffix is of pre-*Ir.* date. The derivation of *kās* 'to thresh' < \**xad* + *sa* is uncertain.

140. Ancient Presents in *-nā* are: *varin* 'to shear'; *pazdan* 'to recognize'; *witrin* 'to sky', and, possibly, *pšin* (= *pšew*) 'to return'.

An infixed *-n* probably appears in *rānd* 'to give' (cf. also *pūriṇd* 'to sell', *vārand* 'to abuse' ?); *yūnd* 'to carry away'; *nūnd* 'to plant'; *škənd(iv)* 'to break', and in some other verbs in *-nd*.

141. Remains of other Present formations are: *nezd* 'to sit down' (\**ni-hazda*); *pōv* 'to drink' (\**piba*); *car* 'to do' (Aor. *čara* ?). In *wōc* 'to become', and *čāw* 'to go' the Presents differ from the Past Stems (*vit*, *tāy*<sup>4</sup>).

Irregular are *dim* (and *dē*) 'to beat'; *zūbūt* Sh., trans. of *zūbed*

<sup>1</sup> But note Sh. *wūšam* 'I loose'.

<sup>2</sup> With inflexion influenced by *dē*, v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>3</sup> With secondary 3rd sg.

<sup>4</sup> Sh. has *čau*: *tay* 'to go', but *tōc*: *tōct* 'to move'. V. Voc. s.vv.



'to burst'. *piding* is probably the perf. of *\*pidin-* 'to flame up' (< *\*pati-dagna-?*), cf. *picev-* Y, *pidisev-* L. 'to kindle a fire' (< *\*pati-daxsa-??*). V. Voc. s.vv.

## Present.

142.	Y	Y	Y	X	
	'I eat'	'I drink'	'I beat'	'I eat'	
1 Sg.	'yāwum	pōvən	dīməm	'yāwum	
2 »		pōvī	dī	'yawi(-ā)	
3 »	yit	pīt		'yawet	
1 Pl.	yāwən	pōvən	dinen	'yāwən	
2 »	yāwov	pōvov	dief	'yawit	
3 »	yāwən	pōvən		'yāwən	
	Sk.	Sk.	Sk.	Sk.	Kl.
	'I drink'	'I put'	'I die'	'I steal'	
1 Sg.	'pūwəm	kāṭəm	mərīm	ḏəviyəm	-əm
2 »	'pūvī	kāṭi		ḏəviyi	—
3 »	'pīt	kārt	'mīrīd	ḏəvid	-t, -d
1 Pl.	pūwən	kāṭən	mərīn	ḏəviyən	-ən
2 »	'pūwov	kārtov(!)	məriv		-it, -ov
3 »	pūwən	kāṭən	(mərīn?)		-ən

143. As mentioned above<sup>1</sup> the 2nd pl. ends in *-t* in Eastern Wakhan, but in *-v* in Western Wakhan. This latter form is probably borrowed from Ishk., as *-dwam* would not result in Wkh. *-v*.

Owing to early contractions the 3rd sg. presents some irregularities. The secondary contact between the final consonant of the root and the suffix results in various assimilations. Thus: *wōst* 'becomes' (*wōcəm*); *rəšt* 'goes' (*raçəm*); *wərəšt* 'remains' (*wərəçəm*); *witrišt* Sh. 'shies' (*witrinam*); *rasašt* Sh. 'breaks' (*rasedəm*); *kārt* 'puts' (*kāṭəm*); *wūzənd* 'brings' (*wūzəməm*). But *rapact* Sh. 'loses the way', *pāct* Sk. 'cooks'. Verbs ending in *nd* have no visible suffix. Thus: *vand* 'binds', *kānd* 'laughs', *nūnd* 'plants', with *-nd* < *\*nd-d*.

<sup>1</sup> § 16.

Quite irregular is the inflexion of *diməm* Y (v. above); *dēm*, 3 sg. *dēšt* Sk.; *dēməm*, 3 sg. *dəit*, 1, 3 pl. *dēnən* Kl.; *dehəm-əm*, *de*, *det*, *dehen-ən*, *dehen-əv*, *dehen-ən* Hj. This verb has to some extent influenced the inflexion of *wuzdi* 'to wash'. *təi* 'is' (1 sg. *təyəm* Sk.) is perhaps of pronominal origin, cf. Psht. *dai*.

Regarding the 3rd sg. in *it* cf. above § 137. In a number of verbs, chiefly in *-āw* and *-āy*, the vocalism is changed into *-i* in the 3rd sg.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g., *yit* 'eats' (*yāw*-); *čit* 'goes' (*čāw*-); *drit* 'reaps' (*drāw*-); *θit* 'burns' (*θāw*-); *šitt* 'kills' (*šāy*-). Note also *pīt* 'drinks' (\**pivt* < \**pibati*?).

The 1st pl. in *-n* agrees with some dialects of Sgl.—Ishk., etc.<sup>2</sup>

In some cases Sk. gives a compound form in the 3rd sg. Thus, e.g. *vūl cart* 'smells', but *vūləm* (abstract), *vūl-carəm* (concrete); *qēw cart* 'calls' (*qēwem*).

#### Imperative.

144. The Imper. 2 sg. is identical with the Present Stem. Thus, e.g., Sk. *yīn* 'see'; *pāc* 'cook'; *təi* 'be'; *čān* 'say'; *xaš* 'pull'; *uərəč* 'remain', etc. V. Voc. passim.

#### The Past Stem.

145. The formation of the Past Stem has been subject to numerous levelling innovations, and only a comparatively small number of verbs or root-types have preserved preterites which may go back direct to Old Ir. forms.

Thus we find \**-āta-* in *ramatt* Sh. 'commanded' (*rami-*), *statt* Sh., *stətt* Sk. 'sent' (*sətiy-*); \**-ata-* in *čāt(t)* 'said' (*čān-*), *sat* 'rose' (*san-*), *kott* 'drew a sword' (*kūn-*), *čāt(t)* 'arrived' (*čāt-*); \**-ita-* in *pīt(t)* 'drank' (*pōv-*), *varitt* 'shore' (*varīn-*), *šit*, *šitt* 'killed' (*šāy-*), *zwett* 'wound' (*zwāy-*), *nəst* 'lay down' (*nəsī-*),<sup>3</sup> possibly also in *bott* 'over-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk., § 124, and 132.

<sup>3</sup> With syncope in a disyllabic stem.



threw' (*büt-*) from *\*ham-patita*(?), *nütt* 'planted' (*nünd-*) from *\*ni-hādita*(?); and in *ðet(t)* 'gave' (*rānd-*) from *\*dita-*; *\*-ūta-* in *vit*, *vit(t)* 'became', *yit*, *yēt* 'ate' (*yāw-*).

I always heard Y *-t* (e.g. *žat*, but X *žatt*). L. has *pit* and *pšet* (Sh. *pitt*, *pšett*). Sh. and Sk. in most cases have *tt*, but note Sh. *yit*, *parvet* (Z *pörvött*, but Kl. *pörvətī*), *vārāt* (Sk. *vāratt*), and Sk. *yēt*, *vit*, *ðet* (Sh. *yit*, *vitt*, *ðett*). Kl. regularly gives *pit*, *žat*, but *pittāi*, *žattāi*. Note, however, Kl. *žatāi*, *pšatāi*, *pörötāi*, *yitāi* (but *yittūy*).—The variation between *tt* and *t* does not appear to have any phonological significance and may partly be due to inexact observation, partly to difference of dialect. It is, perhaps, possible that *tt* originally belongs to stems of the type *nütt* < *\*nihādita-*, and has been generalized.

146. Ir. *\*-rta-* is represented by *kert* 'did' (*car-*) and *mört* 'died' (*məri-*); *\*-rīda-* by *dežd* 'held' (*durz-*); *-asta-* by *vāst* 'bound' (*vānd-*) and *xərōst* Kl. 'snored' (*xərüθ-*);<sup>1</sup> *\*-ašta-*, *-išta-* by *wāšt* 'fell' (*wāz-*), *nāšt* 'lost' (*nāš-*), *tāšt* 'shaved' (*tūš-*),<sup>2</sup> and *wišt* '(the sun) set' (*wīs-*).<sup>3</sup>

Ir. *\*-afta-*, *\*-ifta-* occur in *čavd* 'gathered' (*čip-*); *naðevd* 'stuck' (*naðefs-*); *\*-axta-* in *tayd*, *rəyd* 'went' (*čāw-*, *rəč-*).<sup>4</sup>

Also *rasen-* 'broke' (*rasēd-*); *nein-* 'sat down'; *zübön* 'burst' (*zūbed-*); *wəwəyn* 'remained' (*wəwəč-*), and *žögn* 'filled' (*žönz-*) may be of Ir. origin and go back to forms in *\*-idna-*, *\*-izna-*, etc. Cf. Skr., *niṣaṇṇa-*, *bhinna-*, *bhagna-*,<sup>5</sup> etc.

147. Considered from the point of view of the modern Wkh. system the Past Stems may be arranged in the following groups:

### Regular Past Stems.

To this group belong verbs whose final consonant is not changed before the suffix *t*, *d*.

<sup>1</sup> If not a recent formation with *ðt* > *st*.

<sup>2</sup> More probably a secondary formations in *š* + *t*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 73.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. infin. *tukan*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. § 138, VI.

In some cases it seems doubtful whether an assimilative change is phonological or merely phonetical. It may be that *witriðt* (*witrin*), *mōðt* (*mōð-*), *wōzōnd* (*wuzem-*), *čāld-* (*čālg-*), and *škūrd* (*škūrg-*) ought to be considered as regular forms. But it is of course impossible to try to solve this point without possessing more than a superficial knowledge of the language.

148. I. Regular Past Stems in *t*.

From roots in a vowel: *ramatt* 'commanded' (*rami-*);<sup>1</sup> *kəmətt* 'agreed' (*kəmi-*); *tanet* 'folded sheep'; *neit* 'went out' (*niü-*); *parvet* 'attained' (*parve(y)-*), etc. (v. above).

From roots in *t*: *gōtt* 'found'; *ṣātt* 'arrived'; *zūbott* 'burst' (*zūbü-*); *bott* 'overthrew' (*büt-*); *yortt* 'collected'. From roots in *ð*: *yāðt* 'piled up'; *žōðt* 'sowed'; *loðt* 'rammed in' (*lüð-*); *mōðt* 'curdled' (*\*mōð-*). Cf. *witriðt* 'shied' (*witrin-*).

From roots in *p*, *k*, *č*, *c*: *ročopt* 'slept' (*rečup-*); *dropt* 'scratched' (*drüp-*); *tapt* 'quaked'; *šilāpt* 'splashed'; *cəropt* Kl. 'pinched' (*cərüp-*); *čukt* 'beat'; *čākt* 'dripped'; *wāqt* 'barked'; *tōčt* 'moved'; *čōčt* 'pinched'; *gāčt* 'tottered'; *pāct* (*paed*) 'cooked', etc.

From roots in *f*, *x*, *č*: *āft*, *wəft* 'plaited' (*ūf-*); *parwāft* 'netted' (*parwuf-*); *štrōft* 'sneezed'; *skāft* 'tripped'; *pačrazt* 'arrested'; *ferxt* 'sneezed'. Note the secondary formation *wərxxt* 'remained' (*wəry-*) L.; *sočt* 'smeared' (*suč-*); *gočt* 'did'; *đōčt* 'crushed' (*đič-*); *čāčt* 'killed', etc.

From roots in *s*, *š*: *kāst* 'threshed'; *nōst* 'lost' (*nis-*); *strāst* 'splashed'; *nəst* 'lay down' (*nəsi-*); *gəfst* 'ran'; *nađəfst* 'stuck'; *wərafst* 'stood'; *xəfst* 'felt sleepy'; *purst* 'asked'; *bārst* 'closed the eyes'; *šōxst* 'passed'; *dišt* 'knew'; *mōšt* 'concealed' (*müš-*); *nāšt* 'was lost'; *nivīšt* 'wrote'; *pōdmōšt* 'fermented'; *tōšt* 'emptied'; *tāšt* 'cut' (*tiš-*); *xāšt* 'pulled'; *varešt* 'fried'; *yākšt* 'boiled'.

From roots in *r*: *kert*, (secondary form: *cārt*) 'did' (*car-*); *mərt* 'died' (*məri-*); *wasərt* 'cooled'; *naspart* 'tread down'; *wərxart* 'flooded'. Cf. also *kart* 'threw into' (*kaṭ*), with *tt* > *rt*.

<sup>1</sup> The Present Stem is only given wherever it differs in vocalism from the Past Stem.



149. II. Regular Past Stems in *d*. Most roots in voiced consonants and semivowels belong to this class. But the existence of preterites of the type *žōdt* and *mərt* shows that *d* is not a mere phonetic variant of *t*.

From roots in *i*, *y*: *sədōid* 'appeared' (*sədūy*-); *đovoid* 'stole' (*đəviy*-); *žōid* 'read' (*žōy*-); *wōzdōid* Sk. (but *wōzdošt* Y) 'washed' (*wīzdey*-, *wuzdi*-).

From roots in *u*, *w*: *nōiwd* 'wept' (*nūw*-); *porōd* 'rinsed' (*puru*-); *stod* Sh. (*staudi*- L.) 'praised' (*sto*-, *sitao*-); *wərōd* L. 'irrigated' (*wərw*-).

From roots in *v*: *līvd* 'slipped'; *tovd* 'twisted'; *višōvd* 'swept' (*višəv*-); *dʳevd* 'sewed', and the numerous causatives of the type *rəstōvd* 'broke' (*rəstəv*-); *picōvd* (but Sk. *picōiwd*) 'kindled a fire' (*picev*-, *picəw*-); *disōvd* Sk. 'showed' (*disəv*-, v. s.v. *disiv*-); *nīōvd* 'extinguished' (*nīv*-), etc. Note *gəfsəvt* Sk. 'galloped'. With Sk. *picōiwd* cf. Sh. *višōiwd* 'swept' (*višiūw*-); *pšaud* 'turned' (*pšū*-). In these cases *w* is probably due to inexact notation.

From roots in *ȳ*: *deđiȳd* 'looked'; *degd* 'brought up'. Note *čāld* 'wished' (*čālg*-); *škūrd* 'sought' (*škūr*-).

From roots in *z*, *ž*, *j*: *rōzd* 'ripped up' (*riž*-); *rəwəzd* 'flew' (but *wāšt* from *wāz*-); *wōzd* 'came' (*wəzi*-); *nawāzd* 'sounded'; *gəzd* 'rose' (*giž*-); *yāžd* 'bore'; *rīžd* 'felt pain'; *trānžd* 'tightened'. Note *pātrāz* Sh. 'leant' (*putrūz*-), with *-z* for *-zd*?

From roots in *r*, *l*: *wōdōrd* 'grasped' (*wīdər*-); *ȳird* 'turned round'; *nežyard* 'swallowed'; *šārd* 'slandered'; *škūrd* Sh. 'sought'; *yaward* 'chose' (*yawer*-); *āld* 'stayed'; *frīld* 'crumbled'; *namīld* 'hemmed', etc. The Past stems in *rd* are of a more recent date than those in *rt*.

From roots in *n*, *m*: *bōnd* 'winnowed' (*būn*-); *wīnd* 'saw'; *pazdand* 'recognized'; *tond* 'kneaded' (*tuun*-); *škōnd* 'quenched the thirst' (v. s.v. *škəndiv*-); *brāmd* 'babbled'; *patramd*, *potrombd* 'arrested' (*pūtrūm(b)*-); *vīzamd* 'rubbed'; *wīzəmd* Sk. 'brought'; *žāmd* 'descended'.

150. III. Irregular Past Stems in *t*.

From roots in *n*: *žätt* 'said'; *varitt* 'shore'; *sat* 'rose'; *spat* 'filled (a river)'; *kott* 'drew a sword' (*kīn*); *pšett* 'returned' (*pšin*).

From roots in *nd*: *yūt(t)* 'carried' (*yünd*); *nütt* 'planted' (*nünd*); *pürüt* 'sold' (*pürind*); *ratt* 'gave' (*ränd*); *vāratt* 'scolded'; *škött* 'broke'; *nižit* 'expelled' (*nižind*). As for the origin of this formation cf. § 145. But *vāst* 'bound' (*vänd*); *zirest* 'turned in a lathe' (*ziränd*). Note *xərōst* Kl. (*xərūθ*).

From roots in *w*: *θi/et* 'burned' (*θāw*); *yī/et* 'ate' (*yāw*); *drətt* 'reaped' (*drāw*); *viðett* 'rode' (*viðāw*); *gött* 'covered' (*gaw*); *pšet* 'returned' (*pišew*); *čit* X 'went' (*čāw*). The origin of this type are participles in *-ūta*, e.g. *\*yūta*, *\*druta*.

From *pōv* 'to drink': *pitt*.

From some roots in *z*: *wāšt* 'fell'; *nēšt* 'went out' (*nīwiz*). Cf. *wišt* '(the sun) set' (*wis*); *pōšt* 'cooked' (*pōč*); *kōšt* 'cultivated' (*kūr*);<sup>1</sup> *wəšt* 'feared' (*wəšiy*); *dēšt* 'beat' (*dē*);<sup>2</sup> *wōzdošt* 'washed' (*wuzdi*).

151. IV. Irregular Past Stems in *d*.

From roots in *k, č*: *tāžd* 'went' (*čāw*, cf. inf. *tukan*); *rəžd* 'went' (*rəč*).

From roots in *p*: *žōvd* 'span' (*žüp*); *čavd* 'picked' (*čip*). Cf. *nadevd* 'affected', etc. (*nadevs*, *nadevs*). But, acc. to Y, *nədafst* 'embraced' (*nədav*).

Quite irregular are: *ševd* L. 'beat wool' (*šem*); *cəremd* 'pinched' (*cerev*);<sup>3</sup> *širānd* Sh. 'told beads' (*širāw*).

As for *dežd* 'seized' (*durz*), cf. § 82.

According to Sh. some roots in *nd* have Past Stems in *nd(d)i*: *kandi* (but Sk. *kānd*) 'laughed' (*kānd*); *šānddi* 'rubbed up'; *mānddi* 'shampooed'; *žümānddi* 'wrung'. I am unable to explain the derivation of this form.<sup>4</sup> Cf. *staudi* L. 'praised' (*stau*).—*šandid* Sh. 'compounded' (*šand*) is influenced by Prs.

<sup>1</sup> Prs. lw.

<sup>2</sup> Kl. *dēm*: *dait*.

<sup>3</sup> Kl. *cərūp*: *cərəpt*.

<sup>4</sup> *-nddi* < *\*ndid*?



152. V. Past Stems in *n*.

From roots in *ð*: *ne-in* 'sat down' (*nezd-*); *rənn* 'fled' (*rəð-*); *rasen* 'broke' (*rased-*, v. s.v. *rəstəv*); *zübən* 'burst' (*zübed-*); *petərənə* 'sprung from one seed' (*petərð-*).

From roots in an ancient velar: *pamagn* 'dressed' (*pamec-*); *rapagn* 'lost the way' (*rapic-*); *ðög(ə)n* 'milked' (*ðic-*); *wərəyn* 'stayed' (*wərəð-*);<sup>1</sup> *žögn* 'filled into' (*žönz-*); *vardəgn* 'pressed down' (*vardenz-*); *žirögn* 'hung from a peg' (*žiröv-*).<sup>2</sup> Cf. also s.v. *pidn*- Kl. 'caught fire' (*pidic-*), v. s.v. *piding*.

From some roots in *y*: *wašan* Sh. 'untied' (*wušüy-*);<sup>3</sup> *pīn* L. 'guarded' (*pūy-*); *kšan* 'heard' (*kšüy-*).<sup>4</sup>

Note Sh. (and Kl.) *čern* 'entered' (*čerm-*), but Sk. *čəramd* (*čəram-*).

## 153. VI. Suppletive Past Stems.

The Past Stems of *čāw-* 'to go'; *wōc-* 'to become'; *car-* 'to do'; *rand-* 'to give' are: *tāyd*, *taɣd* Sk., Sh. (*rōyd* Kl.); *vīt*; *kərt*; *det*. From the point of view of Wkh. also *žat*, *x(š)et* L. 'did' from *gož-* (cf. perf. *(g)ožetk* Sk.) is a suppletive formation. X gave the regular forms *žit* 'went', and *gužt* besides *žat*; cf. also Sk. *ratt* 'gave', and Sh. *rätt*, Kl. *rətt*, besides *dett*, *dətt*.

Note also *tū* 'was' (*tei-*).

## Preterite.

154. The material at my disposal is not sufficient for establishing a complete paradigm, but in the main the personal suffixes agree with those given by Sh. and Kl.<sup>5</sup>

1st Sg. *det-em* Y 'I gave'; *rožopt-əm* Y 'I slept'; *tāydom* Sk. 'I went'; *tū(m)* Sk. 'I was'.

The transitive ending *\*mai*, and the intransitive *ahmi* have coalesced.

<sup>1</sup> From *wərəyn* L. has formed a new present *wəry*, with Past Stem *wərəxt*.

<sup>2</sup> Sh., but cf. also Kl. *žəröv-* (*žərəyak* inf.): *žəröyn* 'to be stuck'.

<sup>3</sup> And *wašin-* 'loosed' (*wuš-*).

<sup>4</sup> As for variants of this verb, v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>5</sup> Kl.: *-əm*, *-ət*, —, *-ən*, *-əv*, *-ən*.

In the Perfect I heard Y *-ən*, X *-in* in: *aletk-ən* 'I am standing'; *nietk-ən* 'I have gone out'; *wunetk-in* 'I have seen'; *wizdik-in* 'I have washed'; *nieng-in* 'I am sitting'. But Y *nieng-əm* 'I am sitting'; *yitk-em* 'I have eaten'; *wurufsatk-əm* 'I am standing'; X *vandetk-im* 'I have bound'.

The suffix is still detachable from the root. Thus Y: *wūz-um roẓopt-ei* 'I slept' (= *roẓopt-əm*); *yez-əm rəyd-ei* 'I went yesterday'; *yūmj-um goẓt-ei* 'I prepared flour'; *niv-um ne.in-ei* 'now I sat down'; Sk. *yark-ŋ krt-i* 'I worked'; *yurpk-əm dēxt-i* 'I poured out water'; *wuz-əm murz vitk* 'I have become hungry' (cf. Y *mərz-əm vit-ei*).—No suffix occurs in Y *wuz i xālg ʃit-āi* 'I killed a man'.

The particle *-ei*, *-āi* probably originally belonged to the 3rd Sg. of trans. verbs (< \**hai*).

2nd Sg. I heard X *yitk-et* 'thou hast eaten', (or 'you have eaten?'), but also *tu ʔet-āi* 'thou gavest'; X *nivdi* 'thou didst weep'; *tu wəzd* 'thou camest'; Sk. *tu-t na wəzdi* 'thou didst not come'; *tū(t)* 'thou wast'.

3rd Sg. Y *rəxnig ʔət-ei* 'the fire burned'; *roẓupt* 'he fell asleep'; *nədaʃt-ei* 'he embraced', etc., without any distinctive personal suffix.—Note X *tuet* 'he, she was'.<sup>1</sup>

1st Pl. The only example available is Sk. *sāk-ən tu* 'we were'.

2nd Pl. Sk. *čiz-əv sāyiš wind-əv?* 'what have you seen?' But X *saš kūi tuet?* 'who are (were?) you?'.

3rd Pl. Acc. to Sk. *tāyd-i* means 'they went', but it appears to be a sg. form.

Note the extensive use of the Perfect for the Preterite in the tale told by X.

### *The Perfect Stem.*

#### 155. The Perfect Stem is formed:

I. By adding *-k* (< \**-aka*) to the Past Stem. Before this *k* preceding groups of consonants are usually simplified. This formation is used with Past Stems in *t(t)*, *n*, *vd* (causatives excepted), with some roots in *z*, and a few other verbs.

<sup>1</sup> Or 'is'?



Thus: Sh., Sk. *pītk* 'drunk'; *vitk* 'been'; X, Kl. *yītk* 'eaten'; Kl. *đātk* 'given'; Sk., Kl. *šītk* 'killed'; *yūtk* 'carried'; Sk. *drātk* 'reaped'; Kl. *purītk* 'sold'; *rattk* 'given'; Sh. *čōfk* 'picked'; *žōfk* 'spun'; *gōzg*, X *gezge* 'risen'; *wāšk*, Kl. *wašk* 'fallen'; *ražk*, Kl. *ražk* 'gone'; *dōzg*, X *dežg*, Kl. *dōzg* 'seized'; *niešk*, Y, X *niešk*, Kl. *nəyōšk* 'gone out'; *wāzg*, X *wuzg*, Kl. *wōzg* 'come'; <sup>1</sup> *tažk* 'gone'; *kōšk* 'cultivated'; *kerk*, X *kerk*, Sk., Kl. *kārk* 'done'; Sk. *mārk* 'dead'; *tūtk* 'been'; Kl. *dārafk* 'sewn'; Sh. *žōtk*, Kl. *žātk* 'done'. These forms have arisen from *\*gōzdg*, *\*wāštk*, *\*ražtk*, *\*kertk*, *\*dārafk*, etc.

From Past Stems in *n* we find: Kl. *kšōng*, X *kīšing* 'heard'; Sh., Y, X *nī.əng*, Kl. *nəyāng* 'sat down'; Sh. *rōng* 'fled'; *raseng* 'broken'; Kl. *čārəng* 'entered'; *pōding*, X *piōding* 'lighted'; *škōng* 'broken' (Past Stem *škōnī*); Sh. *pamažk*, Kl. *pəmažk* 'dressed'; Sh. *đāžk* 'milked' < *\*pamaž(n)k*, *\*dōž(n)k*; Kl. *žərāžk* 'hung'.

Sh. *witring* 'shied' has been formed from the Present Stem.

156. II. By adding the stressed suffix *-etk*, *-atk* to the Infinitive Stem. This is the more regular, "weak", formation, and in Sk.s dialect it has largely encroached upon the ancient group of "strong" Perfects. Thus, e.g., Sk. *šayatk* 'killed', besides *šītk*; *yōwatk* 'eaten'; *rattatk* 'given'; *gīzatk* 'risen'; *wəzatk* 'fallen'; *dūrəzatk* 'seized'; *nīwīzatk* 'gone out'; *dərəvatk* 'sewn'; *g(o)žetk* 'done'; *kəšmətk* 'heard'. Besides *tūtk* Sk. gives *təyatk* 'been', cf. Kl. *tūwatk*. Sk. *rəydatk* 'gone' and *wəwəžnətk* 'remained' are based upon the Past Stem. I do not know whether X *čītatk* 'gone' is a correct Wkh. form.

This form of the Perfect Stem is used with all causatives, and with a great number of other verbs. Thus, e.g., Sk. *škəndəvətk* 'broken'; Sh. *gizūvetk* 'aroused'; Y *aletk*, *wurufsatk* 'standing'; *nietk* 'gone out'; X *wunetk* 'seen'; *vandetk* 'bound'; *kitetk*, Sh. *yatetk* 'arrived'; Sk. *čəžətk* 'slaughtered'; *čəl'gətk* 'sought for'; *žə'nətk* 'said'; <sup>2</sup> *pəčətk* 'boiled'; Sh. *sūdūyetk* 'appeared' (but Sk. *sədōi'dətk* from the Past Stem). With syncope: Sk. *rətk* 'fled' (< *\*rədatk*).

<sup>1</sup> X *wəzget* < *\*wəzdek*?

<sup>2</sup> X *ži'nak*?

This formation goes back to *\*-itaka*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Sk. *kandatk* 'laughed': Psht. *xandəlai*.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the inflexion of the Perfect, v. § 154.

### Infinitive.

157. In the dialect described by Sk. the infinitive is always formed from the Present Stem by the addition of *-āk* (< *\*-āka*). An *ā* or *ī* of the root is usually shortened into *a*, *ü*. Thus, e.g., *gīzak* 'to rise'; *vəndak* 'to bind' (*vand-*); *čəlgak* 'to ask for' (*čəlg-*); *θəwāk* 'to burn' (*θāw-*); *pəcāk* 'to cook' (*pāc-*); *dṛwak* (and *dəwəvak*?) 'to reap' (*drāw-*);<sup>3</sup> *rüxüpāk* 'to fall asleep' (*rīxüp-*); *yōwāk* (!) 'to eat' (*yāw-*), etc. Note *kšəyak* 'to hear', from the original Present Stem, besides *kšənak* (*kšən-*). With contraction *dəng* (and *dəyāk*) 'to beat', but *wīnak* 'to see'.

Also Kl. has *-āk* in most verbs.<sup>4</sup> But in Sh.'s dialect *-āk* is found only in a limited number of verbs. Among those are most stems in *nd* and *t*: *kandāk* 'to laugh'; *maṇḍāk* 'to shampoo'; *vandāk* 'to bind'; *varendāk* 'to abuse'; *yōndak* 'to take away'; *gotāk* 'to find'; *ṛatāk* 'to arrive'; *katāk* 'to pound'. But *žümāndan* 'to wring'; *būtan* 'to throw down'; *zībüt-üv-n* (!) 'to burst'. Other examples are: *θauāk* 'to burn'; *cerāk*, *žāk* 'to do'; *žamāk* 'to descend'; *žasāk* 'to cut'; *čəlgāk* 'to desire'; *našāk* 'to be lost'; *žanāk* 'to say'; *hālāk* 'to stay'; *wuzduk* 'to wash'.

According to Sh. the majority of verbs in *-n* have contracted Infinitives in *-ng* (< *\*-aka*). Thus, *wīng* 'to see'; *dīng* 'to beat' (from Pres. Stem *dēm-*); *varing* 'to shear'; *nižing* 'to expel'; *kūng* 'to draw a sword'; *piding* 'to flame'; *pürün(g)* 'to sell'.

158. But by far the most common infinitive ending in Sh.'s list is *-(a)n*, which is absorbed into the final root-consonant in *pazdan* 'to know'; *witrin* 'to sky'. Thus, e.g., *trəñjan* 'to press'; *drəvn* 'to sew', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geiger, *Pamir Dial.* § 38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 238. But Yd. *xadī* 'laughed' < *\*-ita*, v. § 235.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *dəwəvak* 'to sew'.

<sup>4</sup> For exceptions v. below.



After a Present Stem ending in a vowel the suffix is *-in*, e.g. *rame-in* 'to command'; *mara-in* 'to die'; *kšü-in* 'to hear'.

Irregular formations are: *drun* 'to reap' (*drāw-*); *gīn* 'to cover' (*gaw-*); *vide-in* 'to ride' (*vidāw-*); *zirü-in* 'to turn in a lathe' (*zirānd-*); *wašuk-an* 'to fear' (*waši-*); *yītn* 'to eat' and *pitn* 'to drink' (*yāw-*, *pōv-*) are formed from the Past Base, cf. Kl. *yītn*, *pitn*, but Sk. *yō'wak*, *pū'vak*. *nūdn* 'to sit' is derived from *\*ni-hadāna-* (*nezd-*). *radān* 'to give' scarcely goes back to *\*fra-dāna-* (v. Voc. s.v.). *hūmūin* 'to be' (*tei-*) and *tukn* 'to go' (*čau-*) are formed from special stems, but note Sk., Kl. *tə'yāk*, Kl. *čə'wak* (*čāw-*).<sup>1</sup>

159. An Infinitive suffix in *-k* is common to many Ir. dialects, but *-n* < *\*-anai*, is peculiar to Wkh.<sup>2</sup> Kl., p. 92, mentions the infinitives *šə'tōr-ər* '(in order) to kill', and *ləδ-ōu* 'to give'. The first form is a dative of some verbal noun which may in itself originally be a dative. The second cannot, with Kl., be compared direct with the Shgh. form in *-t/dōu*, but it may also go back to a case-form of an ancient base in *-(t)u-*.<sup>3</sup>

Note the use of the Dative in *uz kənd čilgakar wəzdīm X* 'I came to seek a wife'.<sup>4</sup>

### Interrogative Particle.

160. Wkh. possesses an interrogative particle *-a*, related to that found in the neighbouring languages.<sup>5</sup> For examples v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> But *rəčn*, *rə'čak*, *tukn* from *rəč*.

<sup>2</sup> V. Benveniste, *Les infinitifs avestiques* p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Benveniste's derivation of the Shgh. infinitive from a *k*-suffix, is phonetically impossible.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kl. p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 258.

## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

### X.

1. A'wal Sul'tân-i Mâmûd xî'nak 'pâdsâ 'tu'et. 2. Dar wâda-i Sul'tân Mâmûd 'yeû 'tate nong Subukta'gin tu. 3. Wâda-i 'yayôr<sup>1</sup> 'pâdsâ 'digar tû. 4. Waxtî (a'you) 'pâdsâ 'sail ni'eşk. 5. A'you 'pâdsâra sa'lâm guxt.<sup>2</sup> 6. Pâdsâ 'yawark pur'sân-um<sup>3</sup> kerk: "Sul'tân-i Mâmûd, tu 'çis 'yarkər wəzd?" 7. "Uz k'end çilgakar 'wəzdim." 8. Sul'tân-i Mâmûd 'xat ki: "Tinan 'çis 'yark tu?" 9. "A'yem ju'wâb mark 'mâlum 'ne vit." 10. "Žūnen ju'wâb: 'Tinen i 'degde 'tūet.<sup>4</sup> Az a'you jī'nīban 'wuz-um 'wəzget.<sup>5</sup> Ī deyd 'saban<sup>6</sup> 'tūet.

1. Once there was a king called Sultan Mahmud. 2. In Sultan Mahmud's time his father's name was Sabuktagin. 3. In his(?) time there was another king. 4. Once (that) king went out for a walk. 5. He<sup>7</sup> salamed that king. 6. The king asked him: "Sultan Mahmud, what work have you come for?"<sup>8</sup> 7. (He answered:) "I have come to seek a wife." 8. Sultan Mahmud (went on and) said: "What is<sup>9</sup> your work?" 9. (The other king said?): "The answer to this<sup>10</sup> has not become known to me." 10. (Sultan Mahmud said): "My answer is: You have a daughter. I have arrived for her sake.<sup>11</sup> <You have a

<sup>1</sup> Uncertain case.

<sup>2</sup> Or *fat*.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *-um* is unknown to me.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 135.

<sup>5</sup> For *\*wəzdek* (Perf.)?

<sup>6</sup> Note the pl.

<sup>7</sup> Sultan Mahmud?

<sup>8</sup> *Barā i āi kār āmadī?*

<sup>9</sup> Literally "was" (*tu*).

<sup>10</sup> Lit. "this answer".

<sup>11</sup> *Ju'wāb-i mā : yak duxtar šumā hast. Az barā-i duxtar āmadam.*



11. 'Akram 'pâdsâ 'xât kê: Yem yark ce'bas reč, uz 'tawar-ke rux'sat 'guḡum. 12. 'Xōnar 'rič, ce'bas 'wəze. 13. 'Yān, 'tark ce'bas 'kāyaz 'goḡum. Yān 'wəze.

14. Ce'bas 'yowan 'kāyaz rešt. 15. Sultān-i 'Māmūd 'kāyaz dast-i 'xât deḡid,<sup>1</sup> jōid<sup>2</sup>, bis'yār 'niwde. 16. "Afsōs" 'xât <ki>, you 'nānar 'xât. 17. Nān a'yomen pursān-um kerk: "Či(s) sa'bab ke 'nivdi?" 18. "Ēi nān," 'xât kê: "Žu pi'zū 'tiwde." 19. You nān 'xāt: "Yān, 'ne re'čā."

20. You mirā'xūr 'tū. 21. 'Yowar 'xatt: "Yašēr 'peden 'guḡ." 22. Ce 'xōnen mirā'xūr 'ni'ešk. 23. 'Peden da dālān 'tū. 24. 'Dast-e xatt dežge, 'ni'ešk. 25. 'Yaš 'peden guxt, ce'bas 'rešt. 26. Sultān-i Māmūdār 'xât. 27. Sultān-i Māmūd 'kipči 'xōnen 'ni'ešk, sa'wār vīt. 28. Ī manziler ke 'rešt pādsā ke šingat. 29. Xalg pišiwāzar-ke

daughter>." 11. King Aqram<sup>2</sup> said: "Go back to<sup>3</sup> this work, I give you leave. 12. Go home, and come back. 13. Indeed, I shall send you a letter back (or: later). (Then) come, indeed."

14. A letter went back from him (to S. M.). 15. Sultan Mahmud seized it with his own hand, read it, and wept much. 16. "Alas," he said, to his mother he said (so).<sup>4</sup> 17. His mother asked him: "What is the reason that you were weeping?" 18. "O mother," he said, "my heart burned."<sup>5</sup> 19. His mother said: "Don't go, indeed."<sup>6</sup>

20. There was a horse-groom. 21. He<sup>7</sup> said to him: "Saddle a horse." 22. The groom went out of the house. 23. The saddle was in the veranda. 24. He seized it with his hands and went out. 25. He saddled the horse and went back. 26. He told Sultan Mahmud. 27. (The groom and) Sultan Mahmud both of them<sup>8</sup> went out of the house and mounted. 28. When they had gone one stage, the (other) king heard (about their departure). 29. People were sent<sup>9</sup> to the presence (of

<sup>1</sup> Prob. = *deḡid*.

<sup>2</sup> The other king.

<sup>3</sup> Or: "go after, follow"? *Ī kār pas buru*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ba mādar-i xud guft*.

<sup>5</sup> For longing.

<sup>6</sup> Or: "do you not go?" *na-mērawy-a*.

<sup>7</sup> Sultan Mahmud.

<sup>8</sup> *har-dū-š*.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. "went".—*ādam pišincāz-i S. M. raftan*.

rešt. 30. 'Purjar Sultân-i Māmūd ki'tetk. 31. Mīmân'xâna-i 'pâdsâ xalg xa'bar bit. 32. Īu 'xalg dar hu'zūr-i 'pâdsâ rešt. 33. 'Pâdsâ pursân-um kerk: "Jū ma'rām, ěis 'xabar tēi?" 34. Ma'rām xatt ke: "Sultân-i Māmūd 'wezge." 35. "Xūb," xatt ke: "Purzer 'yāwer 'yark 'guḡum." 36. 'Purjer 'yāwer ni'kā kerk. 37. Sultân-i Māmūd 'gezge, dast-i 'pâdsâ 'bām kerk. 38. A'you 'nāgde ni'kā kerk. 39. 'Tafēi xuš'waxt bit. 40. Sub'damid 'pâdsâ 'yāwer rux'sat kerk. 41. Ce'būr 'yaš 'yōwer ta'wīl vīt.<sup>1</sup> 42. Sultân-i Māmūd ɣa(f) 'xoš bit. 43. Sultân-i Māmūd 'pâdsân du'ā dežge, rux'sat vīt. 44. Rešt 'xōnar ke. 45. 'Yōwə 'nān 'xōnan ni'ešk ba'ār. 46. Dast-i is'tex dežge. 'Mūbarak 'bōm kerk.<sup>2</sup>

S. M.). 30. Sultan Mahmud arrived in the evening. 31. In the king's guest-house people became aware of it. 32. One man went before the king. 33. The king asked him: "My servant, what is the matter?" 34. The servant answered: "Sultan Mahmud has arrived." 35. "Well," (the king) said, "to-night I shall arrange his affair."<sup>3</sup> 36. In the evening he made his wedding. 37. Sultan Mahmud rose, and kissed the king's hand. 38. That night he<sup>4</sup> arranged the wedding. 39. He<sup>5</sup> was very happy. 40. The next morning the king gave him leave. 41. Four horses became his stable. 42. Sultan Mahmud was very pleased. 43. Sultan Mahmud made a prayer for the king, and took leave. 44. He went home. 45. His mother came out of the house. 46. She seized her daughter-in-law's hand, and kissed it for good luck.

<sup>1</sup> Or *bit*.

<sup>2</sup> I am giving this tale, which was the only one which I was able to get hold of, as an example of the broken Wkh. of which X was certainly not the only speaker. Note his preference for the perfect.

<sup>3</sup> *Kār-i ūra mēkunim*.

<sup>4</sup> King Aqram.

<sup>5</sup> Sultan Mahmud.



## VOCABULARY

Abbreviations: As for Y, X, W, N, v. § 2.—Be(llew); Bi(ddulph); Cap(us); H(ayward); Hj(uler); Kl(imchitskiy); L(orimer); Ol(ufsen); Sh(aw); Sk(öld); St(ein); Z(arubin).

All words given by my informants are included, although a large number of those given by X, W and N are either doubtful, or evident l.w.s. They give, however, some impression of the lability of vocabulary in Wakhan. Verbal forms taken from Sk. are usually arranged in the following way: Pres. 1 sg., 3 sg.; Imper. 2 sg.; Preter. 1 sg.; Infinitive; Perf.

### Vowels.

a Y interrogative particle. — a'yen xōn safan-a? is this house yours? saš xeč yawit-a? do you eat bread? — Cf. Yd. -a, v. § 160.  
 ēi X, O! — ēi nān O, mother. — Prs. i X izalet. — Prs. V. § 113.  
 iu Y, X, N, i Y, X, (h)ā W, (y)ā Sk., etc. one, a(n). — wuz i xālḡ žāyem Y I kill a man. — Cf. Yd. yā. V. §§ 109, 116.  
 ō Y, in ō pū'd-kaf instep.  
 ablā °ā Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.  
 abr X, N cloud. — Prs.  
 ab'rīšum Y, brī'šum X, ab'rēšim Sk., vrīšum Zar., varšum Sh. silk. — Prs., but borrr. at different periods.  
 obī-sā'nōč X inflated skin for crossing a river, mussuck. — \*Prs. Cf. Shgh.

zenāč 'sanāč', Lentz zā'nōč سناچ, Taj. (Semenov) san(g)ōč. V. yāzn.  
 acet Y from this. — wuz a° xūnen niečtem I went out of this house (here). Cf. § 125 sq.  
 (h)ičewaxt Sk. never. — Ar.-Prs.  
 a'do Sk. torn. — spō skidiš a° tū our caps are torn. —  
 (h)adab Sk. courtesy. — Ar.-Prs.  
 ādl Sk. justice. — Ar.-Prs.  
 ōdil Sk. just. — Ar.-Prs.  
 ūf: āft- Y, wōf: wōft Z, to weave, wuf: wōft Sh. to plait. — ūfēm, āftēm. — Cf. Yd. wāf, Sgl. ūf.  
 af'sōs X alas. — Prs.  
 af'tōb N sun. — Prs. V. yīr.  
 igōn igōn X, tyan tyan Sh. one each. — wuz sabar i° i° rūpiā rāndem I give

you one rupee each; *sakar* i° i°  
*rūpla rande* give us one rupee each.  
*a'yeḷ* X cow-house, *a'yl* B court. —  
 Turk.-Prs.  
*ah'maq* Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.  
*u'qōb* X, a° Sk. eagle. — Ar.-Prs.  
*aq'sā* Sk. sneezing. — Ar.-Prs.  
*āl*: *āld* Sk. to wait; *a'letk* Y standing.  
 — *wūd nāyḍ adərəm ale'tkən* this  
 night I am staying here. — *'āləm*,  
*āld*, *āl*! *'āldəm*, *ā'lak*, *ā'lōtk* Sk. —  
 Cf. Sgl. *al*.  
*al'batt* Sk. perhaps. — Ar.-Prs.  
*al'qūm* Y, Sh., *halq* X, *alq* Sk. throat,  
*halkūm* Be. gullet. — Ar.-Prs. *halq*,  
*hulqūm*.  
*'allō* Sk. O!  
*allō nēi* Sk. but.  
*ala'laš* 'cār- Sk. to mix. — Cf. Ishk. id.  
*almas'te* Sk. demon. — Cf. Ishk. *almas'ti*.  
*ala'sa* X, *a'la'ḥl* W, *ala(x)ā* St. chin,  
 jaw. — Cf. Sgl. *ala'se*.  
*a'ml* X, *homin* Bi. this. — *wuz da a°*  
*xōn niex'gīn* I am living in this  
 house. — Prs.  
*im* N know. — Scarcely correct, cf. Khow.  
*him*. — V. *zem*.  
*am'boṣ* Y, °āy W cowife. — Prs.  
*am'būr* Sk. tongs. — Prs.  
*a'mēd* Sk. hope. — Prs.  
*amēd'vōr* Sk. hopeful. — Prs.  
*'ammā* (or °ō?) Sk. but. — Ar.-Prs.  
*'omy* Sk. life. — Ar.-Prs.  
*im'sōl* Sk. this year. — Prs.  
*āin*, v. *yīšn*.  
*'aṭna* X mirror. — Prs.  
*andag* m., *indigunj* f. Sh. slave. — Cf.  
 Yd. *hade*, *ida*, (and Kharoshti *amtag'i*,  
 Burrow, BSOS, VII, 779?).  
*andak* X little, *kam*. — Prs.  
*andav* Sh. fever. — Cf. Yd. *idon*.

*in'sōf* Sk. justice. — Ar.-Prs.  
*antərē* L sister-in-law. — It is tempting  
 to derive this word from \**yantŕ* <  
 \**jenəŕ*, but the loss of *y* would  
 be irregular. There are, however,  
 many phonetic irregularities to be  
 found in the development of the  
 various IE words denoting brother-  
 and sister-in-law.  
*aṅ'gūr* Y, X, N, B °īr Sk. grape. — Prs.  
*aṅ'gišt* N, °ūst Sk. live coal. — Prs.  
*aṅguṣṭa'ra* X finger-ring. — Prs.  
*ap'ēūn* X winnowing-fork, *kūcī*. — Cf.  
 Sgl. id.  
*ar* Y. In: *wuz yupk ar pīl kaṣem* I  
 pour water into the cup. Or *yupkar*,  
 with dative for acc.?  
*irya'li* Y, X felt rolls placed under the  
 saddle. — Cf. Or. *yuryā'lā* (Lentz).  
 — Turk.  
*ar'qā* Sk. back (between the shoulders).  
 — Turki.  
*a'raq* Y, N, X, W, Sk. perspiration. —  
 Ar.-Prs.  
*ō'rīnj* N elbow. — Prs.  
*a'rār* Y a tall tree with round leaves.  
*ō'ris* Sk. bride. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ar'sōl* Sk. yearly. — Prs.  
*'ar* 'xēl Sk. multicoloured. — Prs. 'of  
 every kind'.  
*ar'zan* X, °on N millet. — Prs.  
*ar'zōn* Sk. cheap. — Prs.  
*a'sōi* Y, °āi Sh. walking stick. — Ar.-Prs.  
*i'sāb* Y calculation. — i° *carem* I reckon.  
 — Ar.-Prs.  
*a'sad* X n. of a month. — Ar.-Prs.  
 "usdūn" (= *uzdūn*?) Olufsen, Through  
 the Unknown Pamirs, p. 83, loop-  
 holed tower. < \**uzdāna*?  
*iskā'cusk* Y, X top of the shoulder,  
*bālā-i sāna*.



*iska'kut* X roof. — Cf. Yazgh. *s'kād*, Yd. *iščēy*, etc., Av. *uskāt* above + Wkh. *kūt* (q.v.).  
*a'sal* X, Sk., °*āl* N honey. — Ar.-Prs. *os'mān* Y, *as'mōn* X, °*os'mōn* Sk. sky. — Prs.  
*ispa*, v. *sak*.  
*ustō'dak* Sk. spider. — Prs., cf. Yd. *ustada*.  
*istīn*, v. (i)st.  
*istīnd* L to yawn. — Pres. *istin* < \**us(s)lanya*·?  
*ustuxōn* N bone. — Prs.  
*ōš* Sk. porridge. — Prs.  
*iskamba-i-pā* N, °*škamba* W calf of the leg. — Prs., cf. Par. *iskam'bek-i-pāi*.  
*ā'tīr* Y, °*štūr* X, °*štūr* W, °*štūr* Sk., °*uštūr* Sh., °*štūr* Z, etc. camel. — Prs., cf. Yd. *škrōš*.  
*uš'yōr* Sk. wise. — Prs.  
*at*, cf. Kl. and. — < *uta*.  
*āt'šak* Y, °*ātā'si* X, °*ātā'sak* Sk. lightning. — Prs., cf. Shgh., etc. (Sk.).  
*ōt* Sk., °*hōf* Sh. open. — Cf. Sgl. *hōf*.  
*ōf-kār'kīn* Sk. honest.  
*a'vārt* Y, °*art* Sh., Gr. span. — Tomaschek compares Prs. *āward* 'collatio, congresses' (??).  
*a'wal* X formerly; *aw'wal* Sk. beginning. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ai'wōn* Sk. animal. — Ar.-Prs.  
*i'war* X husband's brother. — Badakhshi-Prs.  
*ō'xer* Sk. end. — Ar.-Prs.  
*axla'xāna* X stable. — Prs.  
*a'yān* Y, *ayou* X, *ha-ya* Sh. that (emphatic). — Y *a'yān* *xūn* that very house; *wuz aya xalg dišem* I know that (very) man; X *az ayou jinīban* (v. s.v. *az*); *a'you pādšāra salām guxt* he saluted that king; *ayou nāgde*

*nikā kerk* he arranged for the wedding that very night. — Cf. *yau*. V. § 124 sq.

*iyam*, *iyem* Y, (h)ayem X this (very). — Y *iyam xalg yupk pīt* this man drinks water; *iyem xalg nū rēxupt* this man fell asleep; X (h)ayem 'xōn 'īuman this house is mine; a'yem *ju'wāb* mark *mālum ne vit* this answer was not known to me; *ayem xalg* this man, these men; *uz ayem xōnan* I am from this house; *ayem(i) xōn* their house; *wuz a'yēman rū'pīa 'dūzēm* I take a rupee from him; *nān a'yōmen pursān um kerk* his mother asked him. — Cf. *yem*. V. § 124 sq.

*a'yōs* Sk. autumn- or winter-wind.

*az* X from. Only in: *az ayou jinīban* for that reason. — Prs.

*a'ziz* Sk. friend. — Ar.-Prs.

*u'šāk* Y (E. Wkh.), °*ū* Be., °*wa* Sh. adze. — Cf. Khov. *wāš*.

## B

*bā* Sk., *bah* Ol. kiss. — *tu māš cārī bā!* kiss me! — Cf. Yd. *boh*. V. *bām*.

*be* X, *bə* Sk. a hortative verbal particle. Russ. *бы*. — X *tu be wuzum* bring thou; *ayem xalg be šēd yavean* these people shall(?) eat bread; Sk. 'lēcōr *yau bə 'wizit* let him come; *wuz xō'yis 'cārēm ki 'yau bə 'wizit* I want him to come; *tu bə 'šātōt* ты сказал (but *tu šātōt* ты сказал).

*bāi* Sh. cave. — Cf. *Zardibāi* 'Yellow cave' in Shingshal (Cockerill), *Ishk. ambi* (Gr.).

*bōi* Sk. rich. — Turkī.

būi Y, X, W, N, Sk. two. — Cf. § 116.

būi X smell. — Prs.

bēbīdī Sk. double-edged sword. — Cf. Yd. *maxmudiyo*.

bībuk X cuckoo. — Cf. Yd. *bubuka*, Kurd. (Soane) *pepūk*, *kepū*. V. *kipok*. Cf. Lorimer, Corr. ad Bur. Voc. 60 II.

bēc Y, Sk., būc Sk., bāc Sh. paternal uncle. buē(ak) Y, būc Sk., buē Z, Sh. he-goat. — Prs.

bēc'ēy'd Sk. female cousin. — V. bēc.

bic'kā Y, būc'kām Sk. tail, beckam Sh. horse-tail.

bād Sk. then. — Ar.-Prs.

bēd Y, X, W willow. — Prs.

ba'dan Sk. body. — Ar.-Prs.

bedr X edible pine, jilyōza. — Cf. Prs. bidla n. of a tree??

bē'dōq Sk. widow, bedok Be widower. — buidōq-əm tōi I am unmarried. — Cf. Ishk. baidōq, Bajui bū'dok.

badca'rak X n. of a bird. — Cf. Prs. xār starling?

baf Y, X, b'af, bāf Sk., baf Sh. good; bā'fak Sk. nice; bāftar Sk. better.

ba'fiky Sk. wise. — Prs.

bēfiris'tā Sk. healthy and fat person. — Prs. id. 'without an angel (of death?)'!

bēgu'nō Sk. innocent. — Prs.

bōy Sk. garden. — Prs.

bō'yē Sk. cousin.

ba'yal X, W armpit. — Prs.

bō'yot Sk. a miser. — For bō'ol, cf. Ar.-Prs. baxil?

bōyz cār- Sk. to hate. — Ar.-Prs.

bā'a'dab Sk. courteous. — Ar.-Prs.

bēha'dab Sk. discourteous. — Ar.-Prs.

ba'hōr Sk. spring. — Prs.

bē'hīst Sk. heaven. — Prs.

bāj Sk., Sh., Be., bād Hj. thick. — Cf. Sgl. *vazōk?*

bō'ja Sk. brother-in-law. — Cf. Rosh. (Sk.) id., Ishk., bōja, Mj. bāja.

bū'qā Sk. bull. — Turki.

baku'la Y, baq'la N, boq'lā Sk. horse-bean. — Ar.-Prs.

bē'k'and Sk. widow (prob. 'widower').

ba'kar X n. of a bird, bulbul-i āncī. — Prs. baqr lapwing, hud-hud.

ba'kōr Sk. necessary. — mā'rak b° I need. — Prs.

bakš Y husband's brother. — V. § 60.

bakš kōnd Y husband's brother's wife.

'bale Sk. yes. — Prs.

bāl W wing. — Prs.

bēl Sk. spade. — Prs.

bulbul X bulbul, cuckoo. — Prs.

bilfak X n. of a bird, bilfak. — \*Prs.?

bōle'qā Sk. hammer. — Prs.

'bullt X birch, buruz. — < Khaw. buri?

br'land Y, bl° Sk. high, tall. — Prs.

bām, bōm X a kiss. — b° kerk she kissed. — V. bā.

būm X owl. — Prs.

bumbō'riš X thunder. — Khaw.

bē'mōr Sk. ill; bēmō'rī illness. — Prs.

bōin<sup>1</sup>) X main beam of a roof, fir-i kalān. — Shina bōi.

bōin<sup>2</sup>) X armlet, — IA, cf. Kshm. bāhī, Sindhi bāhī, etc.

būn Y winnowing fork. Cf.:

būn-ām: bōnd-um Y, būn-: bōnd- Sh. to winnow (and Sh. to throw away). — Cf. Yd. b'ban.

band-i-dast Y, X, Be., °dest W, band N wrist. — Prs.

band-i-pūd X instep, ankle. — Prs. + Ishk.

bay<sup>2</sup>) X walking stick. — Khaw. bōñf round rafter?



*bap* Y, Sh., *bāp* Sk. female breast.  
*bar* W breast. — Prs.  
*ba'ār* X outside, *bīrān*. — *niešk baār*  
 she went out. — IA.  
*bār* Y, X, Sk., Sh., Z door. — Cf. Yd.  
*beor*.  
*būr* X grey. — Prs.  
*būr* Sk. angry.  
*brōbar'nā'd* Sk. midnight. — Prs. + Wkh.  
*barf* N snow. — Prs.  
*brām* Sh. to babble. — Cf. Saka *brrem*-  
 to wail, cry? — But v. Bailey,  
 BSOS, IX 73.  
*bō'rīn* Y, Sk., *b'rinš*(?) X, *brīn* Sh., Hj.,  
*barin* Be., *barin*, *bīrin* Bl. knee; *brine*  
 Cap. 'jambe'. — \**deariθna*, with  
 dissim. < Av. *deariθra* leg??  
*bō'rōn* X, N, Sk. rain. — Prs.  
*bō'rinj* Y, X, W, *b'ranj* Sk. rice. — Prs.  
*biriš-cārum* X I cut, *mēburam*. — V.  
*rəstəv*.  
*bō'rīt* Y, *būrut* X, W, *brut* N, *bri'ūt* Sk.  
 moustache. — Prs.  
*brutā'par* Sk. large moustaches.  
*bū'rūt* Y, *bōrēt* Sk., *bōrēt* Sh., *bōrūt* St.  
 elbow. — < \**ham-byāti*?? Cf. Skr.  
*bhṛṣṭi* corner.  
*brūtiyarē* Y, *ōya(r)ē* X collarbone. —  
 Cf. *yarē*, *būrt*.  
*bispūr* Sh., St. eagle. Unknown to Sk.'s  
 informant. — Cf. Khov. *biz'bār*.  
*bist* N, Sk., *bist* W twenty. — Prs. V. *icist*.  
*bās-icō'zi-m* Sk. to be able. — Cf. Prs.  
*bas āmadan*. V. *icō'zi*.  
*bisyr* X much. — Prs.  
*bāša* Y, W falcon. — Prs.  
*bot* Kl. further, again (*digar*, *bori digar*).  
 < \**deitya*-. — Cf. § 117.  
*bit* X roof-hoard. — Khov.  
*būt* B clothes. — < \**ham-puš-ti*? V.  
 § 73.

*būt*: *bott*, *bōtt* Sh. to throw down,  
 overthrow (a wall, etc.). — < \**ham*.  
*pataya*, cf. Sar. *imbat*. But v. *zūbūt*.  
*ba'tal* X mare. — Turki.  
*bēwa* Y, *ōwā* Sk., *bēwa-zan* Be. widow.  
 — Prs.  
*bo'wurē* X falcon. — Cf. Khov. *sayūrē/ē*,  
 and Shina *bayōš* hawk.  
*bēx* Y, X, W, Sk. root. — Prs.  
*baxš* cer. Sh., *bax sar*-Y to divide. —  
*bax sarām*. — Prs.  
*buz* Y female ibex; *baz* W, *buz* X goat.  
 — Prs.  
*buz'mūi* X goat's hair. — Prs.

# C

*cə* from. V. § 131.  
*cō'būr* Y, X, W, N, *cī'būr* Sk., *sabūr* L  
 four. — Cf. Yd. *ēšr*. V. § 116.  
*cō'brēm* Y, *cprēmār* L three days hence,  
*cebrimer* X the day after to-morrow,  
*ceberām* Cap. week (!). — < \**cad*-  
*waraima*. Cf. Yd. *pēūrma*.  
*ce'bas* X, *cibās* Sh. back, again, then;  
*cō'bās* Sk. back; *cō'bas* Kl. behind. —  
*cō* *reš* go back; *cō* *rešt*; *cō* 'yowan  
*kāyaz rešt* the letter went back to  
 him; *cō* *kāyaz gošum*. — Cf. Yd.  
*špāc*, Ishk. *ēpōšt*. V. *sibās*.  
*ce'kūman* X. In: *saſan dī'ōr cō* 'deh-i  
*šumā kudām ast*'. — Originally *ce*-  
*kūman* 'from which?'.  
*cum* X, *cūm* Sk., *cūmār* L how many?  
 — *saš cum nafar icēz*? X 'šumā  
*ēand nafar āmadid?* *cūm* 'pīl tīnən  
 (tūi) Sk. how much money hast thou?  
 — Cf. § 126.  
*cəm-jō'nīb* Sk. therefore. — Wkh.-Prs.  
*ce'nīs* X eyebrow(?). — V. *vərau*.  
*cān* L from there. Cf. § 125.

*car*: *kerk* X, *cār*: *kərt* Sk. to do. — Sk. *qārōr car* be silent; *ku'mak-cār* help! *'yark-n* *'krti* I worked; *ir c'raz-kərti* the sun has risen. Cf. *isāb*, *bā(m)*, *dirau*, *gān*, *kanda*, *le*, *nikā*, *nivilla*, *pursān*, *taxsim*, *xarid car*; *cārəm*, *cart*, *cār*! *'kərtəm*, *c'arak*, *kərk* Sk. — < \**cāra*- (cf. Av. aor. *cōrat*): *kyta*-. V. *goṣ*.

*cār* Sh. kite. — Cf. § 81.

*cur'cun* X the end of a tail.

*'cerak* Y, *c'erek*, *°ək* Sk. why? — *sāiš c° xōc yācōv* Y why do you eat bread? *'cərka tut na-'wəzdi* Sk. why didst thou not come? — Cf. § 133.

*cərūp*: *cərūpt* Kl. to pinch, *c'erev*: *cəremd* L to pinch, tweak, string.

*c'raz* Sk. spark. — Cf. s.v. *ir*. — Cf. Yd. *c'roz*.

*cārū* Sk., *°zn* Z, *°z* Sh.awl. — Cf. Shgh. *cōṣj*, Sar *cārz*. < \**qel-g(h)ō*, cf. WP, II, 435?

*c'waxt* Sk., *cōyd* L, Sh. when? — Wkh. + Ar.-Prs.

*citr* L, *citr* Sh. spindle. — Prob. a lw. from IA., cf. Skr. *cātra*-. Cf. Mj. *cēsa*, Psht. *cāṣai*.

## Č (Č)

*čəbaxt* W heel(?).

*čiča* Y, *čūčā* X, Sk. chicken. — Prs.

*čīgās* Y (also Grammophone) collar-bone.

*čey* Y, *čeg* X, *čōy* Sk., *čōy* Sh., St., *čiy* Be. kid.

*čūy* Sk. multicoloured. — Properly a Shgh. form, cf. Yd. *kaš*; Sgl. *čōl*.

*čāye'lī* X crow, *karyā*. — Khov. *čāylī* chough.

*čākū* Y, X, *čā* W knife. — *pu čākūcēm rəstəvəm* I cut with a knife. — Prs.

*čāk*: *čākt* Sk. to beat. — Cf. Sar. *čak*. Sgl. *čuk*, Khov. *čok* to beat.

*'čakka* Y temples. — Taj.-Prs.

*čər* Y, Sk., *č'krr* X, *čər* Sh. partridge. — IA., cf. Hind. *čikōr*, etc.

*čau'lī* Y, X small falcon.

*čālg* Y, X, Sk.: *čāld* Sk. to search for, ask for — *čālgam* Y; *wuz čirī čālgam*; *uz kend čilgakar wərdm* X I went out to search for a wife; Sk. *čālgom*, *čālgd*, *čālg!* *čāldəm*, *čəl'gak*, *čəl'gotk*.

*'čilim xāš* Sk. to smoke. — Prs.

*čī'nār* W chenar. — Prs.

*čang* Y, X claw. — Prs.

*čap* Y, X, Sk. left (hand). — Prs.

*čip-am*: *čavd-am* Y, *čip-un* X to pick, gather; *čūp* Sh. to gather (one by one), but *čup* to cut, mince. — Cf. Yd. *čū(v)*.

*čūp* Y, X small hawk.

*čpān* Sk. cloak. — Turk.-Prs.

*črplš* L young goat. — Prs.

*čēr* X rope fastening the plough-pole to the yoke.

*čər'mā* Sk., *čərm* L, *čərm* Sh. canal, small water-course. — < \**čarman* < \**čanman*? But Av. *kan* never has č. *čə'rām* Y, *č°* Sk., *čə'rām* L threshing ground; *čəramn* Sh. reaped corn, heaped up for threshing. — Cf. Yd. *xu'rom*.

*čərm*: *čərmā* Sk., *čərm*: *čərn*, *čəramn*, Sh. to enter. — *čərmām*, *čərmāt* *čərm!* *čərmām*, etc. — \**ati-ram*?

*čər'māyz* X, N, *čār°* W walnut. — Prs.

*čār'pāya* Y bed. — Prs.

*čər'rīr* Sk., *čī°* Sh. thornbush.

*čar'vī* Y, *čī°* X fat (noun). — Prs.

*čarx* Y, X, *čārxx* Sh. spinning wheel. — Prs.

*čar'xa* X avalanche of stones. — *č° wīzīt*. — \*Prs., cf. Yd. *čarxo*.



čašma X hot spring, čāšmā Sk. spring.

— Prs.

čāš-lāng Sk. ankle-knuckle.

čaṭ X, N, čāṭ Sk., čaṭ Sh., čaṭ L. horned cattle. — čaṭ dic Sk. milk the cow.

— Cf. Sar. čat.

čuṭ car- Sk. to tear asunder, čot- L. to be torn. — IA. Cf. Sgl. čuṭ.

čokki X chair. — Prs. < IA.

čaw-um: čit-em X, čāv: tāyḍ Sk., čāw: rōyḍ Kl., čau: tayḍ Sh. to go, walk, raftan; čawūw- Sh. to remove. — čitēk X pret. pte.; Sk. čāvi thou walkest, tāyḍam I went, tāyḍāi they went; Sh. čit he goes; tukan inf., tažk pret. pte. — < \*čyaw: \*taxta, cf. s.v. rōč-, tač-.

ču'wān Y, W, Sk.; ču'wōn (not ʾōn) Sk., ču'wōn X (= Ishk.), ču'wān Sh. apricot.

— Cf. Sgl. ču'wōl.

čōx-: čōxt Sk. to kill, slaughter; čōx- Sh. to skin. — Cf. Sar. kēg-: kažt to skin. Relation with Prs. kuštan is not clear. — Possibly < \*kuš- + \*čauš-. Cf. Yazgh. kuš hide, skin.

čiz Y, X, Sk., čis X what? čī xabar tēi X 'čī xabar ast?' tinan čis yark tu? X what work hast thou to do? tu čis yarkər wəzd? X what didst thou come for? čis[s] sabab ke nivdi X why didst thou weep? tē nūng čiz? Sk. what is thy name? 'čizəv 'sāyis 'wīndəv? Sk. what did you see? tu čizir saker dīng X why dost thou beat us? tu čizir maž dī Y. — Prs. čiz, cf. Sgl. čiz. V. § 126.

čizi Y, X something. — Prs.

čāžm Y, 'čəj'm X, čəj'm N, (čōm W), čāžm Sk., čəj'm Sh., čəj'm Kl., čāžm Be., čōm St., kizm Bī. eye. — čəjuma yupk X tear (āb-i-dīda). — Cf. Yd. čam.

## D

da X in, on. — 'peden da dā'lān tu the saddle is on the veranda; wuz dā amī xōn niexgīn I am living in this house. — Bad.-Prs.

da'i W female breast — Prs. dāya?

dē-: dēxt Sk. to beat, hammer (a nail);

dī-: dīxt Sh., dīst N to strike. — Sk. dēm, dēst, dēl dēxtam, dō'yāk (dēng), dētk; Sh. dī(a)m, dīxt, — dīxtam, dīn (dīng), dītk; Sk. maž sīri dētk I caught a cold; sīri dēst; yupk-am dēxt-i I poured out water; X tu dīng (?); N maž dēsti arak I am sweating. — Cf. Sgl. deh-, and v. s.v. dēm-.

duā X prayer. — Ar.-Prs.

dedi-: dediḍ Sk., diḍ-: diḍiḍ Kl. to look at; diḍig Sh. to look (after). — Sk. 'dediḍam, 'iḍ, 'iḍ, 'iḍam, 'iḍak, 'iḍak; čiz dediḍəv? what do you see? 'mārək 'tər-tau 'nəfort dēdiḍāk I hate thee (I will not look at thee). — Cf. Av. diḍay- to look at?

deg-: degd Sh. to bring up.

dīg Y, dēg X kettle. — Prs.

dīg'dān, v. dildung.

'dager Y (°gēr Gramm.), dō'gər N, dā'žər Sk., riymd, risd L, dō'žər Sh., digger Bī, hindiger Cap. finger-nail. — Khov. (lw.) dō'žur. < \*ng- < \*nk- < \*n(a)- xar-? Cf. § 47. Cf. Sgl. narxōk, Sar. našaur < \*naxōr.

digar X other, another. — Prs.

doqdoq Sk. trotting. — Cf. Sgl. dōq²dōq.

dīl N heart. — Prs.

dīl'dung Y, X, dildong Sk., Sh. (dīg'dān W) fireplace. Corrupted from Prs. dēgdān, cf. Sar. dildung a kind of fuel.

- dō'lon* X veranda. — Prs.  
*dī'lēr* Sk. courageous. — Prs.  
*dīlōvār*, °va'ri Sk. courage(ous). — Prs.  
*dām* Sk. back (of human beings). — Cf. Ishk. *dam*.  
*dā'ma* Y, 'dama X, *damā* Sh. wind;  
*dmā* Sk. east wind. — Prs.  
*dīm* Y, X, *dēm* Kl., *dehām* Hj. to beat.  
 — Y *uuz tau dīmām* (1 sg.), *tu čizir maš dī?* (2 sg.), *sak sāv dīnen* (1 pl.), *sāis čizir maš dīef?* (2 pl.); Kl. pres. *dēmām*, —, *dōit*, *dēnən*, —, *dēnən*; Hj. *dehāmām*, *de*, *det*, *dehenən*, *dehenāv*, *dehenən*. Apparently *dīm*, *dehām* (v. s.v. *dē*) for some unknown reason was enlarged with a second personal ending into *dēm-əm*, likewise *dēn* into *dēnən* (2 pl. \**dēn-əv* for \**dēv-əv*). V. § 141.  
*dāmb* X, *dāmb* W tail. — Prs.  
*dā'mād* Y, Sh., *du'mād* X, N, *dū'mōd* Sk. son-in-law. — Prs.  
*damfāje* X yawn. — d° *guzum*. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *damfājek*.  
*dendik* Y, °uk Cap., LSI, 'dindik X, *dən'dək* N, °uk Z, *dūn'duk* Sk., Sh., °uk St. tooth. — Cf. Yaghn. *dindak'*, Sgl. *dānd*.  
*dəng vitən* Sk. to beat each other, to fight. — *dēng wōcəm*, etc. — Cf. *dē*.  
*dra* Y there. Cf. § 124.  
*dar* X in (in *dar haucā*, *dar huzār-i pādsā*). — Prs.  
*dā'rē* Sk. gunpowder. — Prs.  
*dirau* X reaping. — d° *carəm*. — Prs.  
*dī'or* Y, X, *dīār* Sh. village. — Prs.  
*dūr* Y, X, Sk., Sh., etc. belly, *dor* B abdomen (ward stomach). — Cf. Sar. *daur*. Sgl. *dēr*.  
*dārc* Sh., L thread of hemp or hair. — < \**darzē?*

- dērf* X hair of the pubes.  
*dri'gā* Y veranda, *dālān*; "dargha" Ol. men's room. — Prs.  
*dū'rūy* Sk. lie. — Prs.  
*dū'rūygu'yī* Sk. liar. — Prs.  
*dū'rukš* X, 'drukuš X, d°ručk W, *drukš* N, Sk., Sh., etc. bull. — < \**društk* < \**dṛṣṭaka*, cf. Wan. Psht. *lēṣṭa?*? But cf. *dōzg*, *dēzg*, s.v. *durz*. Cf. § 60.  
*dṛəm*, *adṛəm* Y, *dṛəm* Sk., (ha)dram Sh. here. — *wūd nāyd adṛəm aletkən* to night I am staying here; *dṛəm wṛ'zāi* come here Y; *ḍai d° tū* Sk. the man is here. — Cf. § 124.  
*drūp*: *dropt* Sh., *dṛūp*: *dṛōpt* Kl. to scratch. — Cf. Serb. *drāpati* to scratch, tear, etc. (v. Walde-Pokorny, I, 801).  
*dṛepē* Y, *dṛipē* X, *drapič* B broom. — \**repē* (cf. Yaghn. *rōpē* from *raup*) + *drūp*?  
*dṛōst* Sh., *dṛīst* L sleeve.  
*dū'rišt* X rough. — Prs.  
*dṛev*: *dṛevd* Y, *dṛəv*: *dṛəvd* Sk., *dṛip*(?) X, *dṛōv*: *dṛəvd* Sh. to sew. — Cf. Par. *andarf*, Shgh. *incāv*, Kurd. *dirun*, etc.  
*drāw*: *dratt* Sk., : *drett* Sh. to reap. — *drāwəm*, *drit*, *drāw*! 'dṛōttəm, *dṛicak* (dṛə'vak), *dṛōtk*. — Cf. Prs. *durūdan*, Shgh. *cāw*.  
*dṛaxt* Y, W, *da'raxt* X, Sh., *dṛaxt* Sk. tree. — Prs.  
*dṛaxt pīst* Sk. bark of a tree.  
*dṛi'yō* Y, *dār'yā* X, Sk. river. — Prs.  
*daryā-lab* X bank of a river. — Prs.  
*durz*: *dēzd* Y, *durz-im*: pf. *dēzg* X, *dūrz*: *dōzd* Sk. to take, seize. — X *uuz a'yēman rū'pīa durzəm* I take a rupee from them; *dast-i iste'x dēze* she (has) seized his daughter-in-law's hand; *dēzgem*, *dēzide*; Sk. *dūrzəm*, *dūrzd*, *dūrz*, 'dōzdəm, *dūr'zak*, *dūr-*



- zatk*, pf. *dōg*. — \**han-dyz*, Av. *darəz*, cf. Par. *derz*. Cf. § 155.  
*das-nab* W nineteen.  
*dast* Y, X, N, *dāst* Sk., Sh. arm, hand, armlet Y. — Prs.  
*dāst* Sk. friend. — *dāst-tūrəm* I love; *d° dōrdum*. — Prs.  
*dīs* Y, X, *dīs*: *dīst* Sk., Sh. to know, learn. — *wuz aya xalg dīsem* Y I know this man; *wuz targ dīsum* X. < \**han-diya*, cf. Yd. *dīs*, Av. *han-daēs* to instruct, teach.  
*dōs-man* Sk. enemy. — Prs.  
*dāst* X open space, steppe; *dāst* Sk. valley. — Prs.  
*dut* (Cockerill) rope-bridge. — *Dut-i-dur*.  
*dētor* Sk. memory, *yād*.  
*dōf'ki* (*wušk*) X calf, one year old.  
*dī'wōl* X, *dē°* Sk. wall. — Prs.  
*dūzd* Sk. thief. — Prs.  
*dū'zax* Sk. hell. — Prs.

## Δ

- ḍāi* Y, Sk. husband; *ḍāi*, *ḍa'yək* Sk., *ḍāi* W man; X youth (*xūb juwān*); *ḍāi* Sh. vir, hero. — Cf. Saka *daha* (v. Bailey, BSOS, VI, 81).  
*ḍu-i* L, *dūj* Kl. stack; *da'i* N heap of corn. — Cf. Skr. *dhāya* layer, stratum, Psht. *dalai* 'stack of corn'.  
*ḍic*: *ḍōgən* Y, *dic* X, *ḍic*: *ḍōgn* Sh. to milk. — *ḡnḡ ḍicəm* Y; *caṭ dic* X. — Cf. Yd. *lūz*.  
*ḍeck* Sk., Sh. a skin used as a bag, mussuck. — Cf. Yd. *taxēto*.  
*ḍiy* Y, N, *ḍig* X, *ḍiḡ* Sk. thick milk, *dūy*. — Cf. Prs. *dōy* (cf. Prs. *pu-lūy* milking).  
*ḍyḍ* Y, N, *degde* X, *dīyḍ* W, *dēyḍ* Sk., *ḍayḍ* Sh. "zāghit" Be., "thurght" \*Bi., "dghogit, dzogit" Cap. daughter. —

- ṭinen* i *degde tūet* X you had a daughter; i *dēyḍ saban tūet* W you had a daughter. — Cf. Yd. *lūydo*.  
*ḍūng* Sh. springe, snare. — Cf. Mj. *lōmago*.  
*ḍōng* Kl. seed, *dōna*, *tuxm*. — < \**dānaka*.  
*ḍir* Y, X, Sh. far, distant. — Cf. Yd. *lūro*.  
*ḍor* L valley. — Cf. Prs. *darra*.  
\**ḍūr*-, cf. s.v. *dūst*.  
*ḍard* Sh., *ḍerd* L parti-coloured. Cf. Skr. *dadrū* leprosy, etc.  
*ḍerd cōr* L to carve wood. — Cf. Prs. *darridan*, etc.  
*ḍirs* Y, Z, *ḍirs* L, *ḍurs* Sh. goat's hair. — Cf. Yd. *lirs*, Sar. *ḍors*.  
*ḍart* L, *ḍart* Z, Be. manure, dust-heap. — Cf. Yd. *p'akedri* (and, e.g., O. Engl. *tord* dung).  
*ḍas* Y, N, Sk., Sh., etc., *das* X, W, *las*(l) H ten. — Cf. Yd. *los*.  
*ḍis* Y, L dough.  
*ḍus* Y, *ḍos* Sh. wasp. — Cf. Skr. *damśa* a stinging insect, Kalasha *daś* mosquito; Phl. *dasta* (Nyberg, JA, 1929, 272).  
*ḍas-tu* N, Sk. *das-tu* X, *das-hi* W eleven.  
*ḍisiv* Y, *ḍisv*: *ḍisōvd* Sk., *visiv*-(l) Sh. to show. — Av. *daēs*.  
*ḍeš* L, *ḍōš* Sh. late. — Cf. Sgl. *daš*.  
*ḍit* Y, Sk., Sh., *ḍid* X, *ḍit* N, *dūd* W smoke. — Cf. Yd. *lūi*.  
*ḍetk* L brick. — \**ḍištik* (from which Shina lw. *lištik*) < \**ḍištika*. Cf. §§ 12, 73.  
*ḍitr* Y, *ḍitr* X, *ḍetr* N, \**ḍatr* ("zutr") Be. sickle. — Cf. Yd. *ḍru'yus*.  
*ḍviy*: *ḍovoid* Sk., *ḍuvi*: *ḍovoid* Sh. to steal. — Pres.: *ḍviyem*, *ḍviyā*, *ḍvid*, *ḍviyən*, pret. *ḍovoidəm*; *ḍviyak*, *ḍvi'atk*. Cf. Oss. *davēn* to steal, Av. *dab* to deceive; Yd. *lō*. V. *naḍvrs*.  
*ḍiḡ*: *ḍōḡt* Y to crush, *mēšakam*; *ḍūḡ*: *ḍōḡt* Sh. to powder, macerate. —

Cf. *dešen* grindstone. — Cf. Skr. *duṣaya-ṛ*  
*ḍi*: L wall. — Cf. Av. *daēza*, Yd. *lizo*.

## F

*fī* X spade. — Sgl.  
*foi* W much, many. — *foi xān*. — Sgl.  
*fauj* Sk. army. — Ar.-Prs.  
*fīak* Y, *ek* X, *ak* N, *fī* W blade,  
 shoulder; *fayak* B scapula. — Cf.  
 Sgl. *fī'uk*.  
*fīkr* Sk. thought. — *f<sup>2</sup> car* to think.  
 — Ar.-Prs.  
*fuk* Y, Sk., Sh., St., *vuks* N, *fūgz* Hj.  
 snake. — Cf. Sgl. *woxs*.  
*falenz* Sh. egg, L dove(?).  
*for* Sk. In *mārək* . . . *nə fort* I don't  
 want to. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *befāru*.  
*fər'yamē* Y female calf, one year old,  
*fur'yumē* X id., two y. old. — Cf.  
 Sgl. *feryam*, Yd. *frayingo*.  
*fril*: *frild* Sh., *f'ril* L to crumble. —  
 Ishk. form with *fr* and *l* < *z*, cf.  
 Sar. *war-fareig*: *war-frašt*.  
*frax* Sk. a long way. — Prs. *farāx*  
 wide.  
*ferx* Sh. to sneeze, snort. — Sar. id.,  
 cf. Khaw. *frižē* to sniff.  
*frazbiz* Y, *faražbiz* Sh. sieve. — But  
*fraxbiz xaxəm* Y I winnow(?). — Cf.  
 Yd. *fraybil*, etc.  
*furz* Y, Sh. birch. — Cf. Yd. *zeviryo*.  
*fasl* Sk. season. — Ar.-Prs.  
*faut* Sk. death. — Ar.-Prs.

## G

*gi* Y, Z, *gū* X, W *gi* Sh., *gih* Be. ex-  
 crement. — Prs.; with adaptation in  
 Y, etc.

*gē car* Sk. to grow. — Cf. Sgl. *gū kən*.  
*gač* Sh. to totter, waver. — Cf. Sar.  
*uakoč*, Yd. *yošt*.  
*gafē*: *gafst* Y, *geps*, *gips* X, *gafs*:  
*gafst* Sk. to run, *mēgurēzam*; *gōfs*:  
*gōfst* Sh. to gallop (intr.?), *gōfsəv*:  
*gōfsəv* Sk. to gallop (caus.). — *gōfsak*  
 Sk. gallop. — Cf. Sogd. *γβs* to  
 advance. But *g* points to \**han-k/g*.  
*guhrū* W guts, Ishk. *žangək*. — \*Prs.  
*gəl* Sk. flower. — Prs.  
*gil* X clay. — Prs.  
*gūl* Sk. dumb. — Cf. Sgl. *goł*.  
*glac* Sk., *gilic* B deep; *gilec* Sh. a pit.  
*gilim'bof* X spider. — \*Prs.  
*gulamiri* Sk. black-pocks (черная оспа).  
 — \*Prs.  
*gīlōs* X, *ās* W cherry. — Prs.  
*gān car* X to winnow. — Khaw. *gān*  
 'wind'.  
*gap* Sk. word. — Prs.  
*gār* X, in *gār kaṭum* I throw.  
*gūr* Sk. tomb. — *gūr car* to bury. —  
 Prs.  
*'gurda* X, N kidney. — Prs.  
*gōrj* Sh. hinge, door-socket. — Cf. Sar.  
*gary*.  
*ger'dān* Y, *gar'dān* Sh., *gar'dān* X, Be.,  
*gr<sup>2</sup>*, *gar'dān* Sk. neck. — Prs.  
*garm* Sk. hot; *garmī* Sk. heat. — Prs.  
*gəspand* N sheep. — Prs.  
*'gūša* X corner. — Prs.  
*gušt* Y, Sk., Sh., *gūšt* X, *yīst* N meat.  
 — Prs. (N adapted to Wkh.).  
*gūš'wōr* X earring. — Prs.  
*gōt*: *gōt* Y, *gōt* X to find, obtain;  
*gōt*: *gōtt* Sk. to find. — *gōtəm* Y  
 'mēyābam, yāftam'; pret. pte. *kī'tek*,  
 X; *gōtəm*, *gōtt*, *gōt*, *gōttəm*, *gō'tak*  
*gō'tek* Sk.  
*gawē*: *gōtt* Sh. to cover, close.



*gawust* Be. fist. — Cf. Skr. *gabhasti*- arm, hand??

*goṣ*- Y, X, *gūṣ*:- *guṣt*, *ṣat* X; *gōṣ*:- *ṣōtk* Sh. to do. — X *yaṣēr peden gūṣ* saddle the horse; *yaṣ peden guṣt* he saddles the horse; *salām guṣt, ṣat*; *yūmjum goṣtei* I have ground the flour; Sk. *ṣāk*, *g(o)ṣetk*; Lor. *ṣ(ṣ)eto* had done, *ṣṣetk* having done. — *goṣ*- from 3 sg. *goṣt* = Shgh. *kiṣt*, Sar. *kaṣt* < \**kuṣati*?

*gūpək* Y, *gūyak* N hip, anus. Cf. *guhrū*. *giz*- X, *gəzd*- Y, *giz*:- *gəzd* Sk., *giz*:- *gōrd*, *gōzg* Sh. to rise. — *gəzge* X he rose; *gizum*, *gizd*, *giz*, *gəzdam*, *gizak*, *gizotk* Sk. — < \**han-zaiz*, or cf. Oss. *ān-qizēn*, *ān-qezun* to yeast?

*gōz* Sk. meadow. — Prs. *gāz*, cf. Shgh. *gōz-zōr*. *gōzdim* Y, *gāzdim* X, W, Sk. scorpion. — Prs. Cf. Sgl. *gāzāmb*.

# Γ, Ī

*gīu* Y, *gī* W, *gīū* X, *gū* N (Ishk.), *gīr* Sk., *gū* L, *gīu* Zar., *gū* Sh., *gīū* St. cow. — \**gāwa*, cf. Sgl. *uṣū*.

*gōbār* Y, *gūbār* X dustcloud, duststorm. — Ar.-Prs.

*gūḍ* Sk., *gūḍ* Sh., Sk. thief. — Cf. Yd. *gāl*.

*gūdi* Sk., *gūdi* Sh. theft. — *g*<sup>o</sup> car- Sk. to steal.

*gīdim* Y, *gīdim* X, *gādim* N, *gīdim* W, *gōdim* Sk., *gidim* Sh., *gēdim* Zar., *gadim* Be., *gōdēm* Kl. wheat. — < \**gandūma*, cf. Yd. *gādam*.

*gidim-ṣec* X wheaten bread.

*gaf* X, Sh., *gā*(<sup>o</sup>) Sk. very. — *gaf xoṣ bit* X he became very glad, *ṣā-tqā* Sk. very much. — Cf. *gafēi*.

*gāfāi* X much.

*gāf* L place for putting pots beside and below fireplace.

*gafēi*, *gāpīl* X much, very; *gafē* (*baftār*) Sk. still (better). — *zim gāpīl dēt* much snow fell; *gafēi xušwaxt bit* he became very happy. — Conn. with Sogd. *garf* much?

*gāl* X sit down, *biṣin*(?).

*gālbil* Y, *gālbēl* X, *gāl*<sup>o</sup> Sk. sieve. — Ar.-Prs.

*gālla* X grain. — Ar.-Prs.

*gālōm* Sk. servant. — Ar.-Prs.

*gām* Sk. sorrow. — Ar.-Prs.

*gāmānēak* Y serotum. — Cf. Yd. *gāmīno* anus.

*gānī* W hair, *gāno* goat's hair. — Prob. lw. from Ishk., cf. s.v. *gēnōk*.

*gān'dāl* N scorpion; "randāl" Hj. spider. — Cf. Shgh. *gān'dāl* spider.

*gār* Y, Sk., *gār* Sh., *gār* X stone, rock. — *lup gār* rock; *gār kaṣum* Y I throw a stone. — Cf. Yd. *gar*.

*gēr* Y, *gēr* X, *gōr* Sk., *gōr* Sh. wool. — Possibly with *g* < *w* < Av. *varəna*? Cf. § 50.

*gīr*:- *gīrd*- Y, *gīr*:- *gīrd*- Sh., Zar. to turn round (Sh. also to cross a pass). — Cf. Sar. *gīrs*:- *gīrd*.

\**gor* (Cockerill) ravine, *kurum*. — "Ghor jerab".

*gūr* N, Sk. (E.Wkh.) penis; X, *gūr* W serotum. — *gūr-gāu tuṣ* Sh. buck-goat. — Cf. Sar. *gūr*, Sgl. *gōr* penis.

*gārīb* Y, *gār*<sup>o</sup> X poor. — Ar.-Prs.

*gārōb* L yak's wool. — Cf. *gēr*.

*gārāy* Sh., *garay* St., \**gīrāk* B collar of a garment. — Cf. Sgl. s.v. *gōrōk*.

*gārūng* Y, *garung* X heavy. — Cf. Sogd. *gārān*, Khaw. (lw.) *gārānu* pregnant.

*gār'rā* Sk. bud. — Prs. *gūrā* new moon?

- γurt*: *γortt* Sh. to collect, to tuck up one's sleeves. — < \**gart* to roll.  
*γāš* Y, *gāš* X, *yaš* N, St., *γāš* W, *γāš* Sk., Sh. mouth. — Cf. Yazgh. *yaš* < \**gaštra*, cf. EVP. s.v. *γāš* tooth (< \**gaštra*, not \**gastra*).  
*γōš* Y, *γext* W, *γōš*, *γōš* Sk., *γōš* Sh. male. — *γōš-pirk*, *piš*, *yaš* Sk. — With *γ* < *w*, cf. § 50? Or ancient lw. from *gušn*?  
*γōš-k'e'la* Y, *γōš-kə'lā* Sk., *γōš-kala* Sh. ram. — V. *k'a'la*.  
*γōš-γāngəl* Y, *γōš-γāngl* Sh. thumb. — Cf. Prs. *nar-angūst*.  
*γiš* Y, *giš* X, *yiš* N, *γiš* Sk., *γiš* Zar., *yiš* Sh. ear. — Cf. Yd. *γū*.  
*γišt* N meat. — V. *gušt*.  
*γāt* Y, *γāt*: *γāt* Sh., *γāt*: *γāt* Kl. to arrive. — *gatvum*, *kītetkem* X 'mērasam(?)', *rasidam*, *kītelk* (Sh. *γatetk*) he has arrived. — From *gata*? But cf. s.v. *got*.  
*γūv* Sk. hollow where grain is stored, *γōv* Be. cornbin, store-room for food. — Cf. Sgl. *γōv*.  
*γūy*: *γōid* Sk. to copulate. — *γūyem*, *γōid*, *γōil*, *γōidam*, *γūyak*, *γūyatk* Sk. Cf. Prs. *gāidan*, etc.  
*γūz* Y, Sk., Zar., *gūz* X firewood, bramble, *pūš*. — Cf. *γūz-vor* Sh. a fuel-fetcher. — Cf. Sgl. *γōz*.  
*γūrf*, *γūrf* L fireplace. — Prob. with *γ* = *γ* as also in other words in L's material. — Cf. *γūf*? < Av. *gufra* deep?

## H

- hūb* (*hōb* Gramophone) Y, *hūb* X, *ūb* N, *hīb* (!) W, *ūb*, *īb* Sk., *hūb* St., Zar., *hūb* Sh., etc. seven. — Cf. Yd. *ovdō*.

*hīb-vā-rīf* Sk. Charles' Wain (: the Seven Brothers).

*halq* X, v. *al'qūm*.

(h) *alamān* L one another. — < \**anyam-anyah*? But cf. *yamān* Kl. id. V. § 126.

*hūmū* Sh. to be. — *hūmiam* I may be. — Cf. Saka *hāmā*; Sogd. *māt* was Gauthiot, JA, 1916, p. 254.

*hanjūi* L pit for storing butter.

*haret* X span, *arat* St. cubit. < \**araθni*?

*hest* X ploughpole. V. *wōšp*.

*hat* Y, Zar., Kl., Be., *hāt* X, W, Sh., at N, at Sk., *hāf* St. eight. — Cf. Yd. *ašō*.

*ha'wā* X, *awā* Y, *ō* Sk. air. — Ar. Prs.

*hu'zūr* X presence, majesty. — Ar.-Prs.

## J (cf. Ž)

*jī'dā* Y separate. — *j° carem*. — Prs.

*jī'gār* Y, Sk., Sh., *°ar* X, N, W liver. — Prs.

*jī'gārī* X, Sk. brown, *°ri* Be. green. — Prs.

*jao'jī* Sk. pieces [of felt?] placed under the saddle.

*jōn* Sk. soul. — Prs.

*juāna* X male calf, two years old. — Cf. Sgl. *jued'ē*.

*ja'nūb* Sk. south. — Ar.-Prs.

*jī'nīb* X cause, reason. — *az ayau jī'nībān* for that reason. *'cām jō'nīb* Sk. therefore. — Ar.-Prs.

*jāng* Sk. war. — *j° viti* there was a war. Ar.-Prs.

*'jāngal* X forest. — Prs.

*jān'wār* Sk. female mountain goat. — Prs.

*jī'rāb* Y, *je°* X stockings. — Prs.

*jur'γāt* W sour milk. — Turk.-Prs.



*je'rie* Y mud(?).

*jir'ax* X, *jir'ax* Zar., *žer'ax* Sh. knot. — Prob. borr. from Sar. *žerež*. Cf. Yd. *ju'rež*.

*jūš* Sk. waterfall (in the Panj). — Prs. *jūš* boiling, ebullion.

*ju'wāb* X answer. — Ar.-Prs.

*ju'wān* Y, *°ān* X, *je'wān* Sk. young. — Prs. Cf. *ju'āna*.

*jōy*: *jōyd* Sk., *:jōid* X, *jō-in* Sh. to read. — *ya'wiš nō'mōz* *jōid* Sk. they read their prayers. — Cf. NTS., VII. 116 sq.

## K, Q

*ke* X to, for (postposition with the dat.).

— *rešt xōnar ke* he went to the house; *čis sabab ke nidi?* for what reason didst thou weep? *xalg piš-i-wāzar ke rešt* 'ādam *piš-i-wāz-i ū raftan*; *i manzilar ke rešt* 'he came to a manzil'. Cf. Hj. (p. 19) dative in *-ək* (= *-r-ək*); Sk. *žə* 'yurm-ək (or *yurm-ər*) for my arm. — Cf. § 112.

*ki* X that (conj.). — Prs.

*kū* X, W, Sk. hill. — Prs.

*kūi* Y, X, Sk. somebody, who? — *tu-t kūi?* Y, *tu 'kūi?* X who art thou? *saš kūi tūet?* X who are you? *kūi šayum* X I kill somebody. — Av. *kahyā*. § 126.

*kō'būn* Sk., *kubūn* Sh., *ko°* Hj. dish, wooden bowl, cup; *kobun* Olufsen flat wooden dish, *kubūn* L. wooden bowl. < \**kumbōn* < \**xumbāna*-?

*qāb* Sk. tomb. — Ar.-Prs.

*ka'būt* X, W blue. — Prs.

*ki'bit* Y, Sk., *°it* X, Sh, *kipit* L, *kōbit* Z pigeon. — Cf. Yd. *koviō*.

*kūček* X puppy. — Prs.

*qə'dā* Sk. parents-in-law.

*qa'dam* Sk. pace, step. — Ar.-Prs.

*kōd'nōk* Sk. linen. — V. *kōnāi*.

*kōdūw* Sk. pumpkin. — Prs.

*kaf* Y foam, scum. — Prs.

*kifē* Be., *kifē* Kl., *kipēi* X, *har kifē* Sh. both; *kifēk* Be. like. —

*kaf-i-dast* Y, X, *kaf* W, N palm of the hand. — Ar.-Prs.

*kāfš* Sk. shoe. — Prs.

*kaig* X flea. — Prs.

*kāyaz* X letter. — *tark k° gožum* I write a letter to thee; *k° dast-i-žat dežide* he got the letter in hand. — Prs.

*kik* Sh. wild dog; *kik* L. lynx.

*kik* Y, *kok* X, *kōk* Z, Hj., *žkuk* (l) Sh. a spring; *kik* Sk. hot spring. — < \**xāka*-. Cf. Sar. *kauk* (borr. from Wkh.). Yd. *xūyo*. V. § 42.

*kōk* Sk., Hj. eyelid (E.Wkh.).

*'qakul* X n. of a bird, *qakul*.

*kāka'sōn* Sk. the Milky Way. — Prs.

*k'ala* X ram, *k(ə)llā* Sk. sheep (m. and f.), *kalā* Sh., etc. sheep. — Cf. Khov. *'keš*?

*keš* L to itch.

*kalr'bən* Y, *kalbun* St., *kal'pipr* N, *kal* L, *kal* Sh., "khāl" Be., "kull" Bi. armpit. — *kal* would seem to be a Sgl. form of *kaš*, but cf. Prs. (dial.?) *kalk* 'side under the armpit', which may, however, belong to the Sgl. group (cf. "Prs." *γāl* 'ear'). Cf. Sgl. *kaš-viš* (< Prs. *kaš*?), Šemerzod *k'ašbūn*.

*qala'mī* Sk. lined. — Ar.-Prs.

*kalmury* X eagle, kite(?), *kalmury* Sk. kite (bald-headed eagle?). Cf. Khov. *kalmury*; Prs. *kalmury* vulture (v. Yd.) s.v. *war'yifin*.

*kalan'jōy* X n. of a bird. — Prs. *kal* bald.

kulp X lock. — Ar.-Prs.  
 kə'litōq Y, kə'ref (?) W, kalitok Sh. wind-  
 pipe; kabitok Be. larynx (for \*kalitok?).  
 kə'vār Sk. mussuck. — Cf. Shgh. kalyōr  
 (Lentz).  
 ke'fī Y yoke-peg. — Khow. kāyī.  
 kam Y, X little. — Prs. — But kamō  
 L inferior wife < Khow. kuma.  
 'kəmi-: kəmtt- Sk. to will; kami-: kamat  
 Sh. to agree, consent. — 'kəmiəm,  
 kimit, kəmttəm, kəmi'yak, kə'mətk Sk.  
 — Cf. Sgl. kəmay.  
 kāmī W back. — Cf. Sgl. ka'māk.  
 qim Y, kum Sh. owl. — Cf. Sar. kum.  
 kōm, k'om Y, X, k'om N, kām W, khom  
 Be. palate. — Prs.  
 kūm which? — *ce kūman* from whom?  
 — Cf. § 126.  
 'kumjei Sk. where? — V. kum.  
 kai'moq X cream. — T.-Prs.  
 ku'mak cār! Sk. help! — Prs.  
 qim'mat Sk. price. — Ar.-Prs.  
 ka'mōn X bow. — Prs.  
 ka'mān-i-Rus'tam Y, ka'mān° X, ka'mōn-i-  
 Rus'tom Sk. rainbow. — Prs.  
 kampal L blanket. — Ancient lw. from  
 IA.  
 kampī'rak Sk. thunder. Cf. Sk. Mater., 138.  
 kə'nāi X cotton; kinei Sh. bleached  
 coarse cotton cloth; knōi Hj. linen.  
 — Cf. kōdnōk.  
 kūn W anus. — Prs.  
 kün-: kott (kü'nak) Sk., kūn-: kott- Sh.  
 to draw a sword; kūn-: kott L to  
 dig out, root out. — Av. kan-.  
 kōna Y, X old (not new). — Prs.  
 kī'nā Sk. hate. — k° car. — Prs.  
 känd- Y, känd- X, känd-: känd- Sk.,  
 känd-: kandi Sh. to laugh. — kändəm,  
 känd, känd!, kändəm, (2 sg. kändi),  
 kən'dak, kən'dətk Sk. — Cf. Yd. xo'd.

kanda X laughter. — k° carem. —  
 Adapted from Prs. xanda.  
 kind Y, X, kund W, k'end Sk. married  
 woman, wife. — uz k'end čilgakar  
 wəzdm X I have come to look for  
 a wife; bāf kəndiš Sk. the women  
 are good. — Acc. to Geiger (Gr.Ir.Ph.)  
 = Skr. kāntā.  
 kīnd Y, kund X blunt. — Prs.  
 ka'nek X mosquito.  
 qd'nūn Sk. law. — Ar.-Prs.  
 kap Sh. camel's hump. — Sar. kiep,  
 Or. kūp, cf. Yd. kəifo.  
 kapē Y, Sk., Sh., kapēa X spoon. —  
 Prs. kafē.  
 'kipēi, v. kifē.  
 'kipok Y cuckoo. — Cf. (Ar.) Prs. kabbuk,  
 kapūk.  
 kar Y, X, kār Sk. deaf. — Prs.  
 qār Sk. anger. — 'wuz-əm 'kār cārəm  
 I become angry; 'yāwust 'kār-ŋ kyti,  
 'spdsix-ŋ tōydi they got angry and  
 left us. — Ar.-Prs.  
 kūr Y, X, Sk. blind. — Prs.  
 qa'rīb Y, X near. — Ar.-Prs.  
 kar'bās Sk. lizard. — Prs.? Cf. Yd. 'karbasa.  
 kar'čē'gai Y kite. — Cf. Shgh. kar'čē'gai,  
 etc. Turk.  
 kard Sh. crooked. — Sar. čerd.  
 kar'gā Y, qər'gā Sk. crow. — Turk.-Prs.  
 kerk Y, X, kirk N, kərsk Sk., kōrk Sh.  
 fowl, hen. — Cf. Yd. krrio.  
 kūr'kon X elbow. — Khow. kur'kuq.  
 ka'urum (Cockerill) ravine.  
 'kūrən Y, 'kūrun X plough. — Prob.  
 'ploughing', cf. kūr- Sh. to cultivate,  
 Sgl. kīrūg plough, etc.  
 kūrpa Y bedding. — Prs.  
 kūrpa'cā Y mattress. — Prs.  
 qa'rōr Sk. silence. — q° car be silent.  
 — Ar.-Prs.



*k'rust* W bark of a tree; *k'rust*, *krüst* Sk., *karast* Sh. fur-robe. — Cf. Sgl. *korost*, Yd. *karäst*.

*k'roš* Y, *ka'roš* N pea, *patek*; *k'roš(ə)* Sk. pea, bean. — Cf. Sgl. *karāš*.

*q'rit* Sk. cheese (= *tužp*). — T-Prs.

*kir'žepč* Y, *kižipči* X, *karjöpč* Sh., *kərič* Z magpie, *gulbeq*. — Cf. Yd. *kynqo*.

*kās-*: *kāst* (*k'asak*) Sk., *kas-*: *kast* L to thresh; *k'sak vand*. Y to thresh (but said to follow *fraxbiz xas*, and to precede *būn*). — Prs. *kustan* to pound, *kusta* 'rice that has been separated from the husk by pounding, but not cleared from the chaff' have u, and are doubtful words.

*kasa-e-sar* W top of the head. — Prs. *kāsa-i-sar*.

*kiš* Y, *kiš* W, *kəs* X, *kəs* N, *kəš* (*kəx*) Sk., *kuš* B vulva, vagina. — Cf. Sgl. *kuš*.

*kšād* Y, *šād* Sk., *kšot* X, *kšād* Sh. broad, wide. Prs., cf. Shgh. *kešād*, etc.

*kuš'kór* X male oorial. — Cf. Sgl. *kəš'kār*.

*kit'gā* Sk. field. — Prs.

*kaš* Y, *kāš* Sk., *kaš* LSI, *kaš* L boy, young man; *zaman-kaš* B. — Av. *kasyah* smaller, cf. Psht. *kašai* only son.

*kšūy-*: *kšon* Y, *kišing* (?): *kišing* X, *k'šon-*: *k'šong* Sk., *k'šuy*, *k'šon-*: *k'šeng* L, *kšūy*: *kšon* Kl., *kšon*: *kšong* Hj., *kšūi*: *kšon* Sh. to hear. — *niv ti zik kšūyom* Y now I hear thy word; *ti zik wuz kišingum*; *kešingat* X 'šinducid'; *k'šonəm*, *k'šont*, *k'šūy!*, *k'šongəm*, *kšə'yak* (*kšə'nak*), *kšə'natk* Sk. — \**uš-kyn* > \**škən* > *kšən* (cf. Bal. *uškun*); \**srny* > \**šəy*,

contaminated with *kšən* into *kšəy*? Or, more prob., < \**gušaya-t* *kšən* as a pres. stem is secondary, cf. Sk. inf. *kšə'yak*, besides *kšənak*.

*kūt* Y, Sk., Z roof; *kut* X ceiling. — Cf. Sh. *kat-šil* soot? — < \**kāta*, cf. Av. *kata*, etc.? V. *iskakut*.

*ki'tāb* Y book. — Ar-Prs.

*ktič* Sk. hut, *ktič* Kl. hut on summer-pasture. — Cf. Ishk. *krč*.

*kūtk* L chaff.

*kať*: *kart* Y, X, *kāt*: *kārt* Sh. to throw, spread, pour into, *andāxtan*; *kāť*: *kārt* Sk. to lay, put. — *wuz yupk ar pīl kaťem* Y, *yupk piōla kaťum* X I pour water into the cup; *žār kaťem* Y I throw a stone; *kāťəm*, *kārt*, *kāť!* *kārtəm*, *kə'jak*, *kə'jak* Sk.

*qaf* Y mucus, *kat* Be. snot (*lišp* mucus).

*kəť* Y, Sk., *kuť* X, *köt* Sh. short. — Cf. Sgl. *kəť*.

*qəb* Sk. the Polar Star. — Ar-Prs.

*ku'tol* W dagger. — IA.

*qēw-* Sk. to call. — *qēwəm*, *qēwī*, *qēw cart*, *qēwəm*, *qēw!* *qēw kartəm*, etc. — Cf. Sgl. *qēw*.

*ku'wend* L sheep tick. — Cf. Psht. *kūnai* (EVP, s.v. *kōn*)?

*qəx* Sk., *kox* Sh. cough. — Cf. Shgh. *kəx*, Or. *kux*, Prs. *kux* *kux*.

*kūxt* Sk. every, Sh. all, whole. — \**tək* Sk. all. — *kūxt čiz* everything. — < \**kykti* the world (cf. Av. *karš-rar*); cf. semantically Yd. *šə'hānd* much < Prs. *jahān*?

*qā'zi* Sk. judge. — Ar-Prs.

*qōz* Sk. goose. — T-Prs.

*kūza* X pitcher. — Prs.

*kəž* Y, *keš* X, *kəž*, *kōž* Sk., *kōž* Z, Sh., *kīž* L, 'kurcej' Bi. knife. — Cf. Yd. *kəpo*. V. § 80.

## L

lab W, lap N, low X lip. — Prs. V. lafē.

lūd-: lōdt Sh. to ram in.

la-cer- X to leave, lēcər- Sk. to allow, la-car- Sh. to let go. — lēcər yau be wīzīt let him come Sk. — Cf. Yd. la(k)-.

lafē Y, Sk., Sh. lip. — Prs. V. lab.

lo'yar X bad. — Ar.-Prs. lāyar.

la'jōm Sk. bit of a horse. — Prs.

lūq Sk. rag.

lamərz L sloping down of a field. — \*ni-marza.

lānd W tooth. — Mj., cf. Yd. lad. V. 'dendik.

lōndək Sk. cheese (trapor uc cmerana).

lang Sk. lame. — Prs.

ling Y, ling X, lūg Sk. calf of the leg (Sk. also of a goat). — Prs.

lunf Sk. cheek. — Prs.

lup Y, X, Sh., lūp Sk. big, large. — ispa xōn lap Y our house is big; iu xōnan ti xōn lup X thy house is bigger than mine; lup yāng! Sk. (hip y° in Sk. Materialien, p. 141 is due to a misreading) thumb. — Cf. Tajiki lum(b) (Trudy Tadž. Bazy, III, 55)?

lipēa X milk pail; cf. lūpt Olufsen flat earthenware jug for milk and water?

lāst W hand. — Cf. Mj.-Yd. last.

lāša X lean. — Prs.

liēp B mucus. — IA.

liv-: liēd Y, Sh. to slip. — Cf. IE. \*(s)leib- (Walde-Pok. II, p. 391)? Or \*sleub-? But Or. xīrf slippery < \*sīrfra-, Psht. xwai < \*sīrfaka-, with Ir. s-? lu'wārē Y, lō'wōrē Sk., leinwārē Sh., etc. sand.

lēw Sk., lūw Sh. demon. — Cf. Sgl. lēw from \*Mj.?

liē- Y, liē-: liētk- X, liē-: liēt Sh. to lick. — Genuine, or from Prs. lēs-: liēt? But cf. Sgl. lēs-.

lazja X trembling. — l° gošt trembles. — Cf. Shgh. lajja, from Prs. larza. lax Y udder.

## M

mai Y, X, W, māi Sh., māy B sheep; mai X, māi Sk., kūr-māi L female oorial. — Cf. Yd. mūo.

mə Sk., māi Hj. don't. — 'mə-pərs, pərs-māi don't ask. — Av. mā.

mō'i Y, N, mō'i X, māhe W, mā'i Sk. fish. — Prs.

mūi X hair on the body. — Prs.

mūj Sk., mūi, mu,i L month. — Cf. Prs. mām, etc.

'mūbarak X salutation, gratulation. — Ar.-Prs.

miē Sh. (double) handful. — Cf. Sar. muf. V. § 73.

māček Y, māč-šac Be. she-dog; mōē L female. — Cf. Yd. macio.

mād Y, X, mađ W, Sh., mād L, Zar. (back of the) waist, back; mād Sk. back (of an animal). — zə yās 'mād 'zāxm-vitk Sk. the back of my horse was wounded. — Cf. Sgl. mēđ. V. § 100.

'māda N female. — Prs.

mai'dōn X plain. — T.-Prs.

mā'dūr Y, Sk., mādūr I, mađūr Sh., mōđər Z noon. — Cf. Sar., Shgh. mađər. — Av. maiđya- + ayara (cf. frayara fore-noon).

mā'dāž Y, mā'dāž Sk., mađāž Sh. mare. — From Phl.(?) \*mādag.



(\*mōḡ): mōḡt (mōḡetk) L to curdle (milk).  
 — 3 sg. mōḡt. — Cf. Bal. *madag*, etc., Sar. *mād* buttermilk (Be.).  
*mūg* Hj. stupid, *muq* Sh. blunt. (Unknown to Sk.'s informant). — Cf. Yd. *mīkḡ*.  
*mēy* W cloud. — Prs.  
*may'rib* Sk. west. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mayz* Y, X, N, W marrow. — Prs. — *magz* Be. 'brain' may be genuine (cf. Be. *sirk*, Sh. *serk* marrow).  
*may'zi* Y, X, N, *may'zek* W arm above the elbow. — Cf. Sgl. *asta-mayzek*, Yd. *mižistē*.  
*mi'jāš* X eyelashes. — Ar.-Prs.  
*māk'* Sk. neck. — Cf. Shgh. id.  
*mōk* Sk. hen. — Cf. Sgl. *mākək*.  
*'mukuduk* Y, *'muḡdok* X, *'mōkḡdək* W, *'muklok* N, *mukt* Sk., Sh., *mukt* L, *mōxt* Be. frog. — Cf. Ishk. *mukuduk*, Sgl. *moydōk*, Yazgh. *ma'gūd*.  
*maks* Y, X, Sk., L, Sh., etc. fly. — Cf. Yd. *moḡuso*.  
*maka* L ripple.  
*mūlā* Sk. donkey-saddle.  
*mūl* X stirring-pin. — Cf. Yd. *mūl*.  
*'mālum* X known. *mark m° ne vit* it was not known to me. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mā'lūm'dōr* Sk. honest. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mula'im* X soft. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mō'lung* Sk., *malung* L, *malung* Sh. middle, waist. — Cf. Yd. *malanē*.  
*mālungg-yaiē* Sk. shinbone; *malungg-yāiē* Sh. thigh; "malūngerch" Be. arm. — Cf. *yašē*.  
*māl'teq* Y, *mīl'tiq* X, *mī'tēq* Sk. gun. — Turk.  
*mō'lax* Y, *mī°* Sh. grasshopper. — Prs.  
*mūm* Y, Sk., Z, *mum* Sh. grandmother. — Cf. Yd. *'māmo*.  
*mīmān'xāna* X guest-house. — Prs.

*mō'nō car-* Sk. to resemble. — Prs. *mān* resembling.  
*mānd-* Y, *mānḡ-* X, *mānd-* L, *mānd-* (*mānḡāk*) Sh. to rub, shampoo. — Cf. Yd. *magv*, Sgl. *mānḡ-* V. *manditk*.  
*'mōnda* X tired. — Prs.  
*mznde'liē* Y butterfly (?), bird (?); *men-deliē* L swallow.  
*manditk* Be. leather. — Perf. of *mānd-* ("rubbed, tanned"?).  
*'manja* X bed. — IA, cf. Yd. *mānjo*.  
*miḡ'gas* Y, Sk., St., *iḡ'gas* X, *wiḡ'gās* Sh. sparrow. — Genuine (v. § 47), or from Kati *mā'gece*, *mi'ā'gece*?  
*miḡ'qōr* Y, *°ār* W, *°ōl* X beak. — Ar.-Prs.  
*man'zil* X a day's journey, halting-place. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mō'ḡū* W apple. — Prob. Sgl. *mēḡ*. V. *mur*.  
*mōḡ* W male oorial.  
*māra* L store-room on a roof.  
*mēr* L knuckle, joint. — Cf. Skr. *mar-man-*?  
*'mēri-*: *mērt-* Sk., : *mērt* X, *mēri-*: *mērtt* Sh. to die. — *mērt* Y dead. — *'mērim*, *'mēri*, *'mērid*, *'mērin*, *'mēritv*; *mērtəm*, *mēri'yāk*, *mērtk*; *mērt(k)* death Sk. — < \**mēriya-*, cf. Yd. *mēr-*.  
*mōr* X, *mār* W snake. — Prs.  
*mur* Y, *mūr* X, N, Be., *mūr* Sk., *mūr* Sh. apple. — Cf. Yd. *dmuno*.  
*mūr* Y, Sk., Sh., Z, *mōr* Be. cloud. — < \**ham-abra-*?  
*mūr* X locust (?). — Cf. Sgl. *mūr* centipede.  
*'mēra'bōn* Sk. friend. — Prs.  
*murca* X, W ant. — Prs.  
*'mērdik* W pupil of the eye. — Cf. Sgl. *čām-mērdikōg*.  
*mār'dīna* Y, *ma°* Y man. — \*Prs., cf. Shgh. *mardīna*.

- mery* L. female ibex; *marg* Sh. fem. Ovis Poli; Be. wild goat. — Av. *mərəya*; cf. Kafiri *mr'oḡ*, *mraṅ*, etc. fem. ibex.
- margilam* Sh. goat's down. — Cf. Yd. *muryu'lum*.
- mə'rik* Y, *ma'* Sh., B, *mrik'* Sk. sweet cream. — Cf. Shgh. *marəb*, Sar. *marəb*, prob. < Ar.-Prs. *marawicab* (v. Shgh. Voc., s.v., and Lentz s.v.), but the Wkb. form is difficult to explain.
- ma'rām* X servant. — *jū ma'rām* my servant. — Ar.-Prs. *mahrām* friend.
- mīr-p'rič* Y, *mīr-prič* Sk., Sh. ant. — *mīr*-prob. < \**marwi*- (cf. Yd. *mər'yo*), but associated with Ar.-Prs. (a)*mīr*, e.g. in Shgh. *mīr-mōčūn* (Sk.) 'Ratten-könig'.
- marši* Hj. hip. Denied by Sk.
- mī'rōs* Sk. inheritance. — Ar.-Prs.
- mīrā'xūr* X stable-boy. — Prs.
- merz* Y, *merz* X, *morz* Sh., *marz* Sh. hungry. — *merzəm ritei* Y I have become hungry; *merz-em* X; *'icuzəm murz vitk* Sk. — Cf. Shgh. Voc. s.v. *mažjānj* 'hungry' (Old Engl. *mure* gnawing hunger, etc.).
- mōrč* L. dew. — < \**morgh-s*, cf. Russ. *morox* 'drizzle' etc. (v. W.-P. s.v. *meregh*).
- mis* Y, X, Sk., Sh., etc. nose; Sh. also: point, formerly. — Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. *mīs*.
- mis* Sk. brass. — Prs.
- mās-dig* Y brass-pot. — Prs.
- mūi-sa'fēd* X old (not young). — Prs.
- maska* Y, X, Be. (*ruṅn* Sh.) butter. — Prs.
- mau'sim* Sk. season. — Ar.-Prs.
- məst* Y, Sk., *mušt* X, *mušt* N, *mut* W, *mōst* Sh., Z, etc. fist. — *mušt* Prs., *mut* Sgl., reg. *must* (with *st* < *št*,

- v. § 73) cf. Yd. *mīšč*, Kurd. *must*, etc. — V. *mušt*.
- məš* Y, *mə'sū* W ankle (*barikband* Be.). — Cf. *mašin* Sh. leg below knee (Sar. *mišinlang*).
- mūš* X mouse. — Prs.
- mūš*: *mōšt* Sk. to conceal; *mūš*-L to conceal, steal(?). — < \**mušya*-, cf. Skr. *muṣ*.
- mēšak* Y female oorial. — Prs. Cf. Sgl. *mēš i kiškōr*.
- mēšen* L along with.
- maš'riq* Sk. east. — Ar.-Prs.
- mušt* X fist, plough-handle (*gūšek*). — Prs. V. *mōst*.
- mō'tob* X moon. — Prs.
- mutr* Sh. augury, omen. — Genuine, < *maḍra*-, cf. Pāht. *marai* charm?
- me'wā* Sk. fruit. — Prs.
- mīx* Y, X, *mēx* Sk. nail. — Prs.
- ma'yno* X starling(?). — Hind. *mainā*?
- mī'yon* X waist. — Prs.
- maza* X taste. — Prs.
- miz* X table. — Prs.
- mizg* Y, Sk., *mizg* X, *mīzk* Be. urine. — *mizg* car. Sk. to make water. — Cf. Yd. *miz*.
- mu'zik* X hail. — Cf. Sgl. *mu'zik*.

## N

- nāu* Y, *nāu* X, Sk., *nau* N, Sh., *nāb*(?) W, *nāo* Sh. nine. — Cf. Yd. *nau*.
- ne* X, *nə* Sk. not. — *mālum ne vit* it was not known; *ne reḡā* 'na *mērawca*' X; *nə*- *nə* Sk. neither—nor. — Av. *na*.
- nai* Sk. no.
- 'niu* Y, *niāu* Sh., *nāi* X mill-race. — X from Prs. Cf. Yd. *nauc'yo*.
- nō'band* Y young calf; *nāband* Sh. yearling bull calf. — Cf. Shgh. *nōbānd*, Or.



- nōband*, etc. Original meaning 'newly bound' (newborn calves are allowed to move about). Cf. Or. *navzōd*, etc. yearling female calf (: 'just having born, or going to bear').
- nā'vās* Y, *nā'pes* X, *nā'pisan* L, *napōsan* Sh., etc. comb. — Cf. Oss. *sār-vasān*, etc.; Yd. *nuvās*. The derivation of Prs. *fasan*, *sar-fāhan* is doubtful.
- nā'bōt* Sk. plant. — Ar.-Prs.
- nūck* Sk., Sh. beak. — Cf. Sar. *nūsk*, Khaw. lw. *našk*.
- nā'dūn* L quiver; *na'dūn* Sh. scabbard. — Cf. Skr. *nīdhāna* place for depositing anything, receptacle; Prs. *nīhān* hidden.
- nā'davn*: *nā'dafst* Y to embrace, clasp, *mēcāspam*; Sh. *nā'davs*: *nā'devd* to affect, stain, profit, *nā'defs*: *nā'davd* to be compressed, dented, *nā'defs*: *nā'defst* to stick together; *nā'dev* L to stick to. — Two pres. formations, one in -n, and one in -s. — Cf. Shgh. *nīdemb* to stick (trans.); v. Yd. *nailō*.
- nāf* Y, N, Sk., *nāf* X, *nāf* W navel. — Prs.
- nāfar* X person. — cum *nā'cand nāfar*. — Ar.-Prs.
- nāy'd* Y, *nāy'd* X, N, Sh., *nāy'd* Sk., Kl. night. — *wūd nāy'd* Y to-night; *nāgde nikā kerk* X. — Av. *naxtar* (cf. Geiger, Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, 303).
- nāy'dīn* Y, *in(ak)* Sh. dawn. — < \**nax-tūina*.
- nāy'd'yupk* Sk. dew.
- nā'yordum* Y, *nā°* Sh., *na°* St. *nā'y'dūm* Sk. bear. — It is tempting to compare this noa-name with Yaghn. *rūb-j-dum* horse (: broom-tail, v. Junker, Yaghn. Stud. I, 125); Or. *ḡu'tum*, Shgh. *īitum* hare (< \**xšīta-duma* with lopped tail, cf. Bal. *īīay* to shear, rub away). — But *nōyōr* (\**nōyōrt-r*)? Cf. also Prs. *dum-burrida* bear.
- nā'kā* X marriage, wedding. — Ar.-Prs.
- naql* car. Sk. to tell. — Ar.-Prs.
- nā'k'ra* Y, *nā'k'ra* X, *nā'q'rā* Sk. silver. — Prs.
- nāu'kar* Sk. servant. — Prs.
- nālčrk* W reed. — \*Prs.
- nā'lād* Y jar, *kūza*.
- nam* X wet. — Prs.
- nīm* Sk. half. — *īz-nīm* *īm* vit *bār'bod* half my life was spoiled. — Prs.
- nā'mok* Y, *ok* Sk., *nā'mak* X salt. — Prs.
- nā'mil* L, *nā'mil* Sh. to hem. < \**lamīn* < \**dāmanaya* ??
- nemenj* L to dance.
- nīm'rūz* X noon. — Prs.
- namurzg* Sh., *lamurzg* L bush-harrow, rake. — Cf. Av. *nī-marz* to sweep down; Sar. *namūzg*, Kashan dial. Gaz *nimer'zūn* rake.
- nā'mōz* Sk. prayer. — Prs.
- nān* Y, X, Sk., *nān* W, Sh. mother. — *īū nān*; *you nānar* *īat*: *īi nān* X he said to his mother: oh, mother. — Cf. Yd. *nino*.
- nūnd*: *nūtt* Sk. to plant. — Cf. Ishk. *nēnd* < \**nī-hāndaya*, Sar. *nālenōdn* < \**nī-šāndaya* (v. Tedesco, BSL, 24, 200).
- nong* X, *nūng* Sk., *nung* Sh. name. — < \**nāmaka*, cf. Sgl. *nīm*.
- nā'pūs* Y, *us* X, *napūs* Sh. grandchild. — Early lw.? Cf. Yd. *nouoso*. V. *nōvōs*.
- nar* X, N male. — Prs.
- nā'rau* L rainbow.
- nār* Sk. light (adj. and noun). — Ar.-Prs.

- nar<sup>m</sup> X soft, crushed. — n° goxum  
I thresh. — Prs.  
nar-tūy N he-goat.  
nesi-(am) Y, nesi-(m) X, 'nəsi-: 'nəst- Sk.,  
nəsi-: nəst- Sh. to lie down. —  
'nəsim, 'nəst, 'nəsi, 'nəstum, nəsī'yak,  
nə'sətk Sk. — Av. sāy- to lie down,  
cf. Skr. nis'itha- night.  
nis-: nōst Sk., nūs-: nāst Sh. to lose;  
nās-: nāst Sh. to be lost. — Av.  
\*nasaya-, nasya-.  
naspar- Sh. to tread down. — \*ni-spar-  
cf. Sar. naṣpor-: naṣpug-; Av. spar-  
to tread, spurn; Prs. naspār place  
where grapes are pressed.  
nišən X showing. — n° randəm I show.  
— Prs.  
nāš'pātī W pear. — Prs.  
niširm Y, °rum X the shady side of a  
valley. — Cf. Sgl. nišorm.  
nā'tuān Sk. poor. — Prs.  
nev- Y, 'nūc-: nūod, nūd X. nūc-: nōwēd  
Sk., nūw-: nāud Sh. to weep; nov-  
L to soak. — cis sabab ke nūdī? X  
why didn't thou weep? bisyār nūde  
X he wept much; nūcəm, nūod, nūw,  
nōwēdəm, nū'wāk, nū'wətk Sk. — Cf.  
Shgh. nav- (or naw-) to weep, Yd.  
nov-.  
nūv Y, Sh., anīb X now. — nūv ti zik kəyem  
now I hear thy word; iycm xalg  
nūv rəṣvpt this man fell asleep now.  
— Av. nū, with secondary fricative?  
nūv-: nūod- Y, nūw-: nōyōd Sh. to  
extinguish (a fire). — rəxnīgi nūwēm.  
— Cf. nū-: neit- Sh. to go out (fire),  
nietkən Y I have gone out. nūv <  
\*ni-i + caus. -v. Cf. Yd. wuziw-.  
nūvur L herd's bread. — \*ni-bhāra-  
provision, cf. Av. ni-bərəba store-  
room?

- nəvəs W grandson. — Prs. V. nə'pūs.  
nəviš- Y, nī'wīš-: nīcīst- Sk., nəviš- Sh.,  
nōviš- Z, nīcīsta car- X to write. —  
Prs.  
nī'wəq Sk. breeze arising when the sun  
warms up the water.  
nə'wəst Sk. it can't be done. Cf.  
wōc-.  
'nīwīz-: nīšt- Sk., niuz-: nīšt- Sh.,  
: nī'ēšt; nīštēm Y; pf. nīžk Y,  
X to go out (Sh. also 'to go, come  
up'); cf. nawūz- Sh. to mount?  
— wuz cex ūnan nīštēm Y I  
went out of the house; nīžk Y  
'barāmad'; pādšā sail nīžk X the  
king went out for a walk; (ce) xōnən  
nīžk X he went out of the house;  
žau ce wuž nīštēm Y I took(?) the  
grain away from the straw; 'nīwīzəm,  
'nīwīz, nīwīz! wuz-əm nīštī (= nīštēm),  
nīwī'zak, nīwī'zətk Sk. — Cf. Sgl.  
nēr-, Yd. nī-.  
nux W female(?). — Prob. due to some  
misunderstanding.  
nax'čir Y, X, Sk., Sh. fox. — Prs.  
(with specialized meaning in Wkh.).  
no'xūn X nail. — Prs.  
nīxīnd-: nīxīt Sh., nīxn-: nīxt- Kl. to  
expel, bring out; nīxīnd- L to ex-  
tract.  
nezd-: ne-in- Y, nezd- X, nazd-: ne-in-  
(inf. nūdn) Sh., nōzd-: nōyn- Z to sit  
down. — nī'engəm Y I have sat  
down; wuz dā amī xōn niengin X  
I(?) am living in this house; wuz  
tawar nezd xānum X I tell thee to  
sit down. — \*ni-hazd-: \*ni-hadna-  
(inf. \*ni-hadana-).  
'nezdər-: 'nezdōrd Sk. (reg.) to place,  
put; to sit(?); nūdūv- Sh. to cause  
to sit down.



*nežyar*: *nežyard* Sk. to swallow. —  
\**niž-gar*.

*nažaxt* Sh. ill-advised. — Cf. Sar. *nāyūxt*.  
*neždun* L weeding. — < \**niž-dhāna*,  
but Psht. *lalūn* < \**ni*°?

# P

*pāi* Y, Sk., Sh. curds, *māst*. — Cf. Yd.  
*poya*.

*pāi* Sh. paddle, shovel. — Genuine Wkh.  
form of *fī* (q.v.), cf. Yd. *fiyo*, Par.  
*phī*. — Burush. *būi* (< \**pūi*) 'shovel,  
blade' is bor. from early Wkh.  
(cf. Lorimer, Bur. Gramm., § 10).

*pu* Y with. — *pu cākučen rōstəwəm* I  
cut with a knife. — Av. *paiti*.

*pac*: *pacd* Y, *pāc*: *pāct* (*pā'cak*) Sk.,  
*pōc*: *pōšt* Sh. to cook; *pacūv*:  
*pacovd* Sh. to cook (caus.); *pī'cēs guž*.  
X to cook. — *pōc* < *pačaya*. —  
V. *pā'čētk*, *pēš*.

*pec* Sh. countenance. — Cf. Shgh. *pic*,  
Sar. *pec* face, but not Sogd. *p'z*.

*picēv*: *picovd* Y, *picəw*: *picōwd* Sk.,  
*picv*: *picōvd* Kl. to kindle a fire. —  
*rəxnigi picēwəm* Y. — < \**piš'ic-ev*.  
— Cf. *pišisrv* L to light a fire <  
\**pati* + *dag* + *s* ? Cf. Saka *pa(m)dis*.  
V. *pišing*.

*pēča* Y, W lock, curl. — Prs.

*pā'čētk* Y, *pī*° X, *pō*° Sh. cooked. V.  
*pac*.

*pačraz*: *pačrazt* L, Sh. to arrest. —  
< \**pati-raxš*??

*pūd* Y, *p'ūd* X, *pūd* N, St., *pūd* Sk.,  
*puwēd* L, *pūd* Sh., *pōd* Z, *poda* Bl.,  
\**pūd* Be, *pu,et* H foot. — Cf. Yd.  
*palo*.

*pādšā* X king. — Prs.

*pād* L ligature on bow; *pođ* Sh. foot-  
track. — Both words prob. < Av.

*pađa*, cf. Yd. *pol*. But cf. Sar. *peđ*  
foot and foot-track.

*peđmeš*: L to swell, *pōdmōš* Sh. to  
ferment, foam, rise (as dough). —  
< \**pati-dmasaya*, cf. Av. *dādmānya*-  
'blowing oneself up', etc.; Brahui lw.  
*paddam* swelling.

*pōđn* Y, *peden* X, *pōđn* Sk., *pōđn* Sh.,  
etc. saddle — 'yašer *p*° *guž* saddle  
the horse; *p*° *da dālān tu* the saddle  
is on the veranda X. — Cf. Shgh.,  
etc. *bidān*. Tomaschek (p. 805)  
compares Skr. *api-dhāna*, from which  
form we should expect Wkh. \**pōđin*.  
\**apid(h)ana*, on the other hand, is  
not a probable form. V. Yd. *palan*.

*piđing* Y, X, Sh., *piđic*: *piđn* Kl. to  
flame up; *piđing* L flame. — Cf. *pīdi*.  
L to burn up. — *rəxnig piđing* Y  
'āteš dar girift'; *rəxnī piđingem* X  
I light(?) a fire. — Cf. Sgl. *pōđin*;  
Parth. *pdyn* to ignite (Henning,  
BSOS. IX, 86). Possibly *piđin* <  
\**pati-dagna*, and *piđic* a secondary  
formation?

*pē'ār* Sk. crop (of a bird).

*piūk* L onion. — Cf. Yd. *pīy*.

*pōk car* Sk. to cleanse. — Prs.

*pa'k'ūl* Sk. cap. — Cf. Yd. *pa'koṛo*.

*pa'lū* W eyelash. — Cf. Yd. *pēlek*. V. *patk*.

*pīl* Y, Sh., *pīl* Be, *pīola* X wooden cup.  
— Prs. (*pīl* early lw., cf. Yd. *pīloṛo*).

*pīl* Sk. money. — Prs.

*palē* Y, X, Sh., *palē* Sk., *parē* Be. leaf;  
X also feather; *palē* Sk. forest; *parē*  
Hj. garden. — Poss. two different  
words; reg. *palē* leaf v. § 83.

*pū'lōd pū*° Sk. steel. — *p*° *xingār*. — Prs.

*poluk* W thumb. — Cf. Lat. *pollex*??

*pīlek-mīlek* X, *pīlpīlak* Sh. butterfly. —  
Cf. Khov. *pułmuđuk*.

- palan* L. to fall.  
*pa'lāng* Y, X, W, N, *plāng* Sk. leopard.  
 — *Prs.*  
*plōng'gōšt* Sk., *pulangūt* Sh. finger-ring.  
 — *Cf.* Yd. *parguččē*.  
*palās* Y, *pīlesk* X, *palās* Sh. rug. —  
*Prs.*, *cf.* Bur. *palōs*, Khow. *pīlisk*, etc.  
*pāla'wōn* Sk. hunter. — *Prs.*  
*pūmec* Y, *pō°* X, *pamec*: *pamegn* Sh.  
 to dress. — *Cf.* Sgl. *pānec*.  
*pūmecer* Y, *pameciv* Sh. to dress some-  
 body else.  
*pō'nū* W butter. — *Cf.* *Prs.* *pīnū* cream-  
 cheese.  
*p'ū(°)n* Y, *pūn* Sk., Sh., *phūn* Be. palm  
 of the hand. — *Cf.* Yd. *pino*.  
*pa'nir* Sk. cheese. — *Prs.*  
*pānz* Y, X, *pāns* W, *p'ānz* N, *pānj* Sk.,  
*pānz* Sh., *panj* Z five.  
*pəy'dək* Sk. unripe apricot. — *IA*, *cf.*  
*Lhā.* *piñd* ripe dates.  
*pūp* Y, Sk., Sh., Z grandfather. — *Cf.*  
 Yd. *pap*.  
*pīpir* X bedding, *pīpər* Sk., *pīp* Sh.,  
 St. bed. — *Cf.* *Prs.* *pōb* tapestry,  
 carpeting, *ambūb* cushion, mat? *pīpir*  
 original dat. (= loc.)? — But note  
 also Sar. *babēr* bed.  
*parr* Y, W, *pār* Sk., *par* Sh., *pūr* (!) Be.  
 feather (Sk. also wing). — *Prs.*  
*pur* X full. — *Prs.*  
*puru*: *porōd* Sh. to rinse (a cup, clothes).  
 — *Cf.* Sar. *paro*. Not < Av. *frav*,  
 but possibly < \**pari-fraw*?  
*p'riē* Y, *p'riē* X, *priē* Sh. worm. — *Cf.*  
 Sgl. *p'ēuk*.  
*pər'ēōd* Y, Sk., *pūrcōd* Sh., *pūrcād* Burnes,  
*pər'ēōd* Sk. girl, maid (acc. to Sk.  
 older than *ōy'd*). — Dissim. < \**parēār*,  
*cf.* Skr. *parīcarikā* maid?  
*pārd* Y, Sk., *parde* X, *pard* Sh. last

- year (X also day before yesterday?).  
 — < *parut*, *cf.* Par. *parāsūr*.  
*pardūng'gī* X, *pardūng* Sh. belonging to  
 last year.  
*pārg* Y, Sk., Sh., *parg* X, St., *p'ārg* N  
 ashes. — *Cf.* Sgl. *park*.  
*pərg* X necklace; *pōrg* Sk. small ring  
 (worn on a cord); "pyrk" Olufsen  
 stringed kernels of apricots? —  
 \**parika*, *cf.* Skr. *parikara* belt, *Prs.*  
*pargar* collar of precious stones?  
*prigūn* Sh. horse-clothing. — *Cf.* Sar.  
*pariocin*. — *Cf.* *gaw*?  
*pargōš* Sh. to be entangled. — < \**pari*-  
*guš* < *guz* + *s*? *Cf.* EVP. s.v. *γέξ*.  
*parək* N rib. — *Ishk*.  
*purk* Y, *pūr* N, *pār* W (= Sgl.) *pīrk*  
 Sk., *pūr* Sh. mouse. — *Cf.* Yd.  
*parγ*, Sgl. *pōrk*.  
*parkōl* Sh. to dig, excavate. — *Cf.* *Prs.*  
*kōltan* to dig.  
*pīrkit* L to stir.  
*pərməyūng* Kl. belt, izorband. — Wkh.  
 + *Prs.*  
*permər* L to wither, fade. — \**pari-mrya*,  
*cf.* *Prs.* *pīzmurdan*.  
*pī'rān* X shirt. — *Prs.*  
*pər'nə* Kl. churn, *deg-i dūykañ*. —  
 \**pari-nī-čī*?  
*pa'rinda* Y, X, Sh., °*dā* Sk. bird. —  
 p° *dar hawā wīzīt* X. — *Prs.*  
*pārind*: *pūrūt* Y, *pārind*: *pīrīt* Sk.  
 (reg.), *pārūd*: *pārāt* Sh., *frindav* (!)  
 X to sell. — \**parā-rand*? *Cf.* Yd.  
*pōlār*. V. *rand*.  
*purs* Y, *pīrs* Sk., *pūrs* Sh. rib; *p'ūrs* X  
 breast. — *Cf.* Yd. *pərsəyē*.  
*pərs*: *pūrst* Y, *pərs*: *pərst* Sk. (reg.),  
*pōrs*: *pōrst* Sh. to ask. — *Cf.* Yd. *pṛs*.  
*pərsəf* L wedge. — \**pari-saifa*, *cf.* Skr.  
*śep(h)a*, Lat. *cippus*?



*pur'sān* X question. — *p°* *gožum* I ask;

*'pāšā* *p°-um kerk*. — *Prs.*

*parəŋ'gəl* Sk. wrist.

*pōrē* Sh. to sneeze. — *Cf.* *Sar. pūrē*.

*prūt* Sk. foreward; *prūt* Sh. first (adv.). —

< \**parā-tah*. *Cf.* *Or. perōd*, etc. forepart.

*pert* L back of an animal. — *Av. paršti*.

*Cf. s.v. pīst*.

*parē(y)*: *parvet* Sh., *pōrēy*: *pōrvōt*

Z to attain, strike, touch. — *'no*

*par'wō* Sk. don't touch. — *Lw.*, if <

*pari-āp*. — *Cf. Yd. p<sup>u</sup>ra*.

*pariuf*: *paricāft* Sh. to net, plait. — *V. ūf*.

*par'wāna* W moth. — *Prs.*

*pariēas* L rafter (smaller than *was*).

*pūrē* Sk., *pūrē* Sh. evening; *'purzer*, °*jar*

X (dat.) this evening, *bigā*. — *p°*

*yōwēr yark gužum* this evening I

shall tell him his work. — \**pārē*

< \**pārē* < *upa-azara* (*cf. Av. upa-*

*naxtar*). Scarcely \**pūrē* < \**purr-*

*azar* < \**p<sup>u</sup>ra-azar*.

*pīrēp* L to twist. — *Cf. Sgl. yev*.

*pūs* Sk., *pos* Sh. ram (E.Wkh.), Sh. a

fat sheep. — *Av. pasu*.

*pōs* Sh. white leopard, ounce. — *Cf.*

*Sar. pīs* id.; *Prs. pīs* white, leprosy,

*Av. paēsa* (Tomaschek, p. 762).

*pī'sōn* X whet-stone. — *Prs.*

*past* X, *pāst* Sk. low. — *Prs.*

*pīst* Y, N, Sk., *pist* X, Sh., *posk* W

(= *Ishk.*) skin, hide, Y also bark. —

*pīst* Sk. back of an animal (for \**pīrt*,

*cf. s.v. pērt*). — *pist-i diraxt* X =

*šung-pist* Sh., *draxt-pist* Sh. — *Cf.*

*Sgl. pāsk*.

*pōst* Sh. parched grain. — *Cf. Yd. pūšē*.

*pō'sa* W, N mosquito. — *Prs.*

*pēšāu* W urine. — *Prs.*

*pīs* Y, Sk., *pūs* X, W, *pīs* N, Sh., \**Be.*,

*pēš* Z cat. — *Cf. Yd. pīko*.

*pēšu* L pear. — *Bur.?*

*pēš'bār* N breast. — *Ishk.* < *Prs.*

*pošk* Y, *pušk* X, B dung of sheep. —

*Prs.*

*pašm* N, *pām* W wool. — *Prs.*, and

*Ishk.*

*pō'sai-mōn*, *pī's°* Sk. regretful. — *Prs.*

*pī'sōna* X, *pe'lāni* W forehead. — *Prs.*

*pēš-i-pā* X instep. — *Prs. (toe)*.

*pušta* X slope, hillside. — *Prs.*

*pīšew*: *pēt* L, *pīn*, *pēšew*: *pēt* Sh.,

*pēšew*: *pēt* Kl. to return, turn back;

*pū*: *pēšew* Sh. trans. — *Shaw* (p. 53)

compares *Av. apaša* backwards.

*pīšewāz* X in: *xalg pīšewāzār ke rešt*

*'ādam pīšewāz-i Sultān Mahmūd*

*raftan*'. — *Prs.?*

*pīšew'mān* Sk. kitten. — *V. pīš*.

*pēš* L to ripen. — < \**pačya*. *V. pac*.

*pōš'na* Y, *pōš°* X, N, *pōš'nd* Sk., *pōšt* L,

*pōšt* Sh. heel; *pāšt* Sh. sole. — *Prs.*

*pīt* Tomaschek pine. — From what

source? *Tom.* compares *Skr. pita-*

*dāru*.

*pītau* Y, X the sunny side of a valley.

— *Prs. Cf. Yd. pītou*.

*pātē* Y, N, *pātak* St., *tapk* L, *tapk* Be.,

*tappuk* Bi. eyelash; *patk'* Sk. eyelid.

— *Cf. Sgl. 'pātik*. *V. tapk*.

*pa'tek* X pea, *patek*. — *Prs. Cf. Yd.*

*pateko*.

*pītē* Sk., *pītē* Sh., Z rotten. — *pītē*

*wōcēm* Sk. — *Cf. Yd. pīo*.

*pat'lūn* Sk. trousers. — *Ind.* < *Engl.*

*pātūm*: *pātūm* Sh. to mimic. — *Cf.*

*Skr. prati-mā*.

*pō'tūn* L repair. < \**pati-dāna*?

*patari* X rafter. — *Cf. Yd. patarē*.

*patr* Y, Sk., *pāt<sup>u</sup>r* X, *patr* N, *pāt<sup>u</sup>r* W,

*patr* L, *pōtr* Sh., Z son. *Cf. Yd.*

*pūr*.

- petərd*: *petərnə* L to spring from one seed (of several stalks). — \**pati-tydya* to be split.
- pūtrūm(b)*: *patramd*, *potrombd* to scare away, to arrest. — Cf. Skr. *prati-lambha* passion, rage, violent abuse; *prati-labh* to get abused?
- pūtrūz*: *pātrāz* Sh. to lean against. — Cf. Sar. *padrāz*. Geiger < Av. \**paiti-raz*.
- pī'tēār* Sk., °*var* Sh. small mussuck (lid skin). — \**pītu bara* food-bearer?
- pūtārm* Sh., *pūtzarim* B wooden trough. — \**pati-xwānman*-, cf. Prs. *xwān* tray?
- paṭ*<sup>1</sup> X worm, *kirm*. — Or = *paṭ*<sup>2</sup>? (*kirm* misheard for *kīr*)?
- paṭ*<sup>3</sup> Y, X, W, *pāṭ* Sk (W.Wkh.) penis.
- peṭ* Sh. round, *put* Sh. circular. — Cf. Sar. *pet*, *puṭ*.
- pṣāk* Sk. bread, small cake. — Cf. *peṭ*?
- pīṭu* L, *pāu* Sh., *pī'stu* Be. mosquito.
- pōv* Y, *pōb* X, *pūr*: *pītt* Sk., *pev/d*: *pīt* L, *pōv*: *pītt* Sh. to drink. — *pōvəm*, *pōvī*, *iyam xalg yupk pīt*, *sak yupk pōvan*, *sāis pōvəv*, *xalgist yupk pōvan* Y; *pūvəm*, *pūvī*, *pīt*, *pūvəm*, *pūvəv*, *pūvī*, *pīttəm*, *pūvāk*, *pītk* Sk. — Cf. Sgl. *pōv*.
- pōvəz* L driftwood. < \**upa-wəza*?
- paṭ'tū* Sk. cotton. — Prs.
- pīṭ* Sh. bie-tings. — Cf. Skr. *pīyūṣa*.
- puṭ* Y, *pūṭ* L cattle-shed.
- pūy*: *pīn* L to guard, watch over. — Av. *pā*.
- pī'yaṭ* Y poplar. — Cf. *yaṭ*?
- pī'yōz* Sk. onion. — Prs.
- pāz* Sh. an armful.
- p'ūz* Y, *pūz* Sk. (E.Wkh.), *pūz* Sh. breast. — Cf. Sar. *puz*, *poz*, Khw. lw. *pāz*, Yd. *fīz*. Perhaps also Oss. *faz* podex,

Zaza *pīze* belly, Skr. *pājasya* flanks; *pakṣa*.

*paṣdan* Sh. to recognize. — Cf. Sgl. *pōzin*.

*pezin* X, *pīzən* L udder. — < \**paya-zana*-, cf. Skr. *payo-dha*.

*pə'zōv* Y (*pə'zōv* Gramm.), *pī'zūv* X, *pu'zū* W, *pə'zīv* N, *pə'zīv* Sk., *pūzūv* Sh. heart. — *pə'zīv-tang* Sk. depressed. — Cf. Sgl. *ōv'zui*? — A purely phonetic reconstruction \**apa-zābya* gives no possible etymology.

*paī'zār* Y shoe. — Prs.

*pīzvāni* L, Sh. morning-meal.

## R

*rū-i* Y on, in. — In the Prs. expression: *parinda rū-i avā rəṭt* the bird flies in the air. — Prs.

*rūi* Y, X, Sk., *rū* N cheek. — Prs.

*rōbā* N fox. — Prs.

*ricy* Y, *'ricin* X, *ricn* Sh. smoke-hole. — Cf. Yd. *rūžen*.

*rucəpe* L, *ricops* Be. cousin.

*rečy* L, *ričay* Sh. a fast. — Early lw., cf. Prs. *rōza*.

*rəč*: *rəy* Y, *reč*: *rəṭt*(?) X, *rəč*: *rəy* Sk., *rəč*: *rəy* Kl., *rač*: *ragd* Sh. to go, move. — *rəṭt* 'mērawad'; *yez əm rəydei* 'raftam' Y; *yem yark cebas reč* 'i kār pas buru'; *xōnar rič* go home; *ne rečā* 'na mērawya'; *kāyaz reṭt* the letter went off, *raft*; *cebas reṭt*; *dar huzūr-i pādšā reṭt* X; *rəčəm*, *rəṭt*, *rəčən*, (*rəčənəv*), *rəč*! 'rəydam' (*tāydam*), *rəčək*, *rəydotk* Sk. — Cf. *wəwəč*?

*rōčəm* Sk. travel(?), is prob. pres. 1 sg., cf. 'rəčūpəm' 'sleep' (!).

*rəč*: *rənn* Sk., *rōč*: *rōn* Sh. to flee. —



- rādām*, *rett*, *rād* *rānni*, *ro'dak*, *rātk*.  
— Cf. Yd. *lūr*, Yazgh. *rað*; Prs. *rah*.  
*rūda* N, X guts. — Prs.  
*rāg* Sk. vein, tendon. — *rāg-i* nazm  
pulse. — Prs.  
*rēg* X sand. — Prs.  
*rāgūm* Sk., *rāyūm* Sh. heifer, yearling  
cow-calf. — < \**fragāma*-. Cf. Yd.  
*fəryōmček*.  
*regiš* Y, *ri'giš* X, *re°* N, *rə'žiš* Sk.,  
*reyiš* Sh. beard. — Cf. Khw. (lw.  
from Wkh.) *rr'giš*. — Sk. compares  
Prs. *faryiš* hairs hanging down (*sar-  
furōð*) from below (*az zēr-i*) a fur-  
coat, a dirty garment with torn hem  
(Asadi, with quotation from Lablbi)  
< \**fra-gaisya*-, cf. Av. *gaēsa*.  
*rūyū* Y, *rūyūn* X, *rūyūn* Sk., *ruyn* Sh.  
(*rēyn* W fr. Ishk.) clarified butter,  
*rogūn* Sh. fat, grease. — Cf. Yd.  
*rūyūn*.  
*rōyot*, *rōy* L young she-goat. — < \**fra-  
gatā*? Cf. *rāgūm*.  
*rah-zan* Sk. robber. — Prs.  
*rāuj* Sh. flame.  
*ruk* Y, N, Sk., *rōk*, *ruk* L, *rūk* Sh.  
forehead — Cf. Prs. *ruẖ*, *rōẖ* cheek  
< \**sraxwa*-, Skr. *srakva*-, *sykva(n)*  
corner of the mouth.  
*ri'kōb* Sk. stirrup. — Ar-Prs.  
*ra,qō'si/ē* car, *rōq°* Sk. to dance. —  
Ar-Prs.  
*rakš* Y grey; *rakš* L brown. — Prs. *raxš*.  
Prob. lw., cf. § 60.  
*rami*-. *ramatt*- Sh. to command. — Pres,  
3 sg. *rimūt*. — Cf. Sar. *rāmi*-. *rāmōd*,  
Prs. *farmūdan*.  
*ra'muš*- X, *rīmūš*-. *rīmōšt* (*rīmūšak*) Sk.,  
*rēmīš*-. *rēmšōt*. Z to forget. — Cf.  
Yd. *fərmō*-.  
*ramet* L, *ramōt* Sh. chewing the cud. —

- Poss. < \**raumqōa* (Bal. *rōmast* <  
\**raumqō + ta*?), cf. Frisk, Göteborgs  
Högskolas Årsskrift, 1936: 2, 14 The si-  
milarity with Santali *remet* 'third  
stomach of ruminants' is probably  
incidental.  
*rōn* Y, X, N, Sk. thigh. — Prs.  
*rūn* Sh. shelf. — Cf. Sar. *rūn*; Sgl.  
*frūn* plank.  
*rand*-. *det*- Y, *rānd*- X, *rānd*-. *ratt*- Sk.,  
*rānd*-. *ratt/ðett*- Kl., *rānd*-. *rätt/ðett*-  
Sh., *ðāð*-(!): *det*- Hj. to give. — *yupk*  
*rānd* Y give water; *detāi* you gave;  
*wuz tar kitāb randēm* I give you a  
book; *tu mar kitāb rand*; *yimē detem*  
*tārek* I gave it to you; *tu mārek*  
*kitābe detāi* Y; *wuz tawar i rūpiā*  
*rāndēm* I give you a rupee; *mark i*  
*rūpiā rande* X; *rāndēm*, *rānd*, *rānd*!,  
*rattēm* (or *rātum*, *ðettum*), *rēn'dak*,  
*rat'tatk* Sk.; *raðān* inf. Sh.; *lōðōw(ak)*  
inf. Kl. — *det*- < \**dila*, *raðān* <  
*fra-dā*? But the Pres. Stem prob.  
< *rad*-, with nasal infix *rand*-, and,  
with secondary preter., *ratt*-. Not  
*rāt(t)*-, Kl. *rāt*- < *rā-ta*.  
*ru'dāg*, *ru'dāk* Sk. strap, leather belt.  
*rang* Sk. colour. — Prs.  
*rang* Y, X male ibex, *rang*. — Prs.  
*rānjik* Sh. light, fast. — Cf. Sar. *rānj*.  
Geiger (p. 302) compares Av. com-  
parative *rānjyō*.  
*rip* Y, Sh., St., *rip* Sk. hair on the  
body; *rip* N hair; *rip* L hair of  
animals. — Sar. *reð* from Wkh., or  
with epenthesis. Poss. < \**raupi*-,  
cf. Norse *reyfi* wool torn from sheep,  
etc. (v. Walde-Pokorny, II, 354, *reup*-  
to tear out).  
*rū'plā* X rupee. — Ind.  
*rapic*-. *rapagn*- Sh. to lose the way;

- rapev- caus. — Cf. Walde-Pokorny, II, p. 10, s.v. *peig*?
- repk Sh. refuse, rapk sweepings. — Cf. Yd. *rufo*.
- ripk X neck-rope of the yoke. — If correct, < \**raib/paka*-, cf. Engl. rope, etc.??
- rür: rord- Sh. to make equal in height, stretch out, extend, offer, present. — Cf. Sar. rör: rord- id.; Av. *frā-ar*- to assign to, to approach; but Tumchuk Saka *ror*- to give < *fra-var*.
- rus L hole, burrow.
- röst Y, X, Sk. right (hand), true. — Prs. röst'gūi Sk. truthful. — Prs.
- röstv: röstved- Y, rasedav: rasedovd Sh., raste Kl. to cut, break; caus. of rased: rasan- Sh. to break (of a rope); but note rasið: rasan- Sh. to cut off; rasið: rasan Kl. 'buridan'. — pu cākucen rästveem Y. — < \**fra-sid*-, cf. EVP., s.v. *šlādēl*. V. Barr, Phil. Psalter, p. 58, s.v. *pīn*.
- rūš L Ovis Poli, Be, male oorial. — Cf. Bur. rūš, but Or. rōs, Sar. raos.
- rūš Hj. anger. — Denied by Sk.
- rōšana'i X light, brightness. — Prs.
- rū'šan Sk. light. — Prs.
- rešip L, rašip Sh. whip. — \**fra-xšwaipa*-, cf. Av. *xšvašpa*, *xšvašwa*-, etc.? But cf. § 60.
- rešpuk L bobbin; rašpuk Sh. shuttle. — Cf. Av. *fra-spā*- to throw into?
- riš'ta Y, rax'te W root-fibre. — Prs.
- rō'wār Y, rō'wār, ru'or Sk., ruār Sh., etc. day. — cō'būr rō'wār Y; rō'wār the day Sk. — \**fra-vahra*-, cf. Skr. *vasra-day* (Lex.).
- rōwez: rōwez- Sk., rūwez: rūwez- Sh. to fly. — Cf. Shgh. *rewāz*-, etc., M.Ir.N.W. *frwōt*-, Av. *frā-vaz*.

- rax W dung of cows and sheep. — Cf. Ishk. *garx*.
- ruiz Y, ruzn N, rōst W (< Ishk.) day- (light); rūzen Sh. dawn. — Cf. Or. rōzm, Shgh. ruz. — Cf.:
- ruzy Y, rūz'n, rūz'n Sk., ruzn Sh., rōz H, B white; 'ruzun X bright; ruz'm yekta Sk. a white shirt. — Cf. rax'nig.
- rax'nig Y, N, rax'ni X, rax'ni W, rāz'nī Sk., raxnig Sh. fire. — rax'nig ōit the fire burns; rax'nigi pīceem I light a fire Y; rāz'nī pīdingam id. X; rax'nig murt the fire went out X. — Genuine, or Prs.? V. § 60. Cf. Sgl. § 2naī.
- režup: 'rožopt Y, rižup: rižupt- Sk., rūžp: rōžopt- Sh. to sleep. — wuz nīw 'režupm I am sleeping now; 'iyom 'xalg nīw 'rožupt this man fell asleep now; 'rožoptm, wūz-um 'rožoptei 'xau kardam'; tōr-mis 'rožoptei Y; rižupm, rūžup'pāk Sk. — Note 'rāžupm Sk. sleep (?). < \**fra-hwap*-. rux'sat X leave. — r° kerk, vit; n: tawarke r° gužum. — At-Prs.
- ruy- L to bay, howl. — Cf. Skr. *rā'yati*.
- rīz: rōzd- Sh. to rip up a seam. — Sar. raōz- points to ancient \**rauz* < \**leug*- (cf. Walde Pokorny *leug*- to break?).
- rūz X day. — Prs.
- rīza'barg X poplar. — \*Prs.
- rezg L saline efflorescence.
- rīzom L soot; rīzm Sh. black at the bottom of a kettle. — Also in Sar. rīz ā'xur X, zar-ā'xūr Sh. manger. — \*Prs.?
- raž, rāžek L sitting dais: rāž Sh. platform, seat of honour. — Cf. Yd. *raža*.
- rīz: rīž- Sk., rīž Sh. to feel pain (Sh. also to be angry). — rīž (ž = z) Sk. pain, cf. Sar. rīzd (Be).



S

*sī* W thirty. — Prs.  
*sī* Y, *sūi* N, *sūi* W, *sīy* Sk., *sūi* Sh.  
 hare. — Cf. Yd. *sīy*.  
*seb* small apple. — Prs.  
*sub* X dawn. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'bab* X cause, reason. — *ci* s° *ke*  
*nīrdī?* why did you weep? — Ar.-Prs.  
*sub'damik* X in the morning. — \*Ar.-  
 Prs.  
*sī'buk* Y, *'sebuk* X light (of weight). —  
 Prs.  
*sī'bās* Sh. back, rear, *tar* s° behind. —  
 V. *cebas*.  
*sic* Y, X, Sh., *sij* Sk. needle. — < \**suci*-,  
 cf. Sar. *sic*, Shgh. *sej*, Or. *sēc*, etc.  
*sad* Sk., Sh. a hundred. — Prs.  
*sadbarg* X centifolium. — Prs.  
*sau,do'gar* Sk. merchant. — Prs.  
*sə'diy*: *sə'dōid* Sk., *sūdiy*: *sə'dōid* Sh.  
 to appear. — *mārək* *sə'dūid*, *sə'dōidi*,  
*sə'dōidak*, °*dətk* Sk. I feel, felt, etc.;  
*yāvək'eš* *sə'dūid(eš)* he feels; *'sākək*  
*sə'diydešt*, or *'sākək'eš* *sə'diyd* 'we feel'.  
 — Av. *sad*, Khov. lw. *sar*, etc.  
*sud'y* Sh. smooth. — Sar. *sud'y*. Cf. *sāt*.  
*sud'y* Sh. height-sickness. — Sar. *sud'y*.  
*saf'dōr* X, *safe'dār* W poplar. — Prs.  
*sə'gin* Y, *sar'gin* X, *sigin* Sh. horse-  
 dung; *skīn* L yak's dung; *sigin* B  
 cow-dung. — Cf. Yd. *yu-skən* (*sargin*  
 fr. Prs.).  
*sa'gāwī* Y, °*āwī* X, W otter (Sh. *kamā*).  
 — Prs.  
*sey'ri* L rump of horse. — Turk.  
*sə'yir* Y orphan. — Cf. Sgl. *sayēr*.  
*sīhat* Sk. in health. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sak* Y, X, N, Sk., etc. we. — *sak* *yāwēn*  
 we eat; *sak* *sāv* *dīnen* we beat *yū*;  
*yem* *spa* *xūn* this is our house Y;

*sak* *Waxī* *xalge* we are Wakhis;  
*sakar* *igōn* *igōn* *rūpia* *rande* give  
 us one rupee each; *tu* *čizir* *saker*  
*ding?* why do you beat us? *ispa*  
*xōn* *lup* our house is big; *ayem* *xōn*  
*ispacan* this house is ours; but also:  
*ispā* *Xanduti* *xalg* we are Khandutis  
*(ispa* said to be used lower down —  
*pāyān*—or in jest—*tōka*) X; *sak* *yavoum*  
 we eat X; *sākən*, *spō*, etc. Sk. Cf.  
 § 118 sq.  
*sək* Kl. on (*skəm* on this, etc.). — Av.  
*uska*. V. *iska*.  
*sik* X, L, *sik-tahl* Be. spleen. — Prs. *sik*  
 vinegar. Or, cf. Sgl. *sūyūk?*  
*skid* Y, *skiš* Sh., Hj. (embroidered) skull-  
 cap. — < \**skauda*-, cf. Lat. *cūdo*,  
 etc. (Hübschmann, KZ, 24, 412).  
*skaf*: *skaf*- L to trip. — Cf. Prs. dial.  
*kaftan* to fall.  
*sē'ken* Y, *skən* N, *skōn* Sh. puppy. — Cf.  
 Yd. *čə'na*.  
*səkr* Y, Sk., *sīkr* Sk., *sōkr* Sh., *su'ərx*  
 X, W red; *sək'r* X white(!). — Cf.  
 Yd. *surx*.  
*skōrc*, v. *škōrc*.  
*skōrd* Y, *skōrd* Sk., Sh., Kl., *škōrc*(?)  
 X bridge; *skord* Sh. eyelash (also  
 Sar. *yēid* bridge, eyelash, cf.  
 semantically Schrijnen, KZ., 50,  
 144) < \**skadra*- \**plank*, cf. W-P, s.v.  
*sqed*?  
*skurf* Y rough.  
*sekvē'dēt*(?) Y in: *xalg* *wuz* s° *gožum*  
 I send somebody.  
*sāl* X, *sāl* Sh. year. — Prs.  
*sail* X walk, promenade. — Ar.-Prs.  
*salām* X salutation. — s° *gušt*, *žat*.  
 — Ar.-Prs.  
*sal'mā* X bird-net attached to a stick.  
 — Prs.

- sal'lōt* Sk. soldier. — Russ.  
*sul'tān* X king. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sām* L edge. — Also in Werchikwar.  
*sēm* W, *sūm* Sh., *sumb* Be. hoof. —  
*sēm*, etc. fr. Prs.?  
*simbu'lā* X n. of a month. — Ar.-Prs.  
*som'bōnak* Y, *ōbānak* Sk., *saṅbā'nak* Hj.  
 pellet-bow. — Cf. Yd. *xəsmānak*.  
*som'vōr* Y, *sanvar* St., *sīver* L, *sīvar* Sh.,  
*saval* Be. yoke. — < \**sami-bara*,  
 cf. Yd.-Mj. *sām*.  
*san-*: *sat-* Kl. to mount, ascend, *bōlo*  
*barṁadan*. — Sogd. *san-*. Cf. also  
 Bailey, BSOS. IX, 77.  
*'sina*, *sī'nā* X female breast; *sī'nā* Sk.  
 (W.Wk.) breast. — Prs.  
*san'duq* Y, *son'* X box. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sin'dōn* X, *san'dāl* Sh. anvil. — Prs.  
*sa'nōr'* N daughter-in-law. — Prs.  
*sənōr'* Sk. thin, narrow (thing).  
*saṅbu'qā* Sk. tortoise. — Prs.  
*saṅgurt* L, *singurt* Sh. beetle. — *saṅg*  
 stone + \**wart(r)a-* 'armour'.  
*spa*, v. *sak*.  
*sup* L spider.  
*speḍ/θk* L sole of foot. — ? + *padyaka*.  
*span-*: *spat* to fill up (of river). — Denom.  
 < \**us parnā*.  
*sp'pūndr* Y, *spūnd'r* X, *spūn'* Sk. plough-  
 share; *spundr* Sh. plough. — < \**spōnr*  
 < \**spārana*, cf. Shgh., Rosh. *sepōrn* Z.  
*sp'pōr* X plough=share. — Prs.  
*sp'pōrdānj* Y, *spōr'dānj* Sk., *spārdenj* Sh.  
 flea. — < \**spardana-ct*, cf. Av.  
*spōrd-* eagerness, Old Norse *spradka*  
 to kick, flounder, etc. (cf. Tomaschek,  
 p. 769).  
*sprōy* Sk., *spray* Sh., *sēprōy* Kl. flower.  
 — Cf. Khaw. lw. *isprū*, Av. *fra-*  
*sparzā-* a shoot, Sogd. *spry-* to  
 blossom. V. *sprež-*.

- sp'purz* Y spleen. — Prs.  
*sprež-* L to blossom. — Cf. Khaw. lw.  
*isprež-* to blossom, Sak. *haṣpalj-*  
 to cause to blossom. V. *sprōy*.  
*sp'pask* Y rafter. — Cf. Shgh. *sp'pāsc*.  
*sar* Y, N, *sār* Sk., *sār* Sh., *sōr* X, *sīr* W  
 head. — Prs.  
*sōr* L heap of winnowed grain.  
*sīr* Y, Sk., *sūr* Sh., *sūr* St. cold. — Cf.  
 Av. *sāra-sti-* cold fever. — V. *wasēr*.  
*sū'ri* Sk. cold (noun). — Kl. *sūrēy*.  
*sor-čibazt* W back of the head. — V.  
*čebazt*.  
*sērdi'gī* X of this year. — Cf. Av.  
*sarāda-*, etc. V. *parđi'gī*, *tu'serd*.  
*'sārək* Sk. to-morrow. — From Ar.-Prs.  
*sahar*.  
*sar'mō* Sk. cold. — Prs.  
*sērv* Sh. hole, *sarv* Be. pit. — Cf. Yd. *surv*.  
*sar'xā* X male markhor. — Cf. Ishk.  
*surxā*, and also Sar. *rūst yūej* red  
 deer, markhor. — \*Prs.  
*sāiš(t)* Y, Sh., *saš* X, *sāyis* Sk. you (pl.).  
 — *sāiš kūi?* who are you? *sāiš čizir*  
*maž dīej?* why do you beat me?  
*sāiš cerak žēč yāvor?* what kind of  
 food do you eat? *sāiš yupk pōvōv*  
 you drink water; *sak sāv dinen* we  
 beat you; *yem xūn sāvan* this house  
 is yours Y; *saš kūi tūet?* who are  
 you? *saš žēč yacit-a?* do you eat  
 bread? *saš cum nafar wezg?* how  
 many of you have come? *wuz sab*  
*dimim* I beat you; *i deyd saban tūet*  
 you had a daughter; *ayem xōn*  
*safan-a?* is this house yours? *safan*  
*dī'or ce 'kuman?* 'deh i šumā kudām  
*ast?* 'wuz sabar . . . *rāndēm* I give  
 you . . . X; cf. L (Bur. Texts, p. 341)  
 \**Abē*; W *tumux* (I) is Ishk. — Cf.  
 § 118 sq.



*stau*: *staudi*- L, *sto*-, *sitao*: *stod*- Sh.  
to praise. — Cf. Sar. *stāu*-, Prs. *sitūdan*.  
*sāt* Sh. baking pan, slate. — < \**sāta*-  
flat, smooth? Cf. Yd. *sūl*. V. *suḍy*.  
*sō'at* Sk. hour. — Ar.-Prs.  
*satk* Y, *setk* L, Sh., *sətk* Kl. satisfied. —  
*satkum vitei*. — Ir. \**sitaka*- supports  
the transl. of *śitā*- RV. VIII, 23, 13  
as 'satisfied'.  
*'stin* Y, *sitin* X, *stin* W post, pillar. —  
Cf. Sgl. \**stin*.  
*si'tār* Y, °*or* X, *istōra* N, *stōr* Sk., *stār*  
Sh., *s'tōr* Z, *'stiruk* W (Ishk.),  
"zōlhroog" (= \**sətrug*) Olufsen star.  
— Prs.?  
*s'trei* Y, *strēi* Sk., *strēi* Sh. female. —  
*'stroi-pūr* Sk. she-mouse. — Cf. Or.  
*s'trēij*, Sar. *stir*, Av. *strī*-. — Wkh.  
(and Or.?) point to Ir. \**stray*(ī), a  
form unknown elsewhere. — Hj. *šōc*  
(in *purk-šōc*) is an Ishk. form, and  
its existence in Wkh. is denied by Sk.  
*s(r)trin* L barren, childless. — \**stari-ni*-.  
Cf. Skr. *starī*-, Prs. *astarvan* (Horn  
716).  
*stranj* L cotton carpet, "durree". —  
\**staranač*-.  
*strās*- Sh. to be splashed up. — Cf. Sar.  
*zatrās*-, °*us-tras*- 'to be frightened,  
stirred up'?  
*stōrs* L plough-share.  
*s'tāx* Y, *isteṣ* X, *stōx* Sk., Kl. daughter-  
in-law, cf. \**stakh bidgan*:- (= \**stāx*  
*vīkanj*) Be. bride. — Cf. Yd. *zrno*.  
*s'tūy*:- *stott*- Sk., *stūy*:- *statt* Sh. to send.  
— *stū'yāk*, *stū'yatk* Sk. — Cf. Sgl.  
*āstay*-.  
*savand cor*- L to throw away. — \**haḡa*-  
*dwan* + *ta*:- Cf. Orm.k. *cuan*- to  
shake.

*sāvz* Y, *savz* Sh., *sāvz šūy* Sk. blue;  
*sāvz* Sk. green. — Prs.  
*sūw*:- *sōwd* Sk., *sāy*:- *sāmd* Hj. to rub.  
— 'sūyem' (corr. from *sijem*), *sūy*,  
*sūw*, 'sōwdm, *sū'wak*, °*watk* Sk. —  
Cf. Yd. *sā*-, Sgl. *sāmb*-.  
*sa'wār* X horseman. — Prs.  
*suwz*- L to rub; *suw*:- *soxt* Sh., *səx*- Z  
to smear, jostle.  
*sə'xan* Sk. word. — Prs.  
*sōy*- Sk. to be unmarried. — *sōyem*,  
*sōy*, *sōy*! *sōyem tū* (not *sōidm*, nor  
inf. or past. etc.). — Cf. Lith. *šeirgs*  
widower, and Oss. *šējār*, Kurd. *šūw*  
orphan, v. Henning, Mir. Man. III,  
61, s.v. *syeg*.  
*'sāya* Y, *'saya* X shade. — Prs.  
*sauza* Y, *soz* X, *sabza* W, *sav'zā* Sk.  
grass. — Prs.  
*sūz* Sh. a cold blast; *soz* cool. — Cf.  
Sar. *sauz*, fr. Prs. *sōz*-.  
*sauz'tūti* X n. of a bird (green parrot?).  
— \*Prs.

## Š

*šāi* Y fat, rich. — Av. *xšaya*- ruler. Cf.  
Shgh. *šayēn* pl. "khans".  
*šui* St. moraine, place covered with  
stones. — Cf. Skr. *kṣaya*- waste, decay?  
*šač* Y, W, X, N, Sk., Sh., etc. dog. —  
< fem. \**šicač*(i)?, v. § 33.  
*šād*<sup>1</sup>) Y, X, N, Sk., *šād* W, L, Sh., *šad*  
Kl., *šal* H six. — Cf. § 116.  
*šād*<sup>2</sup>) Sk. open enclosure for goats and  
sheep. — If š-, possibly = Bartangi  
*šōd* < \**srāda*-. But *ā* < \**ā*?  
*šād* L uphill, *šād* Sh. steep, *paš*° uphill.  
*šaf'tolu* X peach. — Prs.  
*šə'd* Kl. sort, class, xīl.  
*ša'yor* W hedgehog. — Lw? Cf. Yd.  
*ša'yor*.

- "šyri" (?) Sk. ibex (Swedish "stenget").  
 šau'har X, šau'ar Sh. husband. — Prs.  
 šu'jiš X, šau'zi W hip. — Cf. Sgl.  
 šou'fi.  
 šak Y, Sk., St., šāk Sh. bad. — Cf.  
 Ishk. šakk.  
 škop L. castrated (ox). — IE (s)kop-  
 (Walde-Pokorny, II, 559) to cut, etc.,  
 (cf. especially Slav. *skopiti* to castrate).  
 škūrg-: škūrd- Sk. (reg.), škūr-: škūrd-  
 Sh. to seek. — Cf. Ishk. škarr-, Yd.  
 škōr-, Sar. škār-.  
 škāv-: škārd- (škō'vāk, °vōfk) Sk. to catch  
 a cold. — škāfk fever. — Cf. Ishk.  
 škōv-.  
 šilē, š- L, šilē Sh. cloven hoof.  
 šolg Sh. piece of brick. — Cf. Sar. šalq.  
 šilāp- Sh. to splash, slop, surge. — Cf.  
 Sar. wašlāb-. — Cf. Brahui šalāping  
 to dabble something in water, fr.  
 Bal. ??  
 šilax Y, šilaš Sh. naked. — Cf. Yd.  
 šilēx.  
 šolx Y, šolē X, šolx Sh., St., šalx B  
 but šāx W, šōx Sh. branch. — Prs.,  
 but with unexplained l.  
 šām Y evening. — Prs.  
 šam-: ševd L to beat and clean wool.  
 šām'bāf W spider. — \*Prs.  
 ša'mōl Sk. north, šō'mōl, šio wind (W. Wkh.).  
 — Ar.-Prs.  
 šamōnak L branch.  
 šōna X, šā° N shoulder. — Prs.  
 šānd-: šāndi- (šāndi- misprint?) Sh.  
 to mix, compound, rub up in water.  
 šendik L a kind of vine, grape.  
 šundr Sk, šond'r L, šūndr Sh., šundrēy  
 Kl. hot (acc. to Sk. only about the  
 weather). — Cf. Shund (Olufsen) n. of  
 a vill., v. § 5. Possibly < \*kucon-ro  
 or \*kucondh-ro (not \*kuontro-, cf. s.v.

- mutr), cf. Arm. šand 'spark, red-hot  
 iron' < \*kupti-??  
 šundri Sk. heat.  
 šenawa'rī X, šōnōwa'rē Sh. swimming.  
 — Prs.  
 šig L wedge for plough-share.  
 šāp- Sh. to suck the breast. — Cf. Yd.  
 šuv-.  
 šop Be. knife; whey (??).  
 šūp L night's halt; šub'r hajak Sh. to  
 pass the night (= Sar. šābar reidao).  
 — Cf. Av. šāp-, etc. Note the di-  
 stinction between šūp and našd.  
 špušk L bare footed. — Cf. Bal. šafad,  
 \*šawād (Mayer), Brahui (lw.) šapād.  
 But what is š(a)?  
 šipk L twig, šōpk Sh. rod. — Cf. Sar.  
 šēib. — V. s.v. rašip. — Or cf. Skr.  
 kšupaka- bush, shrub?  
 špū/un L, špūn Sh. shepherd. — Cf.  
 Prs. šubān, etc.  
 šaupā'rak Y, °ek W, šapārak Sh. bat.  
 — Prs.  
 šapt, v. šapt.  
 šaptal X clover. — Prs.  
 špaxuv- L to make explode.  
 šār Sk. town. — Prs.  
 šār Sh. to slander. — Cf. Sar. šōr-.  
 šēr W tiger (?), Sk. lion. — Prs.  
 šir, šīur Y, šūr L, šūr X, šurum X  
 cowdung; šūrm W horsedung. —  
 šūr(u)m fr. Ishk. (v.s.v.). šūr < \*šāra-  
 from šā(y) (AirWb. s.v. frašāimna-),  
 cf. formally Skr. kṣārā- from kṣāy-ati.  
 šārm Sk. shame. — Prs.  
 šārmin'da Sk. ashamed, šarmin'dagī  
 shame. — šārmin'da na wocē shame!  
 — Prs.  
 šī'gīn X sweet. — Prs.  
 širšī'rā Y, šarša'rā X waterfall; šerše'rā  
 Sk. waterfall in small streams. — Prs.



## Š

- šur'vā Y, °wā X, šer'vō Sk. soup. — Prs.  
 šir'raw: šir'rand- Sh. to tell one's beads.  
 — Cf. Sar. našr'aw. — < \*srāwaya-?  
 šiš Y, X, Sh., Z louse. — Cf. Yd. spūo.  
 šāt W honey. — Ar.-Prs.  
 šot. v. šot.  
 šot L early evening meal.  
 šot Sh. landslip. — Skr. kṣati- destruction?  
 Cf., semant., Khov. hon inundation  
 < Skr. hanu-.  
 štik Sk., štik L, š(e)tig Hj. play, joke;  
 šitik (Olufsen) game played with bone  
 pegs. — Cf. Khov. ištuk, ištog.  
 šitk Sk. murderer. — V. šay.  
 štir v. ištir.  
 štir Gr. calf. — Cf. Ishk. šutur.  
 štrāf- L, štrōf- Sh. to sneeze.  
 štrax- L to knock against, štrāx- Sh. to trip  
 up, štrāx- to impinge, brush against.  
 šatta X sole of the foot.  
 šiven Y, šiben X, šivan Sh., Be. rope;  
 še'vun Sk. cord. — Fr. Khov. šimeni.  
 šuc-: šaud- L to gnaw. — < \*xšaw.  
 Cf. Ishk. šaw- to chew (Zar.).  
 šax W branch; šox X horn. — Prs. V. šolx.  
 šux Y, Z, šok X hard; šux šāk Sh. to  
 tighten. — Cf. Sgl. šox.  
 šaxək Sk. hail. — V. šax.  
 šrelān Sh. whistle. — Onomatopoeitic,  
 cf. Prs. šipāl, etc., Psht. špelai.  
 šaxs- L, šoxs- Sh., šoxs Kl. to pass  
 through. — Note: yi šōat šaxsətk  
 one hour has passed, Kl. p. 94. —  
 Cf. Sgl. šoxs-.  
 šay- X, šay: šit- Y, šay: šitt- Sk., Kl.,  
 šay: šitt- Sh. to kill. — wuz i xalg  
 šayem; wuz i xalg-em šitei Y; küi  
 šayum I kill somebody X; šayem,  
 šit(t), šay! šittəm, šayūk, šayatk (šitk)  
 Sk. — Cf. Av. xšay- to destroy(?),  
 Bal. šay- to devour, shear.

- šou Y, šū N, šau W, šou Sk., šao Sh.,  
 šew Z horn. — Cf. Sgl. šou.  
 štu Y, X, šiw Sk., šū L, šū Sh., xūi W  
 black. — štu jitr X; šui-čirāk Oluf-  
 sen torch. — Cf. Sgl. šūi, Khov. šā.  
 šacuv- Sh. to filter, strain. — Derivation  
 from \*srač-, cf. Lith. šlaketi 'to drip',  
 is improbable.  
 šafš Y, Kl., šasp X, šafē N, šafš Sk.,  
 Sh., š/šafš L hair (acc. to Olufsen, p. 71  
 "shafch" are the two long plaits  
 worn by married women). — Cf. Prs.  
 šafš, thin branch, šifša, id., ringlet;  
 Phil. Psalter špšy rod. — Assim. from  
 \*šafš?  
 šayd Y, šayde X, šōyd Sh. new. — Cf.  
 Shgh. (Sk.) ševdā the younger?  
 šak L, š/sak Sk. white frost, dew. — Cf.  
 Ishk. šok, Sar. šok.  
 škəndiv-: škat- Y, škang- X, škəndev-:  
 škəndō/evd- Sk., škəndv- Kl., škənd- L,  
 škənd-: škōtt (inf. škōdan) Sh. to break  
 (tr.); škəθ-, šken- L, škūr-: škənd- Sh.  
 to break (intr.); škōn-: škənd- Sh. to  
 quench one's thirst; caus. škašuv-  
 Sh. — šungī škəndivəm I break a stick  
 Y. — Cf. Yd. škəd-.  
 škupn Sh. sling.  
 škorē Y, Kl., škōrē L, škōrē Be. burning  
 coal. — Cf. Psht. škōr, etc.  
 šin Y, šing X anus; tam šin Sh., sak-šin  
 St. podex. — Cf. Yd. šino.  
 šend L, šōnd Sh. raven. — Cf. Khov.  
 (lw.) šonthu, Oss. sint; Saka špund.  
 š/šendik L gums. — But cf. šendik  
 vine.  
 šung Y, X, šung N, Sk., L, Sh.  
 wood, stick. — Cf. Yazgh. šang,  
 Sak. ššingya- branch; Skr. śryga-

- Khow. (lw.) *srung* horn. — Cf. semantically Pra. *ṣāx*, Par. *ṣl* horn, branch. — V. EVP. s.v. *ṣṣgarai*.
- ṣūnj* Y, *ṣūnj* Sk., L, *ṣunj* Sh., *ṣo'inj* L hip. (Sh. also flank, side). — Cf. Prs. dial. *ṣa'inj* < \**sraoniči*. V. *ṣin*.
- ṣṣ'gar* Y, *ṣṣ'gar*, *ṣṣ* Sk., *ṣṣ'ger* L, *ṣṣgar* Be. guts. — Cf. Khow. *ṣṣgūr* (lw.?). — < \**strang(a)ra*, cf. Engl. *string*, Gr. *στραγγάλη* *string*, etc.?
- ṣūpiṣ* Y n. of an animal resembling an otter, with valuable fur. — *ṣūpiṣ* = black cat?
- ṣapt*, *ṣāft* X, *ṣapt* N, Sk., L, Sh. wolf. — Cf. Sar. *ṣiṣp*. Early lw. from Khow. *ṣa'pir* < *ṣapita* cursed. Cf. §§ 10, 37.
- ṣiṣ* L, *ṣiṣ* Sh., *ṣiṣ* Kl. near. — *spā-ṣiṣ* Sk. — < \**sriṣna*-clinging to?
- ṣūṣ* Y, L, *ṣūṣ* X, Sk., *ṣiṣ* N, *ṣṣ* W, *ṣūṣ* Sh., Z lungs. — Prs.
- ṣūṣ-dard* Sk. inflammation of the lungs. — Prs.
- ṣiṣk* Y, X, *ṣūṣk* Sk., *ṣūṣk* Sh., Olufsen (p. 69), *ṣiṣūṣ/sk* L high boots made of untanned leather.
- ṣet* Y, *ṣet* X, *ṣet* Sh., St. earth, soil; *ṣet* Sk. dust. — Cf. Sgl. *ṣet*.
- ṣaṣ* Y, *ṣaṣ* X, *ṣāṣ* Sh. pea, *muṣung*; *ṣax* Sk. bean. — Cf. Bartangi, etc.
- ṣāṣ* Sk. bean.

## T

- tu* Y, X, Sk., Sh., *tə* W thou. — *tu t kūt*? who art thou? *tu mar kitāb rand* give me a book; *wuz tau dīmām* I beat thee; *yem xūn tinen* this house is thine; *nū ti zik kṣūyem* now I hear thy voice; *wuz tar kitāb randēm* I give thee a book; *yimē ṣetēm tārek*

I gave it to thee Y; *tu kūt*? who art thou? *tu be wuzum* bring it; *wuz ti (tau) dīmām* I beat thee; *tu xōnan ti xōn lup* thy house is bigger than mine; *yau xōn tinen* that house is thine; *tinan čis yark tu?* was there any work for thee? *tina rūpia dərzēm* I take money from thee; *wuz tawar i rūpia rāndēm* I give thee one rupee; *uz tawarke ruzasat guṣum* I give thee leave; *wuz tary dišam* I know thee; *tark čobas kōyaz goṣum* I give thee a letter back X; *tə nūng* thy name Sk.; *təfak* thee W (= Ishk.). — Cf. § 118 sq.

*tei*: *tu* X, Sh., *tai*: *tū* Sk., *thai*: *tho* (tinetk) L to be. — *čis xabar tei?* what is the matter? *nong* S. *tu* his name was S.; *you mirāxūr tū* he had a groom; *'pādsā tū'et* there was a king; *tinen i degde tūet* you had a daughter; *xūb maza tū'et* it tasted good (prob. with *tū'et* for pf. pte. \**tūetk*); but *saṣ kūt tūet?* who are you? (prob. with *tūet* 2 pl., cf. § 154) X; *təyem*, *tai* (there is), *tai*, *tū(m)*, (2 sg. *tūt*; 3 sg. *tū*, 1 pl. *sāken tū*), *tə'ydk*, *tūtk/tə'yptk* Sk.; *'tənəm tai* I have Sk. — Probably of pronominal origin, cf. Psht. *dai* he is, etc. V. *hūmū*.

- tai* Y, X, W, Sk. colt. — Cf. Yd. *taya*. *tūi* Sk. wedding. — Prs.
- toba'lā* Sk. grazing ground. — \*Prs.
- tablar'zū* Sk. fever. — Prs.
- toba/is'ten* Sk. summer. — Prs.
- tač* Sk. to go; *tōč*: *tōčt* Sh. to move, shift. — Sk. only in *tač* imper. 2 sg. — \**tačya*, cf. Sar. *tej*, Shgh. *tiz*, Ishk. *tōyd*, and Wkh. *tukan*, *taṣd* (v. s.v. *čāne*).



- tuf* Sk., Sh. steam. — Prs.  
*tuf* Y, Sh., *tuf* Sk. saliva. — Prs.  
*tūy* Y, N, Sk., Sh., *tūg* X she-goat (Y, X also female ibex). — Cf. Par. *tōy* male mountain goat. Wkh. γ disproves immediate connection with Turk.-Prs. *taka* he-goat. — V. *tux*.  
*teyd* L, *taýd* Sh. sharp. — \**tiacta*, Sar. *tēid*; cf. E.Oss. *ciyd* cheese (Müller, p. 25), Skr. *tiktā* bitter.  
*taým* L, *taým* Sh., *taým* Z, *tēým* W (Ishk. seed). — V. *tuxm*. — Cf. Yd. *tuym*.  
*tāk* Sk. button.  
*tō'ki* Y, *tqī* Sh. full, much, many. — *xalgi tōki xōc yāwan* many people eat bread.  
*tāqe* Sk. cap. — Prs.  
*tō'ko* X alone. — *wuz-um tō*. — Prs., cf. Yd. *toko*.  
*tik* Sk., *tuk* Sh. willow; *teik* Capus *tūk* Kl. tree. — Tomasehek (s. 791) comp. Skr. *toka* shoot. But cf. Prs. *tāk* vine, *tāy* tree, *tōy* n. of a certain wood; Psht. *tāya* elm, poplar. V. Nyberg, MO, 25, 189. Wkh. i cannot go back to au.  
*tō'qūm* Sk. donkey's saddle. — Turki.  
*tō'kiyā* Y pillow. — Ar.-Prs.  
*togāt'dōr* Sk. patient. — Ar.-Prs.  
*tīlā* Y, *o* X, *tillā* Sk., Sh. gold. — Prs.  
*tīl'pak* Y, *ek* X woollen cap. — Turki, cf. Shgh. *talpak*.  
*talx* Y bitter. — Prs.  
*tām'būn* Y, *tām'bōn* X, *tūmbūn* Sh. trousers; *tūmbūn* Olufsen cotton breeches. — Prs.  
*ta,mō'kū* Sk. tobacco. — Prs.  
*tō'mīs* Sk. July. — Ar.-Prs.  
*tan* Sk. body. — Prs.  
*tanē* Sh. to fold (sheep). — Cf. Sogd. *tyny* to bring (Reichelt, Stud. Indo-Ir. 251 < *ati-nay*)?  
*tun*: *tōnd* L to work dough with hands into cakes of bread. — < *tan*- to spread out?  
*tan'dūr* Y, *tun'dur* Sk., *tūngūr* Sh. thunder. — Prs.  
*tang* Y, X, Sk. narrow. — Prs.  
*toḡ* X, *tung* Sh. hard.  
*tap* Y, B, *tīp* X wing. — Cf. Rosh. *tēf* Sk. V. *tāp*.  
*tōp*: *tapt* Sh. to quake, shake. — Prs.  
*tapeč* cār. L to water.  
*tapk* v. *pātk*.  
*tāpik* Y forehead.  
*tōpār* Y, *tī°* Sh., *tpār* Sk., *ta'bar* X (Prs.) axe. — Cf. Yd. *tu'vor*.  
*trūi* Y, X, N, Sk., Sh., *tōrūi* W three. — Cf. § 116.  
*ta'ri* X very wet. — Prs.  
*tō'rīl* Sk. thither; *tō'rot* Sk. there. — V. § 133.  
*tōr* Sh. net. — Prob. Prs.; but Sar. *tur* id. seems to be genuine, cf. Yd. *tūr*.  
*tōr* Sk. neck, *tōr* St. back of the head. — Cf. Sogd. *tār*, Sak. *tāra* forehead. Prs. *tāra* crown of the head. V. *tārak*.  
*tōr* Y, Sk., *tōr* Sh., *tōr* L walnut.  
*tar'bīz* Sk. melon. — Prs.  
*tau'rič* Y roof-board.  
*tī'rič* L dark. — \**taðriya-āi*?  
*tīr-i-dast* Y, *tīr* X arrow. — Prs.  
*tārak* W collar-bone. — But Prs. *tārak* top of the head. V. *tōr*.  
*tō'rik* X, *ok* Sk. dark; *tō'rikī* Sk. darkness. — Prs.  
*trakē* L bitter; *track* B insipid; *trūc* St. bitter, bad-tasting; *trāc* Sh. bad-tasting. — From IA., cf. Khaw. *trok* bitter?

- tə'rəm* Sk. hitber. — Cf. § 133.  
*tira'mə* Sk. autumn. — Prs.  
*tər'mis* Y formerly, before. — V. *mis*.  
*träng* Sk. girth-strap. — Cf. Yd. *trok*.  
*triṅ* X sour milk. — Fr. Khaw. *trīn*.  
*tur'pičū* X n. of a bird, *turpičū*.  
*trīš* Sk. sour milk. — *pāi trūš*. — Prs.  
*tarš* Y adze. — Prs.  
*trəšp* Y, *trəšp* L, *trəšp* Z, *trəšp* Sh., *trūš* X (Prs.) sour; *tušp* Sk. = *q'rit*. — Cf. Yd. *trəšp*.  
*tört* Y the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow; *tört* X, *törtur* B., *törtörək* Hj. to-morrow; *tört* B the day before yesterday; the day after to-morrow. — < \**tyta*- third (not found elsewhere in Ir.)? But there is no other instance of Wkh. or < *r*.  
*tört* L, *türt* Sh. ford. — Prob. from Khaw. *thürt*.  
*trā'zū* Y, *tarā'rē* Sk. scales. — *t' xāšəm* Y I weigh. — Prs.  
*tə'sken* W instep.  
*tasma-'kaš* W knife. — \*Prs. ('strap-cutter', cf. Wkh. *šāš*- to cut?).  
*tiš* W iron(?) — Cf. Bur. *tiš* plough-share < Wkh.?  
*tiša* X adze. — Prs.  
*təš* Sk., *təš/š* L empty; *tūš*- Sh., *təš* car-Sk. to empty out. — < \**tus(s)ya*- (cf. Nyberg, Stud. Indo-Ir., 214 sq.). — Cf. Sgl. *təš*.  
*təš* L steam. — \**tašya*?  
*tiš*:- *tāšt*- Y, *tūš*- X to shave; *tūš*:- *təšt*- L to fashion with an axe; *tūš*:- *tošt* Sh. to cut, whittle. — Cf. Mj. *tīš*-.  
*tat* Y, X, *tāt* Sk., Sh., *tōt* W (Ishk.) father. — *yeu tate nong* Y his father's name. — Cf. Yd. *tat*.

- tāt* Y, X, W, N, *tīt* Sk. mulberry. — Prs.  
*təl'vārt* Sk., *tittivārti* L the year before last. < \**tārt*-, v. *tōrt*, *vārt* < \**par(u)t?* *tiude*, v. *thūc*-.  
*ta'wil* X stable. — *cebūr yaš yōwer t'* *vīt* he had four horses in the stable; *t' gošum*. — Prs.  
*toxtox* X cough. — *t' gušəm*. — V. *qāx*.  
*tux* Sk. ram (W. Wkh.). — V. *tūy*.  
*tuxəy* Y, *tuxəm* X single grain. — Prs. V. *tayəm*.  
*tux'mory* Y, Sk., *tuxm-i-mury* N, *tuxmury* St. egg. — Prs.  
*tax'sim* car- X to divide. — Ar.-Prs. — With *š* from *baxš*?  
*taš* Y, *tāx* Sh., *taxm* Sk. thirsty. — *taxm vītk* is thirsty. — \**tyšma*? Cf. Yd. *təšna*.  
*tīz* Y, X sharp. — *tēz* car- Sk. to whet. — Prs.  
*tōž*- L to remain, continue.

## Θ

- θīn* Y, B, *sin* X hot. — < \**θān* < \**θafnu*?  
*θerd* L spots (of leopard). Cf. *ðard* multicoloured.  
*θirs* L, v. *ðers*.  
*θūt* L, "thót" Be. lizard. — \**θati*- = Prs. *dad* wild animal?  
*θāu*:- *θīt* Sk., *θau*:- *θett* Sh., :*θet*- Y to burn (intr.), *θiūc*:- *θāwovd* (tr.) Sh. — *θīt* pres. 3 sg., *rxenlg θātei* the fire burned Y; *zu pizū tiude* X my heart burned; *θāwum*, *θīt*, *θāu*! *θitum*, *θāwāk*, *θāwātk* Sk. (intr.); *θāwum*, *θiud*, *θiuc*! *θitum* Sk. (caus.) to kindle a fire. — Cf. Sar. *θau*:- *θūd*. < *tap*? V. § 27.



## V

*vōc* Y paternal aunt; Sh. maternal aunt.  
*vič-ung* Sh. outside; *tar-vič* outside (adv.).

— Cf. Sar. *vāc-enj*, etc.; Sogd. *βyky* outside; Av. *\*aiueyač*, cf. *aiueitarō* outside. — Not with Bailey (BSOS. 6, 73) with original *u-*.

*vādek* Y, *bi'dek* X, *v/ice'dek* L, *vaḍak* Sh., *vaḍuk* St., *vā'dōk* Sk., 'dook' Bi. road, path. — Possibly < *\*abi-taka*, cf. Saka *ēvātā(ka)* street. Scarcely < *\*ā-bda ka*, cf. Mj. *ōv/ōd* ford; Av. *abda-* not to be trodden (?), Mokr. Bal. *badūk* impassable place on sea beach.

*viḍāw*: *viḍett-* L, Sh. to ride. — *\*abi-daw*, cf. Prs. *dawīdan*.

*vā'ē* W long hair (?).

*vā'd* Sk., *vāyd* Sh. nightmare. — Cf. Ishk. *vāyd*.

*vūl* Sk., Sh. smell; *vūl-* Sk. to smell. — *vūlēm*, *vūli*, *vūl cart*, *vūlēm*, *vūlōv*, *vūl car!* *vūl kōrtēm* to smell (abstract); *'vūl carēm*, *v° cart*, *v° kōrtēm* to smell (concrete) Sk. — From a dialect with *l* < *ḍ*, cf. § 36.

*vōin* X light, *čirōy*; *vōin* Sh. light, radiance. — Cf. Sar. *vōin*. < *\*bāhanī*, cf. Saka *bāy* ray?

*vānd*: *vāst-* Y, Sh., *vand*: *vast-* Sk., *vand-* X to bind. — *vandēm*, *vand*, *vand!* *vastēm*, *vōn'dak*, *vōn'dōk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *vad*.

*vūr* Sk., *vūr* L, Kl. burden; *vūr* Sh. load, baggage. — Cf. Yd. *vīra*.

*vōrau* Y, *vōū* X, N, *vōu* Sk., *varāo* Sh., *v°riue* Z, *v°cēr* (!) W eyebrow. — < *\*brāwa*, cf. Yd. *vriyo*; Saka *brau-sāra*.

*v/wordenz-* L to press, *varḍenz-*: *varḍegn-* Sh. to press down. — < *\*abi-dranj-*.

*v°rōk* Y, Sk., *varok* Sh. to-morrow. — It < *\*aparaka* (Tomaschek, p. 750).

the word must belong to a dialect with *p* > *v*. But cf. W. Yaghn. *f°rōk* (E. Yaghn. *f°rōnta*), Junker, Yaghn. Stud. I, 126, with *\*fr-*.

*vrokš* Sh. male Ovis Poli. — Cf. *d°vrukš*, *yukš*.

*varin*: *varitt-* Sh. to shear. — Cf. Av. *bray-* (*brin-*), Prs. *burridan*, Keshe *brin-*, etc.

*'vārānd*: *'vāratt-* (*vōrēm'dāk*) Sk., *'vārāt* Sh. to abuse, scold. — Cf. Sar. *rān*, Ishk. *vōrēn-*. — If < *\*brand*, cf. Walde-Pokorny II, 216 *bhlendh*, e.g. Old Slav. *bledi* idle talk, etc.

*varenj* Sh. pregnant (animal). — Cf. Sar. *varinz* < *\*barana-čī*.

*vareš*: *varešt-* Sh. to fry. — *varešt* < *\*brišta* (cf. EVP., s.v. *vrit*), with present *š* from the preter. Cf. Sar. *virz*: *virzd* (with secondary preter.), Khov. *venjē-* (lw.), Yd. *vroč*.

*v°rit* Y, *brūt* X, *vrit* N, *v°rūt* W (Ishk.), *vrit* Sk., *vrit* Sh., Z, Kl., 'vuroot' Bi., *varit* Be., *varut* H, etc. brother. — Cf. Yd. *vrai*.

*vritkēnd* Y, *brūtēnd* X brother's wife (?), *vritkēnd* Sk. wife's brother. — Cf. Prs. *birādar-zan* wife's brother. But cf. Sgl. *vriḍkuč*.

*v°ritpōtē* Y brother's son.

*varūy*: *varoid* Sh. to howl, bay together. — Cf. Sar. *varau-* < *\*braw-ya-*, cf. Av. *mrav-*? V. *ruy-*.

*vōrz* Y, Sk., *verz* X, *vōrz* Sh. long. — Cf. Sgl. *vōzdūk*.

*vōrz* Y, X, *vōrzik* Z pillow. — Cf. Sgl. *vōzd*. Yd. *vīrzānē*.

*vašē* Y milk-pail.

*višiv*: *višōed* Y, *višū-(əm)* X, *'višev-*

*višovd* (*višə'vak*) Sk., *višiv*-L, *višiuw*-: *višionod* Sh. to sweep. — < \**abi-xšwail*-?

*vīt*, v. *wōc*.

*vez* X long hair(?).

*vizam*-: *vizamd* Sh. to rub to powder. — Sar. *vizāmb* id.; cf. Yd. *vēzb*. V. *icazem*.

*vizvizak* N wasp.

## W

*wai* Sk. O.

*wa'cl* W calf. — Scarcely a true Wkh. word. Cf. Werchikwar *wee* < IA.

*wōc*-: *vīt* Sk., *wōc*-: *vitt*- Sh., *vīt* Y, X, N, *blt* X to become. — *wōcəm*, *wōst*, *wōc*, *vītk* Sk. — *mōrz-əm* (*satk-əm*) *vītei* Y I have become hungry (satisfied); *mālum ne vīt* it did not become known; *sawār vīt* he mounted; *xušwaxt bit* X he became happy; *ruẖn vīti* N it dawned. — *vīt* < *būta*-, but *wōc*-?

*wlē* Sh. grub, moth.

*wūc* Y, X very high, Sk. up; *wuē* Sh., Kl. high; Sk. upper (*bālā*); *wuētar* Sk. higher. — Cf. Ishk. *wuē*.

*wōč* L, *wuē* Z, Kl., *uē* Sk., (*wuē* Sh. arrow, bullet. — < \**uēč* < \**išuč*-??

*wād* Y, *wād* X, St., *wōd* Sk., *wōd* Sh. watercourse, canal, 'aryg'; *wādō* Ol. minor channel. — Sar. *wāḍ*. Cf. Yd. *wolo*.

*wāda* X time, period. — *dar wō-i* Sultān *Māmūd*. — Ar.-Prs.

*wūdg* Y, *wūdge* X, *wūdg* Sk., *wūdg* Sh., *ūdg* St., etc. to-day. — *wūd* nāyl Y, *wūdgāyā* Sk. to-night. — < \**adyaka*-?

*wōdər*-: *wōdōrd* (*wūdərak*) Sk. to have, hold; *wōdūr*-: *wōdōrd* Sh. to grasp,

seize. — Cf. Sar. *wāḍər*; Av. *ava-dar* adhibere.

*wāḍ* L, *wāḍ* Sh. handle of a tool. — Cf. Sar. *wēḍ*. — Cf. Av. *vāda*.

*wāḍn* Sh. root-filament. — Poss. Psht. *wula* 'root, fibre' belongs here, and not to Oss. *widag*.

*wāy* Sh. price. — From Khaw. *wāy*? Cf. Yd. *hūy*.

*wāy* L, Sh. to bleat. — Sar. *wāy* id.; Shgh. *wāy* to bellow.

*wā'jab* N span. — Ar.-Prs.

*wāqt* Sk. time. — \**mārək* 'cūm *wō* 'ritik *ki* 'wuzəm *bē'mōr* = *wuz-əm* 'yā-wāqt *vītəm*, *bē'mōrəm* I have been ill for a long time; *tārək* (*yau*) *cūm wō* *vītik* *ki tūt* (*yau*) *bē'mōr*. — Ar.-Prs. — Cf. 'cācaxt, 'icwaxt.

*wō'lēt* W span. — Ishk. *wōlēt* (but note I). *wōlē* Sh., St. quail. — Cf. Ishk. *wōre*, Prs. lex. *wālē*. Cf. §§ 48, 80.

*wōlən*-L to shake (apricots). — Cf. Skr. *vi-dhunōti* to shake about?

*wālk* Y, *wōltk* Sk., *wōlk* W, *wēlk* L, *wēlk* Sh., *wāltik* Be. kidney; *wōltk* St. liver. — Cf. Yd. *wulā*, Sgl. *wōlk*.

*wēn*-: *wēnd*- Y, Sk., *wēn* (*wēnetk*) X, *wēn*-: *wēnd* Sh. to see. — *yīnōt* *wēndəm* Y, *wunuk wēnetkin* X I saw (have seen) a dream; *čiz-əw sāyis wēndər?* what did you see? *wē'nāk*, *wē'netk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *wēn*.

*wēndr* Y, Sk., Sh., *wund'r* X field. — Acc. to Benveniste (v. Par. Voc. s.v. *yanir*) < \**aiwa-antarya*.

*wānj* X, Sh., *wānj* Sk. belly. — < \**wanič*, cf. Skr. *vanishū*, Lat. *venter*, etc.?

*wīnek* Y, *wun'dek* X, *ōk* Sk. marmot, *wūndek*. — \**Bad* Prs. Cf. Burush. *ainaq* (< Wkh.?).



*icanok* L willow. — Cf. Sar. *icanūj*, Shgh. *wān*, etc.

*icunuk* X dream (?).

*icū'ner* Y, *icū'ndr* Kl., *icanar* Be., 'voīnerr'

Cap. stable, manger. — Shgh. *venir*.

*ica'ri* W lamb. — Ishk., v.s.v. *icorok*.

*icār* Y, *icār* Be. male oorial, *kiskār*;

L *icār* ram. — Cf. *icūrk*.

*icēra* Y, W, *icēla* X gums. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *icē'ri*.

*icir* L single-handed (in family); Sh. alone. — Cf. Skr. *avīrā-* having no son or husband?

*icūr* Y, Be., *icūr* (vūr?) Sk., *icūr* Sh. rain. — Cf. Av. *vār*.

*icōrāc*: *icōrān* Sk., to stay, remain;

*icōrāc*: *icōrāc* L to remain; *icōrāc*:

*icōrāc* Sh. to remain, to be tired.

— *icōrāc*, *icōrāc*, *icōrāc*! *icōrāc*,

*icōrāc*, *icōrāc* Sk.; *icōrāc* Y,

*icōrāc* X, *icōrāc* Sk., *icōrāc* Sh.

tired. — \**icōrāc*, cf. Sgl. *icōrāc*.

Cf. § 55.

*icōrd* Sk. tripe; *icōrd* L, *icōrd* Be. belly (of animals). — Cf. Av. *icōrd*, *icōrd* soft, cf. German 'Weiche'.

*icōrdina* L clear (sky, weather). — < \**icōrd*, cf. Yd. s.v. *icōrd*.

*icōrdān* L mill-wheel. — Cf. Sogd. *icōrdān*, etc.

*icōrdāc*: *icōrdāc* (icōrdāc, icōrdāc) Sk. to stand; *icōrdāc* Y I am standing; *icōrdāc*: *icōrdāc* (icōrdāc) Sh., *icōrdāc*: *icōrdāc* L to stand, stop (intr.). — Cf. Sar. *icōrdāc*, Shgh. Voc. s.v. *icōrdāc*.

*icōrd* L ridge between irrigation plots. — < \**icōrdāc*, cf. Av. *icōrdāc* protection.

*icōrdāc* Y, *icōrdāc* X, *icōrdāc* Be., *icōrdāc* Cap. big basket, *icōrdāc*.

*icōrk* L scar.

*icōrk* Y, X, N, St., *icōrk* Sk., *icōrk* Z lamb. — Cf. Sgl. *icōrk*. V. *icōrk*.

*icōrt* L to knead (in washing cloth). — Av. *icōrt* to turn.

*icōrt* L mill-stone (in compos.). — *icōrt* w°, *icōrt* w°. — Cf. Kurd., Prs. *icōrt* stone; Khw. *icōrt*, Lhd. *icōrt* stone, etc.

*icōrtāc*: *icōrtāc* L to water (before ploughing). — Cf. Skr. *icōrtāc*?

*icōrtāc* Sh. to flood; *icōrtāc* Sh. to cause to flood; *icōrtāc* L to scatter.

*icōrtāc* L right hand. — Cf. Yd. *icōrtāc*.

*icōrt* Y, *icōrt* Sh. main roof-beam; *icōrt* Sk. ceiling. — Cf. Sar., Shgh. *icōrt*. Poss. related to Skr. *icōrtāc* beam, rafter, v. EVP. s.v. *icōrtāc*. V. s.v. *icōrtāc*.

*icōrtāc* Y, *icōrtāc* Z, *icōrtāc* Sh. cotton thread. — Cf. Ishk. *icōrtāc*.

*icōrt*: *icōrt* Sk., *icōrt* N to set (about the sun). — *icōrt* the sun set N;

*icōrt* *icōrt*, *icōrt*, *icōrt*, *icōrt* Sk.

— Prob. < \**icōrtāc*, with secondary preter., cf. Yaghn. *icōrt* to descend.

Not < Av. *icōrt* to enter (Geiger, Gr.Ir.Ph., I, 2, 339, and Air.Wb. s.v.).

— Cf. Yd. *icōrt*.

*icōrtāc*, *icōrtāc* L revetting wall.

*icōrt* Y, Sk., *icōrt* Sh., *icōrt* Be., *icōrt* Hj. dry; *icōrt* X, *icōrt* L thirsty. —

*icōrt* bitim I became thirsty X; *icōrt*

*icōrt*, *icōrt* I dry; *icōrt* cart Sk.

— Cf. Yd. *icōrt*. V. § 73.

*icōrtāc* Sk. waistcoat. — Ind. fr. Engl.

*icōrtāc*: *icōrtāc* Sh. to cool, become cold.

— < \**icōrtāc*, or *icōrtāc*, cf. *icōrt*. —

Parth. *icōrtāc*, Henning, BSOS, IX, 87.

*icōrtāc* Y, *icōrtāc* L this year. — V. *icōrtāc*.

*wist* Y, *wist* Sh. twenty. — Cf. Yd. *wisto*.  
*wustād* Sk. artisan. — Prs.  
*wisti sār* L. bareheaded. — \**a-wastiya*-un-clothed?  
*wōšdōn* L. barn. — Cf. Sgl. *uštīn*, Yd. *uštēno*. V. *wiž*.  
*wōšk* Y, *wōšk* Sk., *wōšk* X, Sh. calf. — < \**wasya-ka*, cf. Sar. *wišk* calf, Samnāni *vaškā* child. Cf. Sgl. *wosok*. V. *waci*.  
*wōšik* X key, bolt; *wōšik* Kl., *šik* Sh. key; *šik* Sh. padlock. — Cf. Ishk. *uškōz*?  
*wōšing* L. entire (bull). — < *wšānaka*?  
*wōšp* Y plough-pole. — Cf. Sgl. *āwīšp*. — < *wi-špā*, cf. Av. *spā* to throw? Cf. *rešpuk*?  
*wōšūy*: *wašan* Sh. to untie; *wōš*: *wašin* Sh. to loose. — < \**wi-šāy*, \**wi-šāna*, cf. Air.Wb. s.v. *hā(y)*.  
*wōš* Y, *wōš* X, *wōš/x* Be. straw, *kāh-i safēd*; *ūš* Sk. hay; *wōš* Sh., *wōš* Z grass. — Cf. Sar. *wōš* Sh. grass, 'wōšk' Be. corn-straw. Cf. Yd. *wōš*.  
*wōšiy*: *wōšt* Y, *wōšim*(?): *wōš* X, 'wōši': *wōšt* Sk. to be afraid. — 'wōšim, *wōšid*, (*wōšin*), *wōši*! *wōštəm*, *wōšak*, *wōšatk* Sk.; 'wōšev: 'wōšōv / *wōštōv*, *wōšōv* / *wōštōv*, *wōštōv* / *wōštōv* trans. Sk. — < \**wi-sriya*? Cf. Orm. *γωβ*, *γωβ*, caus. *γωβ*, *γωβ*.

*wōtrīn*: *wōtrīn* Sh. to shy; trans. *wōtrīw*. — < \**wi-tyh-na*.  
*wōtōx* X ram. — V. *tāx*.  
*wōūx/š* L. root. — Cf. Shgh. *wyūš*, etc. V. *yaš*.  
*wōxār* Sh. ladder. — Cf. Khaw. *wār*, *lw*?  
*wōx'tī* X once, at one time. — Ar.-Prs. V. *wāqt*.

*wōūxen* Y, *wōūxen* X, N, *wōūxen* Sk., *wōūxen* Sh. blood; *wōūxen* L. blood vessel. — < \**wahucani*- (cf. Barth. Mir. Md., V, p. 6). Not with Henning (ZII, 9, p. 227) < \**wōūhun*.  
*wōyau* L. pace.  
*wōyīn* Sh., *wōūn* H pass; *wōūn* LSI hill. — *Wōyino* Sar 'Top of Pass' (in Shimshal); *Zhōwōyīn* 'Lake Pass' Cockerill. — Cf. Sar. *wōyauwun*. — < \**wi-ayana*, cf. Av. *ayand-*, Skr. *vyāyana* going apart, *vi-i* to go through, traverse (e.g. RV. I, 50, 7; V, 18, 3).  
*wōz*: *wōšt* (*wōzrak*) Sk., *wōz*: *wōšt* (*wōšk*) Sh. to fall. — Cf. Sgl. *wōz*.  
*wōzi*: *wōzd* Y, *wōze*: *wōzd* X, *wōzi*: *wōzd* Sk., *wōzi*: *wōzd* (*wōzg*) Sh. to come. — *dōrēm wōzāi* come here Y; *ce'bas wōze* come back; *parinda dar ha'wā wōzit*; *wōzdm* 'āmadam'; *tu ēis yarkar wōz?* for what purpose did you come? *wōzgem* I have come; *wōz-um wōzget* X 'wōzim, *wōzit*, *wōzin*, *wōzē*, *wōzi*! *wōzdm*, *wōz'yak*, *wōzatk* Sk.; 'yāt dāi ki 'wōzdeī bāf = 'dāi *wōzdeī bāf xalg* the man who came is good; 'dādi' dām dāi 'wōzdeī I saw the man who came Sk. — < \**wōz-aya* (but Av. *us-aya* go out).  
*wōz* Y, X, N, Sk., Sh.; *aze* W (= Ishk.) I. — *wōz tau dīmēm* I beat you; *wōz šēc-em yitk-em* I ate bread; *tu mar kitāb rand* give me a book; *tu mārek kitābe dētāi* you gave me a book; *yem šē xūn* this is my house; *tu ēizir māz dī?* why do you beat me? Y; 'wōz(-um) *Wa'ei* I am a Wakhi; *wōz sab dīmēm* I beat you; *wōz-um šinak* I have spoken; *wōz... wōzdm* I came; *šū xōnan tī xōn lup* my house is bigger than yours; *mar(k)*



*i rūpla rande* give me a rupee X;  
*wuz* *ṣe yāwum* I eat bread; *ṣe xūn*  
my house N; *wuz*, *maṣ*, *ṣe*, *ṣenən*,  
*mārək* Sk. — Cf. § 118 sq.

*wuzdi*: *wōzdōst* (?) Y; *wōzdi*: *wizdik*  
(pf.) X, *wizdey*: *wōzdōid* Sk., *wūzdi*:  
*wōzdoid* Sh. to wash. — *wizdeyum*,  
*wizdeyi*, *wizdēst*, *wizdeyən*, *wizdeyov*,  
*wizdov*! *wōzdōidam*, *wizdeyak*, *wiz-*  
*deyotk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *wuzd*, *ṣenay*.  
Influenced by *dē*, q.v.

*wuzem* L, *wazem* Sh. to express, squeeze  
out. — V. *vizam*.

*wūzūm* L big wooden ladle.

*wuzem*: *wōzōnd* Y, *wuzem* X, *wūzēm*:  
*wizēm* (*wizēm* māk) Sk. (reg.); *wūzūm*:  
*wāzēm* Sh. to bring. — *ṣūn*, *kitāb*  
*wūzūmēm* Y; *tu be wuzum* bring it X;  
3 sg. *wūzēm* Sk. — Cf. Turf. Phl.  
*z'm* to send, lead.

*wizik* L ibex (m. and f.); *vatik tuy* Sh.  
female ibex.

*wiz/zerk* L, *wuzerk* Sh. lucerne. — Cf.  
Mj. *irṣaga*.

## X

*xō*—*xō* either—or. — Prs. *xwāh*—*xwāh*.  
*xūb* X good, well. — *xūb maza* *tuet* it  
tastes good. — Prs.

*xabar* X news; aware. — *ṣis x°* *tei?*  
*xalg x°* *bit*. — Ar-Prs.

*xē* Sh. bread. — Cf. Yd.

*xu'doi* Sk. God. — Prs.

*xā'dōrg* Y, *xu°* X, Sk., *xā'dōrg* L, *ṣā'dōrg*  
Sh. water-mill. — Prob. borr. from  
early Shgh. or Ishk. Cf. Yd. *xiryo*.  
— V. § 30.

*xā'dōrg-ṣār* Y, *xu'dōrg-bort* X mill-  
stone. — *bort* fr. Khov.

*xūf* L, *xuf* Z, Sh., *xep* X foam, froth.  
— Cf. Yd. *xof*, Saka *khava*.

*xīg* Sk., *xūg* Sh. pig. — Prs.

*xō(h)ṣ* car- Sk. to wish. — Prs.

*xōki* X greenish grey; *xō'ki* Sk. grey.  
— Prs.

*xākis'tār* W ashes. — Prs.

*xāli* Y, X empty. — Ar-Prs.

*xālg* Y, X, Sk., Sh. man, person, people.

— *ṣyam xalg yupk pit* this man drinks  
water; *xalgišt yupk pōvan* the men  
drink water; *wuz i xalg ṣūtāi* I killed  
a man; *xalg-i tēki ṣe yāwum* all the  
men eat bread Y; *sak Waxi xalge*  
we are Wakhis; *ispā Xanduti xalg*  
we are Khandutis; *ayem xalg (be) ṣe*  
*yewet*; *ṣu xalg dar huzūr-i pādšā*  
*rešt* one man went near the king X;  
*xalg-yāš* the man's horse. — Ar-Prs.

*xalg* Sk. people, nation (народ). — Ar-  
Prs., but a more recent lw. than *xalg*.

*xā'mtr* Y, X dough. — Ar-Prs.

*xūn* Y, N, Sk., *xōn* X, W, *xun* Sh. house.

— *ce xūnen* from the house Y; (*ce*)  
*xōnen niejk* he emerged from the  
house; *xōnar rič* go home; *rejt xōnar*  
*ke* he went home; *ṣu xōnan ti xōn*  
*lup* you house is larger than mine.  
— Prs., early lw.

*xu'nuk* X cold. — Prs.

*xingār* Sk. scimitar; *ṣ°* Sh. sword. —  
Cf. Yd. *xugor*.

*xūr* X other (doubtful word). — *xūr xalg*,

*xūr xōn*. — Cf. Khov. *xūr* (fr. Ir.?).

*xūr* Y, X, W, N, Sk., *xur* Sh. ass. —  
Cf. Yd. *xoro*.

*xā'rāb* Y lean. — Ar-Prs. Cf. Yd. id.

*xar'dōpp* Sk. breakfast.

*xā'rid* Y, X buying. — *x° carēm* Y,  
*x° gūxum* X I buy. — Prs.

*xar'gūš* X hare. — Prs.

*xā'rek* W span from thumb to index-  
finger.

- x<sup>u</sup>rūk* Sk. food. — Prs.  
*xirs* X, W bear. — Prs.  
*x<sup>u</sup>ris* Y, *x<sup>u</sup>ris* N, *x<sup>u</sup>rūs* X, W, *x<sup>u</sup>rūs* Sk. cock. — Prs.  
*x<sup>u</sup>rūd-*: *x<sup>u</sup>rūd-* Kl. to snore, *x<sup>u</sup>rxur kardan*. — Cf. Skr. *kra(n)d-* to neigh, roar, make a noise; scarcely *krathana-* sudden interruption of breath (Suśr.).  
*xiriz* L gravel.  
*xariyōn* X, *xariyan* Z, *žilian* Sh., *xaryan* Be. nephew. — Cf. *xaryūn* Be. niece. — Cf. Yd. *xuri*. V. § 48.  
*x<sup>u</sup>sar* N, *xu<sup>o</sup>* W father-in-law. — Prs. V. *žurs*.  
*xoš* X happy. — *yaf xoš bit*. — Prs.  
*xušdōman* X, *xoš'tōman* N mother-in-law. — Cf. Sgl. *xuš'dāuman*. V. *žaj*.  
*xošē* Y, *xaišē* Sk., *xaišē* Sh. wet, *xaišē* L damp. — Cf. Sar. *xāst*, Yd. *xusto*? V. § 73.  
*xošk* Y, L soft (L. about iron). — Cf. Khov. (lw.) *xāšk*.  
*xošk* X dry. — Prs. V. *wāsk*.  
*x<sup>u</sup>šrūi* Sk. beautiful. — Prs.  
*xuš'waxt* X happy, merry. — Ar-Prs.  
*xāš-*: *xāšt* Y, *xāš-* X, *xāš-*: *xāšt* Sk., *žāš-*: *žāšt* Sh. to pull (Sh. also to cut into stripes). — *l<sup>o</sup>rā'zū xāšom* I weigh; *fraxbīz xāšom* I winnow Y; *čilim xāšom*, I smoke; *xāšom*, *xāštom*, *x<sup>u</sup>šāk*, *x<sup>u</sup>šōtk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *xoš*.  
*xošk* X bitter.  
*xēšt* Y, *xēšt* X brick. — Prs.  
*xūyūn* Sh. husband's sister. — Sar. *xāyūn* id., but cf. Sköld, 489, s.v. Schwager (Bruder der Frau). — Cf. Yd. *xāyūn*.  
*xyār*, *xiār* Sk., *žiar* Sh. old, aged. — *x<sup>o</sup>* *k'nd* Sk. — Prs. *hušyār* wise.  
*xeyaz*, *xeyisk* Be. hammer. — Cf. Yd. *xōisk*.

- xūz* Sk. wind. — Cf. Shgh. *žūdž* Sk.? LW?  
*x<sup>u</sup>zūt* Y, *šabzōd* X a kind of insect, *šabzōd*, *šauzāt*. — Cf. Sgl. *šav'zād*, Shgh. id. bug. — Prs. *\*šab-zād*?  
*xūžg* Y, *xūžg* Sh. sweet. — Cf. Ishk. *xāžok*.

## X̌

- žūi* Y, X, N, Be., *žūi* Sh., *žiy* Z, *xīy* Sk., *\*xōi* W (= Ishk.) sister (X also cowife, husband's brother's sister; Be. also sister-in-law). — *žū* *žūi* X. — Cf. Yd. *žxō*.  
*žēb* Sk. to beat. — Cf. Lett *švaipit* 'to whip', (*\*šycip*), Av. *xšwae-wayat-aštra-* (*\*šyeib*), etc.?  
*žēc* Y, X, *žēc* N, *xōc* Sk., *žōc* Sh. bread, food. — *wuz žēc-em yitkem* I have eaten food Y. — Cf. Yd. *xisto*? V. § 67.  
*žil* Sh., *xai* St. (denied by Sk.) perspiration. — Cf. Sar. *žaiδ*, Yazgh. *ž<sup>u</sup>lδ*, Khov. (lw.) *žil*. — From a dial. with *l* < *δ*, but cf. Yd. *xul*.  
*žām-*: *žāmd* Sh. to descend. — Cf. Sar. *žāms*: *žāvd*, Yd. *xafs*, Khov. *ax(w)am-* (lw.). Cf. also Wkh. *žām* L bent; *xam ding* Sh. to bend.  
*žam'žēr* W sword. — Prs.  
*žān-*: *žat* Y, *žān-*: *žatt-* (*žī'nak*) X, *žān-*: *žātt-* (*žōnāk*, *žōnōtk*) Sk., *žān-*: *žātt-* Sh. to speak, say. — *wuz tawar nezd žānum* I tell you to sit down; *salām žat* he saluted; *uz-um žī'nak* 'guftum'; *Sultān-i Māmūd žī'nak pādšā tūet* there was a king called S. M. — Cf. Av. *x'an*, *šaka hvan*.  
*žūnen* Y, *an* X own. — *yem xūn žō ž<sup>o</sup>*



- Y this house is my own; *xiū xō xūn*  
 X. — Pred. gen. of *xiat*, cf. Sh. *xiū*.  
*xiēnj* L. *xiōnz*: *xiōgn* Sh. to fill into a  
 receptacle. — Phonetically < \**huanj*.  
 Skr. *sva(n)j* 'to embrace' [does not  
 suit the meaning, but cf. Walde-  
 Pokorny, s.v. *syeng* (II, 526), e.g.  
 O. H. Germ. *swingan* to fling, etc.  
 'To throw' and 'to pour into' are  
 semantically related meanings.  
*xiariki* X n. of a bird. — Prs. *šarak*  
 talking-bird.  
*xiāurēm* L dust. — If for \**šūōm*, possibly  
 < \**šaudman* (cf. JRAS 1937, p. 348);  
 but note different semantic develop-  
 ment of Psht. *šōmlē* butter-milk.  
*xiurs* Y, *xiurs* X, Sh., *xurs* Sk. father-  
 in-law. — Cf. Yd. *xusur*.  
*xiurz* Y, *xiurz* (?) X n. of a bird, *xiarda*;  
*xiurz* L ramchikor; *xiurz* Sh. snow-  
 pheasant. — Rhyming with Prs. *čarz*  
 bustard.  
*xiasirz* Sh. wife's sister (= Sar. *xasirz*);  
 but *xaserz* Be. wife's husband's  
 brother, sister's husband (= Sar.  
*xasirj*), Shgh. *xe'sirc* Sk. wife's sister's  
 husband, *xerirj* (-s) Morg. brother-  
 in-law in general. — Prob. < \**hwa-*  
*sura-zā* 'father-in-law's son'.  
*xiāš* Y, *xiāš* N, *xuāš* W, *xāš* Sk., *xāš* L,  
*xiāš* Sh. mother-in-law. — Cf. Yd. *xušo*.  
*xiāt* X, Sh., Kl. self. — *dast-i-xiat*(t) his  
 own hand; gen. *xiū* Sh. — Av. *x'atō*,  
 cf. Yd. *xoy*. V. *xiunen*.  
*xiat* did, v. *gox*.  
*xiue* Sk. spring. — Av. *xā*.

## Y

- yau* (a-*yāu*) Y, X, Sk. that, he; *yao* Sh.  
 he, *yā* that Sh., *ye* X (adj.). — *yau*  
*xōn tinan* that house is yours; *ye*

- xalg da ye xōn niengin* those men  
 live in that house; *you nānar xat*  
 he said to his mother; *you nān* his  
 mother; *yeū tate nong* his father's  
 name; *you mirāxūr tū*, *youcar xatt*  
 he had a groom, and he said to  
 him; *pādsā yōwer ruxsat kerk* the  
 king gave him leave; *pādsā 'yawark*  
*pursān-um kerk* the king asked him;  
*ce'bas yōwan kāyaz rext* the letter  
 came back from him; *wāda-i yayōr*  
 his (?) wedding; *yāwis* they X. Cf.  
 § 124 sq.  
*yau* Sk. and (?). — In *wəz tu yau* I and  
 you(?).  
*yō—yō* Sk. either—or. — Prs.  
*yib'yā* Sk. very quick ambler. — Cf.  
 Waz. Psht. *ābiyā* amble.  
*yōē* Y, Sk., *yōē* X duck. — < \**yāōēi*,  
 cf. Yd. *yēxko*; Saka *āce* waterbird  
 (Bailey, BSOS, IX, 70).  
*yōd* Sk. memory. — *dē tər z-yōd* I  
 remembered, *ba yād-i man zad*. — Prs.  
*yāōd*: *yāōt* Sh. to pile up, to make up  
 a fire. — < *ā-dā-?*  
*yīdesen* L crops reaped, lying in hand-  
 fulls on the ground.  
*yaf'tā* Sk. week. — Prs.  
*yūy* Sk. yoke. — Cf. Yd. *yūy*. Note  
*yū* < \**yau*.  
*yūyənē yər* L anvil. — < \**ā-gana-*  
 'striking upon'?  
 \**yoyut* ('yoghut') Be. groin. — < \**yoyut*,  
 cf. Av. *haxti*, Kurd. *hēt* hip, etc.  
*yījin* Y, Z, i° X, Sh. felt; *ižin* Sk.  
 carpet.  
*yūk* L dewlap.  
*yākš* L, *yākš* Sh. to boil. — Derivation  
 < Av. *yaēš* phonet. impossible.  
*yukš* Y, *yukš* Sh. big male ibex, *rang-i-*  
*kalān*. — Cf. Sar. *yaš*. Cf. § 60.

*yak'tā* Sk. shirt. — Prs.

*yem* Y this. — Cf. § 118 sq. V. *ayem*.

*yū'ōm* L twin. — Cf. Av. *yēma*, etc.

*yūmj* Y, Z, Be., *yumj* X, Sh. flour. —

*yūmj-um* *gorlei* I ground flour Y. —

< \**āmači*-, cf. Saka *hāmaa*- barley

meal, Skr. *āma*- grain not yet freed

from the chaff, unbaked. It would

be quite natural in the Pamir valleys

to designate the ordinary flour as

the 'raw' one in order to distinguish

it from the widely used parched

meal (cf. Yazgh. *vrašt* 'flour' <

\**brīštā* 'baked'). The derivation of

*yūmj* < \**ārtaka*- (Junker, *Cauc.* 3,

110) is phonetically untenable.

*yan* Sh., St. other. — Cf. Sar. *yan*,

Ishk. *an*. — *yamān* Kl. one another,

*yak dīgar* prob. < \**yanān* < \**anya*-

*anya*-. *halamān* L id. < *anyam*-

*anya*-?

*yān* X yes, indeed, *balī*. — *yān*, *wəze*

yes, come! *yān*, *tark cebas kāyaz*

*goxum* Yes, I shall write you a letter

back.

*yānd* Sh. late, recent.

*yūnd*-. *yūt*- Y, *yūnd*-. *yūtt* Sk., *yōnd*:-

*yūtt* Sh. to carry (away), *burdan*. —

*īāu yūndəm xədōrg* I bring grain to

the mill Y; *'yūndəm*, *yūnd*, *yūnd*!

*'yūttəm*, *yūndāk*, *yūtk*; *wəs* *'kənd*

*'yūndəm* I marry Sk. — Prob. < \**yāt*-

with -n infix. Cf. Yd. *is*.

*yī'nōt* Y, *inōt*, *vinuk* Sk., *ināt* Sh.,

*winuk* X dream (*yūnuk* Sh. sleep).

— (*yūn*- < \**ūn*- < \**hufna-tā(t)*, or

*-bā*).

*yīp* L fat. — Cf. Khov. *γxp* (< Wkh.?).

*yīng* Y, *īg* X, *yīng* L, *yīng* Z raw. —

*yūng* Sh. unripe, uncooked. — <

\**āmaka*-, v. *yūmj*.

*yāng* (°) Y, °*gal* X, *yang* N, *yā*° Sk.

finger, toe. — Cf. Oss. *āngulj* (with

secondary *lʔ*), Mazand. *engel*; also

Psht. *mangul* the five fingers (v. EVP.

s.v. *grut*); Av. *zairimya ānura*- tortoise

(v. Benveniste, *Stud. Ind. Ir.*, 223).

*yupk* Y, W, X, N, Sk., Sh. water. —

< \**āpakā*-, cf. Yd. *yūyo*.

*yēr* L sinew, tendon; *yerr* Sh. the

pulse. — Khov.

*yīr* Y, Sh., *īr* X, N, St., *īr* Sk. sun. —

Cf. Av. gen. *hūrō*.

*yōrē* Kl. open space between hearth and

sleeping (sitting) platform; *yāriē* Ol.

square hole in the middle of the

hearth-room. — \**arda-ēi*, cf. Yd. *ardī*?

*yīrgūt* L white-headed eagle.

*yīr'ya* Y, *yur'ya* W pine, *čūb-i saxt* (not

found in Wakhan). — Cf. Yd. s.v.

*uculyeyo*. Prs.

*yur'yā* Sk. ambler. — Cf. Sgl. id. — Prs.

*yark* Y, X, Sk., Sh. (*yark* Sk.) work. —

*yark gužum*; *tu čis yarkər wəzd?*

'*barā-i čī kār āmadī?*' *tinan čis yark*

*tu?* have you any work? *yōwər yark*

*gužum* 'kār-i āra mēkunim' X. —

Cf. Yd. *hory*.

*yīrk* Y, *yīrk* X, St., *īrk* W, N, *yīrk* Sh.,

*īrk* Sk., *yīrk* L, Be. barley. — Cf.

Phl. *yert'k* (Barth. *Mir. Mund.* II,

28)? But Henning, RSOS, IX, 90

reads *yavardāg*.

*yurm* Sk., Sh. arm, forearm; *yūrm* Be.

cubit. — Dat. sg. *ī-yurmər/k*, pl.

*yurmīš-əv* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *yārmē*.

*yārs* Y, *yārē* X, *yərs* L, *yārs* Sh. juniper.

— \**arza*-, but cf. Turk.-Prs. *arča*.

*yīrčy* Y, *yərcy* Sk. millet. — Cf. Yd.

*yurzon*.

*yīsp* Y, *visp* Sk. shoulder. — < \**ā-spā*?

*yā'sīr* Sk. prisoner. — Ar.-Prs.



*yōst* Sh. fowl-house, shed. — Cf. Or.  
*yōst* cow-house (Lentz), < Skr. *a-sthā*-  
 place of abiding?  
*yaš* Y, X, N, *yōš* Sk., *yaš* W, Sh. horse.  
 — *cebūr yaš*; *yašēr peden guš* saddle  
 the horse; *yaš peden guš* X. — Cf.  
 Yd. *yasp*.  
*yašē* Y, Z, L, *yarē* X, *yaic* Sk., Sh.,  
*yerē* Be., *yahē* Bi. bone. — Cf. § 67.  
 < \**asti-ā*?  
*yīšn* Y, *īšin* X, *īsp* Sk., *īšn* Sh., *yīšt*  
 Bi., *yīš* Be., *tīš* (!) W (*īšn* said to be  
 Ishk.) iron. — Cf. Yd. *rīš'pēn*, Saka  
*hīšam*.  
*yīšr* L threshold. — In *bore y°*.  
*yašk* Y, *yašk* Sk., Sh., Z, *yašk* L, *wašk*  
 N (Ishk.) tear. — Cf. Yd. *yašk*.  
*yašk* L trained, taught; *yešk cār* L, *yešk*  
*šāk* Sh. to teach. — Cf. Sar. *ixmānūl*,  
*ixman* Sh., cf. Yd. *yuxs*.  
*yīšak* Y plough-handle. — Cf. Skr. *īṣā'*-  
 plough-pole, *īṣā-danḍa* plough-handle,  
 Av. *aēša-* plough.  
*yōšt* L hostage, agreement. — < Av.  
*āxšti-* peace, not lw. from Prs. *āsti*.  
*yōt* Kl. this, that. — V. § 124.  
*yōb* L, Sh., *yōb* Z, *yōtr* St., *yāb* Be.  
 nest. *yōtr*, if correct, < \**ā-hada-ōra*?  
 — Cf. Or. *yōb*, Yd. *yēxio*.  
*yāw-* Y, *yaw-*, perf. *yitk* X, *yaw* N,  
*yāw-*: *yēt* Sk., *yāw-*: *yit* Sh. to eat.  
 — *yāw* imper. 2 sg.; *yāwun* pres.  
 1 sg.; *īyam xalg šēc yit* this man  
 eats bread; *sak yāwan*; *sāiš cerak*  
*šēc yāwov?* why do you eat bread?  
*xalgī tākī xēc yāwan* Y; *yawī-ā?* do  
 you eat? *ayem xalg šēc yawet*;  
*yāwan* 1 pl.; *sāš šēc yawit-a?* do  
 you eat bread; *ayem xalg be šēc*  
*yāwan* these men eat bread? *yitket*  
 you have eaten X; *wuz šēc yawum*;

*sak yawum*; *yawā* N; *yāwām*, *yit*,  
*yau!* *yēt*m, *yō'wak*, *yō'watk* Sk. —  
 Cf. Kati *yū*, Dameli *šū*, etc. to eat  
 (< Skr. *yauti* gets hold of?) — Cf.  
 Skr. *asnōti*: *asnāti*!  
*yawēr*: *yaward* Sh. to select, choose  
 out. — < \**ā-war*.  
*yaš* Sh. twig. — Cf. Par. *šōx* fire-wood  
 < \**yašša*, cf. Av. *yaxšti-* twig?  
*yeš* Sh. grizzled.  
*yīx* Y, Sh., Z, (*ō*)*īx* Sk., *īš* X ice. —  
 Av. *aēxa-*. Also Sar. *īš* 'cold', *īši*  
 'coldness' belong here, and not to  
 Av. *isu-* as proposed Air.Wb. 372.  
*yī'xūn* Y, *i'xūn* X, *yī'xūn* Sk., *yī'xūn* Sh.,  
*yī'xūn* Kl. bridle. — Tomaschek  
 (p. 805) compares Av. *axnah*, but  
 this is phon. improbable (v. Air.Wb.  
 s.v.). But *yī'xūn* could go back to  
 \**axāna-* (*axnah* influenced by \**auei-*  
*āna-*).  
*yāz* L ice, glacier. — Common in place-  
 names, e.g. *Lup-yar-yaz* 'Great Stone  
 Glacier' in Shīmsal (Cockerill);  
*Dukuti-Yaz*, etc. — Cf. Khov. *yoz*  
 (Ir. lw.?). < I.E. *jeḡ-* ice (v. Walde-  
 Pokorny, I, 206).  
*yēz* Y, X, Sk., Sh. yesterday. — *yez-əm*  
*rəydei* I went yesterday Y, *yēz-nāy'd*  
 Sk. — Cf. Yd. *iziko*.  
*yāzn* Y, *yazn* Z inflated skin, mussuck.  
 — Cf. Yd. *izē*.  
*yōšē* L to bear (of animals); *yāz-*: *yāz'd*  
 Y, Sh. to bear a child.  
*yīzg* L saliva.

## Z (J)

*zā* Sk., *zah* Sh. child, infant. — Prs.  
*zēi* L wave. — Cf. Av. *zāy-*, Skr. *haya-*,  
 from *hi-* to set in motion?

- jai* Y, *zi* X (Prs.), *j/zai* L bowstring. — Cf. Psht. *zai*. V. *jel*.  
*zu'bōn* X tongue. — Prs. V. *zik*.  
*zobut* L, *zūbūt*: *zūbott* Sh. to burst (trans.); *zūbeḍ*: *zūbōn* Sh. to burst (intrans.). — Cf. Skr. *ud-bhidyate*, *ud-bhinna* to spring open, to burst forth.  
*zūy* L cooked fat. — Cf. Psht. *yōz*?  
*juy* Sh., *zūg* Be., *jūy* Kl. yak. — Cf. Khov. *zoy*, hybrid yak.  
*zu'yōl* X coal. — Prs.  
*zik* Y, Sk., *zik* N, Sh., 'ziuck' Bi., *zevi* W (Ishk.) tongue, word. — *niv ti zik* *kšūyom* now I hear your word. — Prob. < \**hizūkā*. Cf. Yd. *zevly*.  
*zōq* Sk. tedious, boring (exyuno).  
*zaka'lai* Y, *zaka'loi* X, *jak'lai* Sk., *ja* Sh., *jag'lai* Kl., *cxalāi* Be., etc. small. — *zak'lai wušk* a new-born calf X. — < \**jolkai*? Cf. Shgh. *jelik*, etc.  
*zō'kōm* Sk. head cold, rheum. — Ar.-Prs.  
*jēl* Kl. string of an instrument, *tor*. — Cf. *jai*.  
*zō'fak* W comb. — \*Prs.  
*zō'lim* Sk. unjust. — Ar.-Prs.  
*zulm* Sk. injustice. — Ar.-Prs.  
*zulzu'la* X earthquake. — Ar.-Prs.  
*zem* Y, *zim* X, *zōm* Sk., *zam* Sh. snow. — Cf. Av. *zyam* winter; Sar. *zamān* snow (but Yazgh. *zō'naḡ*, Shgh. *zō'nij*, etc. < \**snaiga*).  
*zim* Be. yawn. — Sar. *vizām*. Cf. Yd. *zōm*.  
*zam'būr* X, W wasp. — Ar.-Prs.  
*zam'būr-i asal* X bee. — Ar.-Prs.  
*zē'mān* Y, *zō'* Sk., *zō'mōn* X, *zaman* Sh. child. — Cf. Yd. *zō'mōn*.  
*zā'min* Y, X, Sk. earth, ground; *zīmīn* X floor. — Prs.  
*zōmā'nōk* W boy. — Ishk.

- zāmīn'zōm* Y, *zalanjum* Be. earthquake. — Prs. — Cf. Yd. *zibi'jīm*.  
*zemis'tōn* Sk. winter. — Prs.  
*zō'nū* N (Prs.), *run* W (prob. Ishk.) knee.  
*zend*: *zet* L to take away from. — \**uz* + *yānt* (v. s.v. *yānd*)? But why not *z* < *zy*?  
*'zinda* Y, X alive. — Prs.  
*zinda'gōni car* L to live. — Prs.  
*zang* Sk. rust. — Prs.  
*zā'nāx* Y, N, Sh., *zō'nax* Sk. chin, jaw. — Prs.  
*zār* Sk. poison. — Prs.  
*zūr* Sk. strong. — Prs.  
*zardolu* N apricot. — Prs.  
*zōrend* L to scrape; *zirānd*, *zirest* (inf. *zirūn*) Sh. to turn in a lathe. — \**uz-rand*, cf. Skr. *rad*-to scrape, scratch.  
*zart* Y, X, Z, *zārt* Sk., *zard* Sk., *zōl* W (Ishk.) yellow. — *Zarti'yar* n. of a place Y, Cockerill. — Cf. Yd. *zit*, Sgl. *zāl*.  
*ze'vi* W tongue; *zevāk* Hj. language. — Ishk. — V. *zik*.  
*zōwāy*: *zōcett* Sh. to roll up. — Cf. Sar. *zerway* < \**uz-wāy*, Skr. *ud-vayati* to weave or fasten up.  
*zaxni* Sk. wound. — Prs.  
*zāx* Sk., *zāx* Sh. thorn. — Cf. Khov. *j/zoax* (lw.)? But note Orm. *zēḡ*, *zvēḡ* thorn < \**jadrt*.  
*zōiya* L destruction, ruin. — < \**zayā*? Cf. Av. *zyā* to injure (cf. *jayāi*, inf. of *jyā* 'to weaken' acc. to Barth., but see Benv. Infinitives Avest., p. 65). But note phonet. difficulties.

## Ž, ž

- žau* Y, Sh., *žau* L, St., Be., *you* W (Ishk.) grain, (provisions Sh.). — Cf. Ishk. *'yau*, Yd. *yōu*, Sar. *zau*. — *ž* from Khov. *žō*?



*žoe* ('zhoe') Cockerill lake. — From Khov.?  
*žabd* Hj. stable (unknown to Sk.).  
*žōd*: *žōdt* Sh. to sow seed; *žēd*: *žōdt*  
 to sprinkle, strew. — Cf. Sar. *yēd*,  
*ȳēd*. — < \**wi-ā-dā*?  
*žāla* Y, W, *žō* N hail. — Prs.  
*žō'mak* Y, N, *žō'māk* Sk., *žū* Sh. moon.  
 — \**užmahka* < \**uxsm*, cf. Yd.  
*imo*yo. But cf. Benveniste, JA, 1936, 231.  
*žūmānd* Sh. to wring. — < *mant*  
 with *hača*?  
*žin'da* Kl., *žin'dag* Sh., *zindag* (ž) L  
 tale, proverb.  
*žīnan* Y, X mine (predic.). — *ha'yem*  
*ān* 'žunan X. — Cf. § 122.  
*žūng* Sk. nit.  
*žip* L, *žūp*: *žōvd* Sh. to spin. — Cf.  
 Yd. *ȳi*, Shgh. *žib*. V. p. 454, n<sup>4</sup>.  
*žār* Y Adam's apple.  
*žīžirev*/Y L to need, lack. — Cf. *žirōv*  
 (< to be in need < to be stuck?).

*žirāve* Y, *žirāb* X, *āw* Sh. ravine, valley;  
*žō'rāv* Sk. brook; *žirāw* (Cockerill) a  
 gorge with a stream.  
*žirōv*: *žirōgn* Sh. to hang from a peg;  
*žōrōv*: *žōrōgn* (*žōrō'gak*) Kl. to be  
 stuck.  
*žerāč* Sh. knot. — Prob. from Sar. *žerāč*,  
 etc., cf. Yd. *ȳurāč*.  
*žārž* Y, Sk., Sh., *žārj* N, Be., *jarje* X  
 milk. — *žārž* Sh. foster brother or  
 sister; *žō* *zamān* foster-child (Sar.  
*žorž*, *žō* *balāh* fr. Wkh.), cf. Khov.  
*čhīr-brār*, etc. — < \**žarač*, cf.  
 Av. *ȳžar* to stream, *aipi-ȳžar* to be  
 liquid (about milk), cf. semantically  
 Prs. *šiftan* to trickle: N.W.Ir. *šift*  
 'milk', etc. — But *ž* < *č* (cf.  
 § 33)?  
*žitr* Y, *žitr* X, *žutr* Sh. woollen thread.  
 — *žū-jitr* X a black thread. — <  
 \**ȳaiftra*, cf. *žip*??

### List of Names.

*Abgač* Y n. of a vill. *Abgač* Curzon,  
*Ifkerš* Russ.  
*Ku'tal-i-Ankura* X n. of a pass.  
*Ismury* Y, *Ismurš* X, *Ismarg* Survey,  
 Curzon, *Ismury* Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Buru'ul* X the Baroghil Pass.  
*Bāz'gīr* X, *Bazgirān* Survey n. of a  
 vill. between Ishkashm and Zebak.  
*Čilkand* Y, *Čahilkand* Survey, *Čezel-gal'd*  
 Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Darkut* X the Darkot Pass.  
*Kala-i-Wust* Y, *Kala Wust* Survey, *Kala*  
*Wust* Curzon, *Ust* Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Kerkut* Y, *Karkit* Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Kišin* X n. of a vill. and cantonnement.  
*Kišn* Kl., *Langar Kisht* Curzon.

*Kezgit* Y, *Kezget* Burhan-ud-Din, *Keb-*  
*kut*(?) Russ., *Kipkot* Curzon(?) n. of  
 a vill.  
*Nud* X, *Nut* Hj. n. of a vill. near  
 Ishkashm.  
*Namad'gūt* N, *Namadgut* Survey, *Namat-*  
*gut* Hj. n. of a vill.  
*Nira* Y, Russ., *Neris* Curzon n. of a vill.  
*Pīgiš* Y, *ōiš* X, *Pigiš* Survey, *Pigaš*  
 Curzon n. of a vill.  
*Pay* Y, *Fax* X n. of a vill.  
*Pa'kūi* Y, *Pu'kui* X, *Pokoī* Russ., *Pagui*  
 Curzon n. of a vill.  
*Panja* Y, *Kala-i-Panj* X, *Kala-i-Pānē*  
 Hj., *Kala-i-Panja* Russ., *Kila Panja*  
 Survey n. of a vill.

*Pu'tuṣ* Y, *Patuṣ* Curzon, *Patus* Russ.  
n. of a vill.

*Pit'zar* Y, *Pirzar* Russ., Curzon n. of  
a vill.

*Reje'bik* X n. of a vill. (in Garan?).

*Rokuṣ* Y, *Rakot* Survey, Curzon n. of  
a vill.

*Rétrud* Y pass leading to Gāzikistān,  
to the left of the Sad Istray, but  
not passing by Deh Gol (?).

*Sā'nin* Y, *Sanin* Russ., Curzon n. of a  
vill.

*Sarhadd* Y, *Sarhad* Survey n. of a vill.

*Sast* Y, *Sist* Russ. n. of a vill.

*Sa'uṣ* X, *Saor* Curzon n. of a vill.

*Šiyi'nōn* X Shughnan. Cf.

*Šikātm* W Ishkashm.

*Wark* W, *Warg* Survey, Curzon, *Wūry*,

*Hūry* Hj. n. of a vill.

*Wuṣ* Y Wakhan, *Wa'xē* Sk. Wakhi.

*Xodārgbort* X, *Xora Bhort* Survey n.  
of a pass.

*Xandut* Y, X, Survey, *Kən'dut* Hj. n.  
of a vill.; *Xanduti* a man from  
Khandut. — Cf. § 3.

*Xōrog* X n. of a vill. and cantonment  
(*caunt*) in Shughnan.

*Ātik* Y, *Wa'xi* X, W Wakhi. — *sak-on*  
*Āikən*. *zik* Sk. Wakhi (*zik-zik* eastern  
dialect). — < \*W(u)Āik.

*Yamg* Y, *Yamk* Hj. *Yimek* Russ. n. of  
a vill.

*Ya'mit* Y, *Yemit* X, Survey, *Yamid*  
Russ., *Yamit* Hj. n. of a vill.

*Yūr* Y, *Yur* Survey, *Yot* (?) Russ. n. of  
a vill.

*Zarti'yar* Y, *Zirzar* Curzon n. of a vill.  
at the foot of the Baroghil Pass.



## SHUGHNI SUPPLEMENT

(Sentences not given, or not given in full, in Notes on Shughni, NTS, I. Sentences from the dialect of Bashar are marked B).

1. *âdam-um zît* B I killed a man.
2. *'arai ca'vâr mēð-om yast, tam t'im* B I shall stay three or four days, and then go (*se câr rûz bâz mērim*).
3. *Awal Ĵalāla'bād sâwom, tām badēveta*<sup>1</sup> *Pešāwar sâwom* B First I shall go to J., and then to P.
4. *Haz ude ar Xuǰ'nūn cōnd mēð pōnd yast?* B How many days road is it from here to Shughnan?
5. *Az câra řac za'wēd* B Draw water from the well.
6. *Az me yi mūn par'jiv* Take an apple from him.
7. *Az we (de) pēřc* Ask him (this one).
8. *Az xūðman a'gā de ke* B Wake him from sleep (*az xau bedâr ku*).
9. *Az yūdande Badaxšūn cūnd mēð pōnd* How many day's road is it from here to Badakhshan?
10. *Beyâr-um ikme âdam-um wīnt* B I saw this very man yesterday (*dīna hamī âdam dīdam*).
11. *Biyâr-om az we pēřet* B I asked him yesterday.
12. *Biyâr-om wēřt, zâr-um sut* B Yesterday I fell and got bruised (*dīnarūz uftādum, augar řudam*).
13. *Ca waxt-at-i yat?* B When did you come?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *bāde we ta 'pas az i'*, Notes, p. 48.

14. *Čāk dādom* B I bore.
15. *Da mūn yās, lāk* B Take this apple away, and leave it (*ī sēba bubar, bumān*).
16. *Devē xam'bēn!*—*Devē-m waxt xam'bēnē* B Shut the door!—I have already shut it.
17. *Δen'dān 'dādum* B I chew.
18. *Δārg-um verūšt* B I broke the stick.
19. *Gap-um rinūšt* I forgot the word.
20. *Gar'da 'xārom, gar'da-um xūd* B I eat (ate) bread.
21. *Gūšt-um pēxt* I cooked meat.
22. *Gūšt xarāb-a, xīdao na būft, xīdao na varđim* B The meat is bad, it is not to be eaten, I cannot eat it.
23. *K'imb wēddom, k'imb-um wēdd* I throw (threw) a stone.
24. *K'imb mū te na wēde!* Don't throw a stone at me!
25. *Ku naštōidum* B I went out (*barāmadim*) But why *ku*?
26. *K'ār-um čūd* B I worked.
27. *Kurti-m<sup>1</sup> penūid* B I washed the shirt.
28. *Kurtā-x-ščendam<sup>2</sup>* B I tear my shirt (*kurtara burridam*).
29. *Kitāb-um tur vūd (turd-um vūd)* I brought you the book.
30. *Kitāb mēz te lāk* B Put the book on the table.
31. *Lap k'ēn-om zud,<sup>3</sup> šiš-ta 'nāvom* B I became very sorry, now I am weeping (*bisyār deq šuda-im, ālī giryā mēkunum*).
32. *Ma dādand-in xāwš puc* My father has six sons.
33. *Ma de ma!* B Don't beat me
34. *Mund sut puc, xu dādard-me lūcdum: mu pucik nūm nēθ* I got a son. I said to my father: Give my little son a name.
35. *Murdə mā dād vārjə dād* My father gave me a horse.
36. *Mu rafiq-at vut, kīvdum tu* B You were my comrade, [therefore] I called you. Answer to: *čir-at mu kīvd?* Why did you call me?
37. *Mur vār* B Bring it to me.
38. *Nur-um đar pōnd tūid* I have walked a long way to-day.

<sup>1</sup> For *kurta-im*?

<sup>2</sup> For *kurta šē*<sup>o</sup>, with notation of a glide between *a* and *š*.

<sup>3</sup> With sonorization in sandhi, for *sut*.



39. *Nüstum nūr yūdand* To-day I sat down there.
40. *Naw-om nüst* B I sat down now.
41. *Naw-om šut to âwâz* B Now I heard your voice.
42. *Pôn tim, pōnd-um tūid* B I go, I went (*râ mēgardam*).
43. *Ra'wden sa!* B Get off!
44. *Sa'har t'im* B I shall go to-morrow.
45. *Sa, žiz zewēd!* Go, and fetch wood.
46. *Šič dīm tō* Now I (shall) beat you.
47. *Šič-um tūid* B Now I went.
48. *Šint-om, naw-om šint* B I laughed (now).
49. *Šac ar piāla k'én, var!* *Brējom* B Pour water into the cup and bring it. I shall drink. (*au dar piāla partau, biār. buzurim*).
50. *Šāč-om dūd, ho gap ma re'nēs* B I was afraid (saying:) Don't forget this word.
51. *Šāj dērom, šis-ta wāš<sup>1</sup>-um az kū te* B I am afraid to fall down now from the hill.
52. *Šāpa'arak rāwāšt* The bat flew (fem.!).
53. *Tu cawax-teyē?* *Ī čand rōz ga tim* When shall you go? I shall go in a few days.
54. *Tam ta vā tim* B Then I shall go.
55. *Tu nūm na vzūnum* I don't know your name.
56. *Tar Šērpur sāom* B I shall go to Sherpur.
57. *Visam* B I bind (*basta mēkunam*).
58. *Vārja (vēry) tēr yast* The horse (mare) is black.
59. *Wuz-um bēčāra, nātu'wān* B I am poor and helpless.
60. *Wuz-am ādam, tu-t-m əs<sup>1</sup> ādam* I am a man, and you are also a man (*man ādam-am, tu ham ādam-i*).
61. *Wuz-am man kitāb xo verādard dāx-šut<sup>2</sup>* I gave this book to my brother.
62. *Wuz na wzānum, yi čiz wezāne to?* B I don't understand it, do you understand this thing?
63. *Wuz turd dādōm* I gave (it) to you.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *əs* is unknown to me.

<sup>2</sup> Prob. *man* = *mam*, *dāxšut* for *dāk ēud*.

64. *Xabar'dâr, žir šiç-ta wâšt* B Take care, the stone is falling now.  
 65. *Xedârjan xu yâžj narm yan*<sup>1</sup> Grind your flour at the mill.  
 66. *Xuðm-um wint* B I had a dream.  
 67. *Xu ðust ze'nëam (-um ze'nâd)* B I wash (washed) my hand.  
 68. *Xu ðust-om ðikt* I licked my own hand.  
 69. *Xu pîc mǎ-njab (= anjav), wuz-um tǝ wint* Don't be ashamed, that I did see you (*rǝ-i xuda na gîr, ke ma tura didim*).  
 70. *Xaš jâi we čužj* . . . . . (*makam (= muħkam?) na karda-i*).  
 71. *Xu paisa ma be'nes* B Don't forget your money.  
 72. *Yǎ âdam recüst* The man fled.  
 73. *Yǎc peðenum, -um peðet* B I kindle(d) a fire.  
 74. *Yǎc-um ðude* B The fire burnt me.  
 75. *Yǎm čid čoddm âdamand?* Which man does this house belong to? (*in xǎna-i kuddm šaxs-ast?*).  
 76. *Yi mǎn mǎrd-um dǎd* I gave this apple to this one(?).  
 77. *Yi mǎð yǎ âdam xurde lǎvð* One day a man said to himself (*yak rǎz yak âdam ba xud guft*).  
 78. *Yi sowǎr wi draxt bunan nǎšc* B A horseman was sitting under that tree.  
 79. *Yiða yatam* B I came here.  
 80. *Zemâð-am zedūd* B I swept the floor.  
 81. *Žindam yǎs xedârjan* B Take the wheat to the mill (*ganduma bubar âsyǎ*).  
 82. *Ženiž dap (= lap?) ði*<sup>2</sup> Much snow falls(?).

<sup>1</sup> Written *narmian*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Or. (Zar.) *ðiyan* snowstorm?Song from Ghund (*Baif*).

## Shughni Text

*Ar jâik 'sǎwe tu Xo'dâik ta'wil, /*  
*mo'râdik te'lâb az 'pâ-i 'xǎjǎ. /*  
*Ba'wân, ra'wânîk tar 'dêf šǎ'lin /*  
*'ta sadu'qik tu bǎs-sǎ'mîn.*

<sup>1</sup> تعويل. <sup>2</sup> *Sadq-it šawcam.*

## Persian Translation

*Har jâ mǎrawi, ba Xudâ turǎ tawil<sup>1</sup> kadim. /*  
*Duð (murâd) bigir az pâ-i Xǎjǎ. /*  
*Pǎs-i mǎ rafti, dar mabain-i maidân, /*  
*satkičarcon<sup>2</sup> . . . . . čišm.*



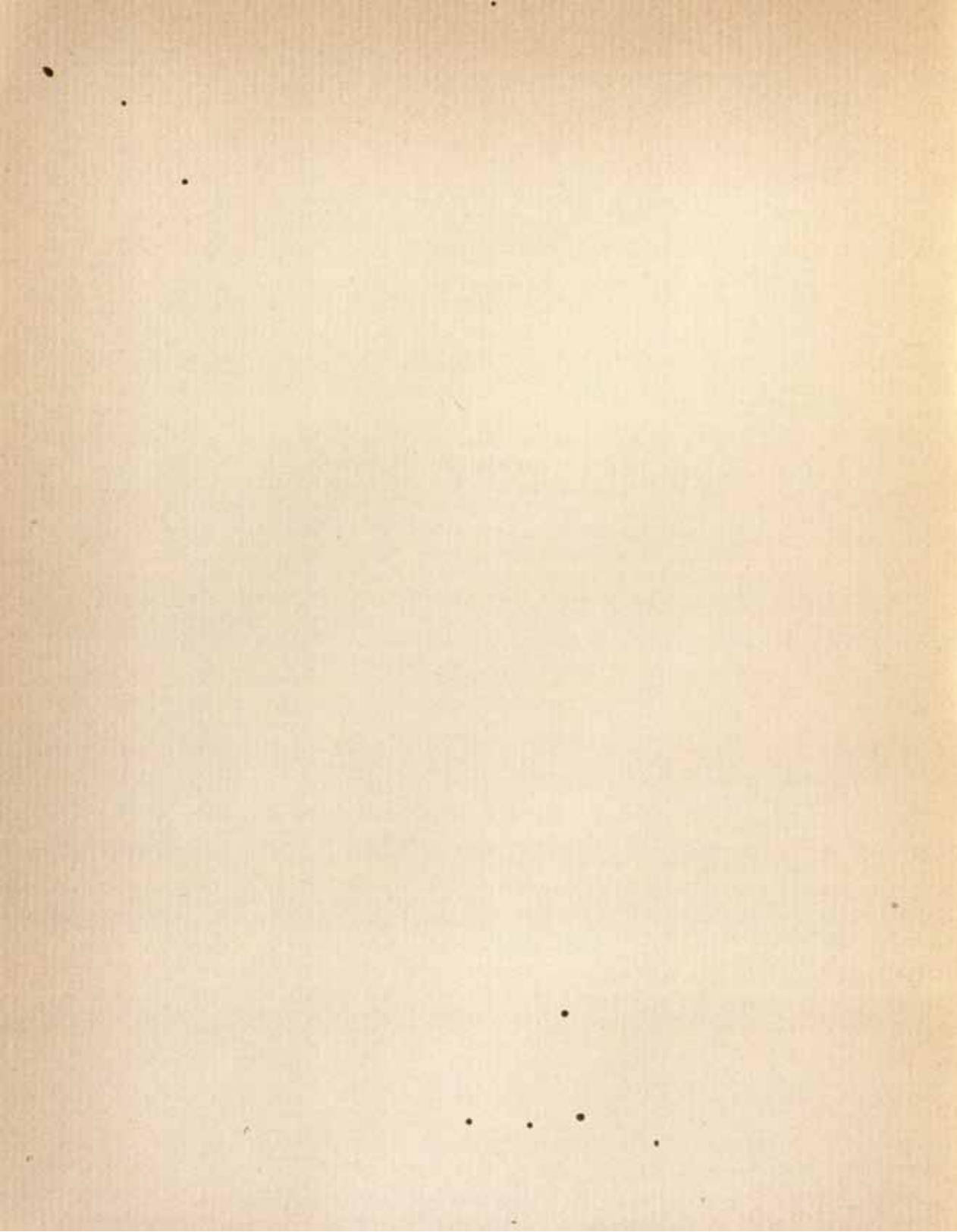
## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page.	Line.	
16	4	from bottom. Add: <i>Hingan</i> , cf. p. 426.
29	8	Aspiration is noted in a Shgh. vocabulary published in the <i>Annuaire de la Rev. de Kabul</i> 1934—35. E.g. کچل (= <i>khāl</i> ) head.
73	1	in margin. For <i>ek</i> read <i>šk</i> .
77	5	from bottom. Ad <i>tiaga</i> , cf. Voc. s.v.
79	4	Cf. also <i>kinčākā</i> girl.
	8	Cf. also <i>pəcəg-</i> 'to break' < * <i>pati-synda-</i> ?
84	5	from bottom. Add: <i>γikʷ</i> < * <i>gʷšnuka-</i> , v. § 117.
86	12	For * <i>spišā-</i> read * <i>spišā-</i> .
87	7	Cf. also § 52.
89	7	Add: Ir.
105	19	Add: <i>zʷvīy</i> tongue < * <i>hizwāka-</i> .
	22	Add: <i>lo</i> with < * <i>hadā</i> .
109	9	For <i>rt</i> > <i>rd</i> > <i>ḡ</i> read <i>rt</i> > <i>t</i> > <i>ḡ</i> .
114	2	from bottom. For § 148 read §§ 149, 163, 175.
121	3	Add: Ysh <i>šināmī</i> girls.
122	7	But <i>pūrē</i> might go back to * <i>puθraī</i> , with pronominal ending.
149	1	Add: Cf. Voc. s.v. <i>kʷnī-</i> .
151	3	But v. p. 129 ll. 10 sqq., and p. 159, ll. 2 sqq.
155	20	Cf. also Par. <i>māt</i> killed ( <i>mēr-</i> ) < * <i>mārita-</i> (not * <i>marxta-</i> ).
158	9	For 327 read 227.
204	10 and 15	Articles <i>čatīr</i> and <i>čšīr</i> to change place.
220	20	(s.v. <i>ketin</i> ). Add transl.: book.
222	12	(s.v. <i>luū</i> ). <i>luū</i> < * <i>luč</i> , <i>rušk</i> < Ir. * <i>duš(a)k</i> , cf. Yazgh. <i>ḡwākk</i> , Shgh. <i>ḡwā(?)</i> . But scarcely Prs. <i>dala</i> 'weasel' from a dial. related to Sgl. with <i>l</i> < <i>š</i> .—With * <i>dušaka-</i> , cf. Av. <i>dušaka-</i> hedgehog? Semantically cf. Yaghn. <i>sugur</i> 'marmot'.
224	11	from bottom (s.v. <i>Proḡb</i> ). Cf. Wkh. <i>wirdina</i> clear (sky); Jaunsari (Indo-Ar.) <i>bidri</i> .

- | Page. | Line. |  |
|-------|-------|--|
| 236   | 7     | from bottom (s.v. <i>pīy</i> ). Cf. Wkh. <i>piūk</i> .   |
| 246   | 5     | Insert before <i>skut</i> : <i>skapir</i> G above.   |
|       | 22    | (s.v. <i>sāl</i> ). Add: Y <i>sālo</i> , Par. <i>sār</i> < * <i>sardā</i> .  |
| 247   | 7     | from bottom (s.v. <i>sānj</i> ). Cf. Bur. <i>sinç</i> roof-beam.   |
| 248   | 20    | (s.v. <i>sar'yār</i> ). Add: Ysh.  |
| 264   | 11    | from bottom (s.v. <i>wuziā</i> ). Cf. Parth. <i>wzyh</i> < <i>uz-i</i> , v. Henning, BSOS, IX, 89.   |
| 266   | 11    | » » (s.v. <i>xōan</i> ). Cf. Saka <i>ggān</i> , v. Bailey, BSOS, IX, 71.   |
| 274   | 1     | For <i>nī-yang</i> read <i>nī-yaug</i> .   |
| 278   | 1     | from bottom. After <i>zang</i> add: <i>zingo</i> Yg n. of a bird.  |
| 305   | 11    | Add: Cf. E. Yaghn. <i>s</i> (old <i>θ</i> ), W. Yaghn. <i>t</i> < <i>θ</i> , v. Junker, Yagn. Stud. I, 128.  |
| 330   | 8     | from bottom. Cf. also <i>örnōzd/rēmuz</i> sun, v. Voc. s.v.  |
| 331   | 9     | » » Add: <i>foryem</i> , <i>riv-lav</i> .  |
|       | 7     | » » Add: <i>durk</i> , <i>purk</i> .   |
|       | 6     | » » Add: § 144.  |
| 345   | 13    | Ad <i>tō-bē</i> add: <i>tām-ba</i> Sgl. p. 3. V. Voc. s.v. <i>āstay</i> .  |
| 348   | 4     | Add: Possibly <i>kuč-i</i> his wife, <i>nes-i la-kuč</i> didn't allow him.   |
| 349   | 5     | from bottom. Add: Sk. <i>w'āv</i> Ag. Pl. of <i>awī</i> (Texts VI).  |
| 354   | 2     | Add: Final <i>-i</i> also in Sgl. is. <i>la-kuč-mō-i</i> I have left it (enclitic pronoun?).   |
| 355   | 8     | Add: Sk. <i>uršt</i> ; Sgl. <i>nes-i la-kuč</i> .  |
| 391   | 9     | from bottom (s.v. <i>dos</i> ). Add: <i>das</i> I.   |
| 398   | 3     | from bottom. Ad <i>kamak</i> cf. Sar., Shgh. <i>čomj</i> back.   |
| 419   | 19    | (s.v. <i>wulmāk</i> ). Add transl.: moon.  |
| 420   | 26    | (s.v. <i>wārv</i> ). For Mj. <i>wurv</i> read Yd. <i>urw</i> .   |
| 422   | 5     | (s.v. <i>xum</i> ). But cf. § 55.  |
| 438   | 1     | from bottom. Acc. to 'Annuaire de la revue de Kabul', 1934-35, p. 143 this dialect "used to be spoken in the district of Faizabad on the banks of the Saraghām river. Now it is dead and abandoned (مرد و متروک)."   |
| 442   | 1     | from bottom. Add: The geographical distribution of <i>-v</i> and <i>-it</i> is not clear. Kl. describes the dialect of Langar Kishn in Eastern Wakhan.—Another dialectical variation is that of Y, X, Sh. <i>spa</i> 'our', and Sk., Kl. <i>spō</i> , Hj. <i>su'pā</i> .—The Perfect forms given by Sk. (v. § 156) may also belong to a restricted locality. |
| 471   | 12    | in margine. For <i>sp</i> read <i>šp</i> .   |
| 482   | 3     | from bottom. Add: <i>ženj</i> - to fill, <i>vardenz</i> - to fill < <i>-aya</i> ?  |



ENGLISH—IRANIAN INDEX





## ENGLISH—IRANIAN INDEX

to the Vocabularies contained in the following publications by the author: Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages I, II; Notes on Shughni (NTS, I, 45 sqq.); The Wanetsi Dialect of Pashto (NTS, IV, 156 sqq.; with reference to page); Supplementary Notes on Ormuri (NTS, V, 10 sqq.); An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto (Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskapsakademi i Oslo, II, Hist.-Filos. Klasse, 1927. No. 3); and to Notes on Prof. Charpentier's Article "Some Remarks on Pashto Etymology" (AO VII, 198 sqq.).

The languages are, as a rule, quoted in the following order: Wanetsi (*Wn.*); Pashto (*Pš* = Etym. Voc. Psht., *Pš*<sup>1</sup> = Notes, AO VII); Ormuri of Logar (*O*: IIFL, I); Ormuri of Kaniguram (*O*<sup>1</sup>: Supplementary Notes, NTS, V); Parachi (*P*: IIFL, I); Yidgha-Munji (*Y*: IIFL, II); Sanglechī-Ishkashmī (*S*: IIFL, II); Wakhi (*W*: IIFL, II), and Shughni (*Š*: NTS, I).

Identical, or nearly identical forms of a word are only given once, and in this manner the order of the dialects has often been deviated from. Minor variations of vowels (such as *ā*, *â*, and *ä*) have not been taken into account in such cases. Thus, e.g.: "Garden . . . *bāy* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š" stands for "*bāy* O, *bāy* O<sup>1</sup>, *bāy* S, *bāy* Š" (and, besides, Munji *bāy* will be found in the Vocabulary s.v. *Y bayā*).

Accents are omitted, and uncertain vowel quantities within a single language have not been noted. Thus, e.g., *a* for *ä* of the Vocabularies, and *o*, *e*, for Psht. *ō*, *ē*. Note that in IIFL, II *ast*, *isp*, etc., will be found under *s*. Verbs are given in the root-form, except in the case of Psht.

Translations have frequently been broadened and modified in order to make the Index more easily surveyable. In every case the Iranian word given in the Index must be looked up in the Vocabularies, where the more special meanings will be found. Thus the Index catch-word 'wheat' will include 'summer-' and 'autumn-wheat', 'cap' several kinds of caps, etc.—In a few cases obvious mistakes in the earlier translations have been corrected.

Wanetsi forms are given only when they differ from those of Psht. A few words not given in the NTS-article have been included within square brackets. For the sake of ready comparison a few important Psht. and Shgh. words not found in the above mentioned publications have likewise been added within square brackets. The Shgh. forms are taken from Sköld's material.

Very rarely new etymological suggestions have been added to the Psht. forms.

## A

- ability *hoqūf* P.  
 able, to be ē- O, nar- P, v. *ken-*, *kir* Y, *kōken-* S, *bās wazī-* W, *var-δ-* Š.  
 above *pabēga* O, *-bēza* O<sup>1</sup>, *pasmino*, *volyo* Y, *ca-psūr*, *vorāz* S.  
 abstinent *pariz* P.  
 abuse *astlo* Y.  
 abuse, to *škanjəl* PŠ, *vārand-* W.  
 account *hisāb* P.  
 accursed *lain* P, v. *curse*.  
 accustomed *rūžd* PŠ.  
 ache, to v. *pain*.  
 acid food, eaten as a relish *tānda* O.  
 acorn *pərgai* [also Afr. etc.] PŠ.  
 across *pore* PŠ.  
 action *kār* O.  
 Adam's apple *γarai* (v. *γarəl*) PŠ, *γurvo-kuluza*, *tūta* Y, *γālvis* S. Cf. *throat*.  
 admirer *guriogar* P.  
 advice *nesiyat*, *pand*, *salā* P, *nasiāt* Y.  
 adulterer *γar* Y.  
 adze *taršaj* PŠ, *škinj* O<sup>1</sup>, *toško* Y, *užāk*, *tarš*, *tīša* W.  
 affair *gap*, *sūy* P.  
 afflict, to *blōsedəl* (v. *blōs*) PŠ.  
 affliction *tāb* P.  
 Afghan *Paštūn* (v. *paštō*) PŠ, *kūš* O, *anyān* P.  
 afraid, to be v. *fear*.  
 after *werusto* PŠ, *bād* O, *bādaz*, *peš*, *pešchan* P, *ēpāc*, *dīd*, *v̄ro*, Y, *bād*, *pasi* S, *bāūd*, *ga*, *pas* Š.  
 afternoon *jōštai* O<sup>1</sup>, *nemāzdigar*, *pēšin*, (i) *ziānē* Y, *pešin* S, *namāz-e digar* Š.  
 afterwards *pēc* O, *bād*, *bāz*, *pēsthērā*, *pēste*, *ēka* P, *bād* Y.  
 after that *davā* S.  
 again *biyār* Wn 162, *byā*, *byarta* PŠ, *bē*, *pēc* O, *bād*, *bite*, *vapēš*, *dūbāra* P, *bot*, *cebas* W, *wā* Š.  
 age *umr* P, *humr* Š.  
 agitation *šūr* P.  
 ago *mēn* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 agreeable *xwaš* (v. *xoš*) PŠ, *xuš* Š.  
 agreeing *fāreš* P, *kābūl* S.  
 agreement *angūr* PŠ, *rezā* P.  
 aim *murād*, *mazsa/ūd* P.  
 air (h) *awā* O, P, S, W.  
 alarm *čiq* P.  
 alas *darīy* Y, *afsūs* W.  
 alive *žucandai* (v. *žucāk*) PŠ, *zinda* O, S, W, Š, *°o* Y, *zenda*, *janō* P.  
 all *drast*, *wāra* PŠ, *kull* O, P, S, *ar*, *ayēra* O, *hu*, *harēi*, *hus(s)* P, *drost*, *pāzi* Y, *hōr* S, *kūšt* W, *fukat* [-aθ] Š.  
 all three *hušše* P.  
 almond *bādām* O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, Š, *bādām* S, (wild) *kitāya* Y.  
 alms *wacārūm*, *xudāi* Y.  
 alone *yawcājai* (v. *yau*) PŠ, *tanā* O, *žahī* P, *škyiyiko* Y, *toko* Y, W, *tāke*, *wulyēka* S. Cf. *single*.  
 along with, v. *together with*.  
 already *waxt* Š.  
 also *mī* Wn 162, [*hum* PŠ], *ga(r)* O, *ham* P, *əm* Y, *am* Š.  
 always *mudām* O, P.  
 ambergris *ambar* P.  
 ambler *yibyā*, *yuryā* W.  
 ambling *yurya* S.  
 ambush *psūnai* PŠ.  
 amir *amīr* P.  
 amorous *āšugbāz* P.  
 among *mēn* P, *tar* S.  
 amulet, v. *charm*.  
 ancient *gahīna*, *kōna*, *taricāl* P, *kūnā*, *qadīm* S, *kīna* Š.  
 and [θ] PŠ, *u* O, P, *wo* P, Y, Š, *auci* S, *ət* W, *at* Š.  
 angel *malāik* P, *forāšte* S.  
 Angelica *kurušo* Y.



- anger *khar*, *šanufart*, *xəšem* P, *kvahrē* Y, *xafa* S, *k/qār* S, W, *rūs* W.
- angry *xafa* O, P, Š, *brōs* Pš, *yussamand*, *pērtēān* P, *būr* W.
- animal *haiwēn*, *žāndār* Y, *aiwēn*, *čārān* S, *aiwēn* W.
- ankle *linda*, *narai* *yaṛai* (v. *yaṛəl*), *šongarai*, *šatgarai* Pš, *kanak* O, *šengerāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *band-e pāi* P, *trōboda*, *wuški-ostia* Y, *band-rpā* S, *band-i-pūd*, *māš* W, *bijelak-i-pāi* Š.
- ankle-bone [*prō'ka* Wn], *waryāni* (v. *āyažəl*) Pš, *bužulak* P, *ušk-māžiko*, *pola bəžokə* Y, *čta-ləng* W, *šurčak* Š.
- ankle-ring *masi* P.
- answer *jawāb* O, *juwāp* P, *žuāb* Y, *juwāb* S, W, Š.
- ant *mērza* Wn 161, *mežai* Pš, *murčā* O, *marčoi* O<sup>1</sup>, *mūčō*, *murč* P, *marjo* Y, *mārcik*, *mərč* S, *murčā*, *mīr-prič* W, *mūrj* Š.
- ant, white *wēna* Pš.
- antidote *taryāk* P.
- antler *čot* Y.
- anus *kūna* Pš, *kūn* O, W, *kyūn* O<sup>1</sup>, *gūyək*, *šin* W, *šardic* Š. Cf. *podex*.
- anvil *putk*, *sandan*, (small) *xōisk* Y, *sindōn*, *yūyone* *γər* W.
- any *čē* O, *hēc* P, *hēc* Y.
- anyone *kəp* O, *koi* Y, *iško*, *koči* S.
- anybody *khin* P.
- anything (*čca* O, *hezā* P, *hēc* S).
- apart *biḡāna* P.
- apparent *mālēm* Y.
- appear, to *sədiy*- W, *nemāi* Y.
- appearance *nemāyān* P.
- appearing *paidā* P, Y, S.
- apple *maṇa* Pš, *mlič* O, *miliz* O<sup>1</sup>, *amar* P, *sčb* [Wn], P, W, *dmuno* Y, *měl* S, *mur*, *məpū* W, *mūn* Š.
- appointed time *wāda* O.
- apprenticeship *šāgirdi* P.
- approach, to *garz*- Wn 167.
- approve, to *kabūl kan*- P.
- apricot *matat* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zardālū* O, P, [*zyard*<sup>o</sup> Wn], *mindut* P, *čirē* Y, *zardolu* S, W, *čuwēl* S, *čuwēn* W, *nāš* (incorr. *naš*) Š.
- apricots (dried) *čtryščē* Y.
- apricot (unripe) *čūpca* Y, *pəṇčək* W.
- apricot-kernel *čilyānē* Y.
- aqueduct *tarnāw* (v. *nāwa*) Pš.
- archer *kamāndār* P.
- arghawan, Judas-tree *aryawēn* P.
- arm *bizar* O<sup>1</sup>, *last* Y, *dəst* S, *dast*, *yurm* W, *bāz* Š. Cf. forearm, hand.
- arm (upper part of) *leča* Pš, *bāzū* P, S, *kālāja* P, *vizja* Y, *astamayčək* S, *mayzi* W, *fyak* Š.
- arm, strength of the *bāzū* P.
- arm (weapon) *erāq* P.
- armlet, v. bracelet.
- armour *zjara* Pš, *zyiro* O<sup>1</sup>, *parkāla* P.
- armpit *kucaṇa* Wn 168, *txarg* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *baṇal* O, P, S, W, *banabayal*, *taikōl* P, *šafšjān*, *tākaš* Y, *kašviš* S, *kalibon* W, *bzyūž* Š.
- army *laškar* P, S, *fauj* P, W, *paltan* P, *kārun* Y, *askar*, *fauž* S.
- around *daur* P.
- arranged *jōr* P.
- arrangement *wāda* O, *bandubast* P.
- arrest, to *pačrax*- W.
- arrive, to *zāy*- O, *z*- O<sup>1</sup>, *zah*- P, *ros*- Y, *id*- S, *žat*- W, *šorāp*- Š.
- arrive, to make to *zahčw*- P, *risčd*- Y.
- arrogant *sōr-xaš* S.
- arrow [*yēsa* Wn], *yšai* Pš, *tir* O, *yšai* O<sup>1</sup>, *bānō* P, *pič*, *yofčirgiko* Y, *dər-nāk*(?), *xastirek* S, *tir-i-dast*, *wəf* W, *caṅkamānak*, *pāč* Š. Cf. bullet.
- arrow, barbed *šatai* Pš.
- artisan *mōčič* Y, *wustād* W.

as, v. like.  
 ascend, to *lik*- O<sup>1</sup>, *san*- W. Cf. rise.  
 ascending *bēk* O.  
 ascent *pešūmai* Pš, *patarāj* Š.  
 as far as *tu-manak* O.  
 ash, mountain- *tūr* Y.  
 ashamed *šarmunda* O, °*enda* P, °*inda* S, W, °*emše* P.  
 ashamed, to be *lejj*- P.  
 ashes *arē* Wn 159, *irē* (šr) Pš, *xākistār*, *yānak* O, *yāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *bhāy* P, *yaxio* Y, *park*, *wuter* S, *xāk-stār* S, W, *pārg* W, *štr* Š.  
 ashes, hot *axwaštān* Pš.  
 as if *laka* Pš.  
 as if, just as *gūya* Y.  
 ask, to *puštēdāl* Pš, *khuj(ēw)*- P, *pys*- Y, *f'rōs*- S, *pars*- W, *pešc*- Š.  
 ask for, to *žay*- O, *za*- O<sup>1</sup>, °*čalg*- W.  
 asleep *prōu* Wn 160, °*ūd* Pš, *ncastak* O<sup>1</sup>, *minduk* S, *šāft* Š.  
 ass *xar* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>, Š, *xw* O<sup>1</sup>, *khōr* P, *xoro* Y, *xor* S, *xūr* W, *markāb* Š.  
 ass, wild *yyara* Pš.  
 ass's load *xerwār* P.  
 assembled *jam* P, *goj* S.  
 assignment *barāt* P.  
 assistance v. help.  
 assistant *hamrā* P.  
 astonished *hairān* P.  
 astringent *stay*, *zmox* Pš.  
 at *pa* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *da*, *dāl* P.  
 at last *āxer* P, *pešwaxšt*(?) S.  
 at once *mudā* P, *uqah* Y, *mis* Š.  
 attached, to be *meas*- O.  
 attain, v. find.  
 augury *mutr* W.  
 aunt *nandiār*, *tandor* Pš, *kōko* Y, *vōē* W.  
 aunt, maternal *māšo* Pš, *xāla* O, P, Š.  
 aunt, paternal *tror* (v. *trē*) Pš, *amē* O, Š, *trō* O<sup>1</sup>, *amajī* P, *bibi* S.

autumn [°*mana* Wn], *manai* Pš, *me*° O, *mināi* O<sup>1</sup>, *sāmur* P, *pāiz* Y, *tiramā* Y, S, Š, °*mō* W, *tamūz* S.  
 avalanche *puma*, *rešk* Y, *yārē* S, [°*rišt* Š].  
 avalanche (of stones) *čarxo* Y, °*a* W, Š.  
 avaricious *stay* Pš.  
 aware *poš* Pš.  
 awake [°*icdrish* Wn], *wiš* Pš, *argah*(h), *usxiūbon*, *bīdār*, *bicāre* Y, *bē*° S, *agā* Š.  
 awake, to (intr.) *wust*(-ust)- O, *čid*- P, (tr.) *čidew*- P, *angahu*- Y.  
 aware *xabar* Š.  
 away *pū* P.  
 awl *rīna* Pš, *durf* P, *lerofšo* Y, *cārzy* W.  
 axe *tabar* Pš, O, *nač'xai* O<sup>1</sup>, *pašō*, *tašō*, *taucarā*, *wengā* P, *tuwor* Y, *toror* S, *t'pār* W, *taf/wār*, *taršak*(?) Š.  
 axe, battle- *tuwerzin* Y.

## B

babble, to *brām*- W.  
 babbler *ūnai* Pš.  
 baby *zolilik* Š.  
 bachelor *buidōq* S.  
 back (adv.) *byarta* Pš, *pēc* O, *apešt*, *bite*, *wapēš* P, *cebas*, *vispac* Y, *sibās* W, *wā* Š. Cf. again.  
 back, n. [°*puštēi* Wn], *šā* Pš, *pēc*, *pūšt* O, *pešpuš*, *pušta*, *puš* P, *pišcō* Y, *arqa* S, W, *kamak* S, *dām*, *kāmī*, *mād* W.  
 back (lower part of) *biyān* O.  
 back (of an animal) *dām* S, *pert* W.  
 back (upper part of) *pat* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *taxta-e* *pujika* P, *harko* Y, *arka*, *dām* Š.  
 back (of the head) *pēškālā* P, *sor-čibax* W.  
 back-tooth *pačagi* *danān* P, *kām-lad* Y, *kōrēsi*, *wozdān* S.  
 back-wall *čana* Pš.  
 backwards *čpōšt* S.



- bad *bad* O, P, S, *yanj* O, *xarāb* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
P, Š, *ēlāhī*, *bīšī*, *geš*, *kačal*, *wačhanā*  
P, *līw*, *naškel* Y, *ganda* S, *šak(k)* S,  
W, *loṭar* W, *šake* Š. Cf. evil, lean,  
rotten.
- bad, ill-omened *badkār* P.
- badness *badī* P.
- bad smell *wah* S.
- bag *gōñiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *božai* Y. Cf. goatskin bag,  
mussuck.
- baker *naṭṭh-pečāk*, *naṭṭhphakō* P, *xā-*  
*dem* Y.
- baker, professional woman- *xanadaro* Y.
- bakhsheesh *širini* P.
- baking-pan *usid* S, *sāt* W.
- bald *kal* O, P, S, *kyel* Y.
- band *riškai* (v. *wrešl*) Pš.
- band (of sheaf) *wandanai*, *wawdenai* Pš,  
°*enai* O<sup>1</sup>.
- band (of a shirt) *kaitān* P.
- bank (of a river) *bar* P, *daryā-lab* W.
- barber, a *modreb* P.
- bare-footed *abl* (v. *pal*) Pš, *xīr-pul* Y,  
*špučk* W.
- bare-headed *wisti-sar* W.
- bark (of tree) *xwar* Pš, *pāñi*(?) O, *pūst*  
(-e *bhīnika*, °-e *tika*) P, *pisto* Y,  
*pōstāk* S, *draxt-pīst*, *k'rust* W,  
*pōst* Š.
- bark, birch- *barj* Pš.
- bark, to *yīlp*- [Pš], O<sup>1</sup>, *jaf*-, *wakar*- P,  
*rov*- Y, *lav*- S.
- barking of a dog *ṣauṣau* O.
- barley [*arba/asi* Wn], *orbūšē* Pš, °*spēk* O,  
*ispēk* O<sup>1</sup>, *šō* P, *košk*, *yeršio* Y, *vōr-*  
*vās* S, *yīrk* W, *čūšē* Š.
- barley (beardless) *kvāl-yaršio* Y.
- barley-bread, v. bread.
- barn, v. hay-stack, store-room.
- barren *šaqd* Pš, *š(r)trin* W.
- bashful *lejjanāk* P.
- basket *kajāwō* O<sup>1</sup>, *boṛiko*, *kūmio*, *sāvdē* Y,  
*čumōl* S, *wurgeš* W, *cemūd* Š.
- bat (zool.) *šauparak* O, P, S, W, *ša-*  
*wurkai* O<sup>1</sup>, *mūš-i parrān* P, *lā-verzōṛa*  
*rūso*, *šabparekilay*, *šiederaus* Y, *šab-*  
*gardak*, *šāparak* Š.
- bath *ammām* S.
- bathe, to *ramb*- O<sup>1</sup>, *zmay*- Y, *šmōwarē*  
*kən*- S. Cf. to wash.
- battle *jang* P.
- battlefield *jangjāi* P.
- baxter *tabai* (v. *taba*) Pš, *novnoṛo* Y.
- bazar *bāzār* P, Y, S.
- bay, to *ruy*- W.
- be, to i Wn 166, *šta*, *wu*<sup>1</sup>, *yam* Pš.  
*b*- O, -a, -ā, *hā*, *šī*, *bī*, *ōst* P, *ast*:-  
*vī*- Y, -ō, *ast*, *ōsto*, *vōš* S, *hūmū*,-  
*tei*- W, *vu*-, *yast* Š.
- beacon *sunya* Y. Cf. bonfire.
- beak *nūl* O, P, S, Š, *mašūko* O<sup>1</sup>, *nəvyo* Y,  
*mingōr*, *nūck* W.
- beam *pəžō* Y.
- beam (of floor) *sānj* Y. Cf. roof-beam.
- beans *kačeraphōr*, *māš* P, *muṇo* Y, *bālṭē* S,  
*bakula* W, *maš*(?) Š.
- bear *yirž* Wn 161, *yaž* Pš, *xirs* O, P, W,  
*yīrs*, *yīto* O<sup>1</sup>, *uē*, *uṭ* P, *xars*, *yarš* Y,  
*xars* S, *noṛordum* W, *yūrš* Š.
- bear, to (a child) *zīy*-, *ažaw*- Y, *yōž*- W.
- bear, to- (endure) *žarā*- Y.
- beard *žira* Pš [Wn]; *aurušt*, *giš*(?) O, *dhāri*  
P, *yaržo* Y, *rīš*, *vīn* S, *regiš* W, *bōn* Š.
- beard (of corn) *laša* Pš, *sūg* O, *lēšī* O<sup>1</sup>.
- beast of burden *bhārgir* P.
- beat, to *wul*- Wn 166, *wahəl* Pš, *pr(b)*-,  
*ṭikaw*-, *zan*- O, *dē(h)*- O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *jan*- O<sup>1</sup>,  
*uṛ*-, *jan*-, *lag*- P, *dah*- Y, *čuk*, *žēb*-  
S, W, *dē*-, *dīm*- W, *šā*- (de)-, *zīn*- Š.
- beat (a drum) *kūb*- P.
- beat to (each other) *dəng vit*- W.
- beat and clean wool, to *šem*- W.

- beating *zək* O.  
 beautiful *kšulai* (v. *kšul*), [*šāyista*] Pš,  
*šāsta* O, *šaišta* O<sup>1</sup>, *negār*, *nāzanin*,  
*sutra* P, *xšrui* W.  
 beauty *kārigi*, *surat* P.  
 because *ka* O, *ēe*, *cā* P, *ke* Y, *ki* S, W.  
 because of *bābadi* O.  
 become, to *šwəl* Pš, *b-* O, *s-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ch-*  
*par-* P, *oy-* Y, *s-* S, *wōc-* W, *sāw-* Š.  
 bed *gāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *cārpāl* O, P, Š, *kaṭ* P, *čor-*  
*poyi*, *mānjo*, *žen* Y, *vīš*, *manjē* S,  
*ja*, *cārpāya* W.  
 bedding *brēstən* Wn 162, *brastən* Pš,  
*bistar* O, *lēf* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *kasāyan*,  
*uīranō* P, *nicilo*, *kurpo* Y, *ē* S,  
*kirpa*, *pipir* W.  
 bee [*āgīnmēcū* Wn], *ylawza*, *mačai* (v.  
*mač*) Pš, *šādzambūr*, *šatibhambur* P,  
*(agmīn-)kurmīkī* Y, *zambūr-i asal* W.  
 beehive *ag'minyēš* Y.  
 beetle *čāčk* Y, *sanguurt* W.  
 beetroot *lablabū* S.  
 before *wērande* (v. *wērbai*) Pš, *šam* O,  
*pač(ē)tar*, *pailān*, *pēš*, *pušt*, *tar(i)*,  
*tartar* P, *apir*, *piro*, *psaro*, *skapir*  
 (v. Addenda ad p. 246) Y, *ža* S, *xēz* Š.  
 before, in front of *wulāi* S.  
 beggar *faqir* O, P.  
 begging *bōricānī* P, *gadāi* Y.  
 beginning *awāl* W.  
 behind *wrusto* Pš, *apešt*, *damāi*, *dumbāl*,  
*peš(ē)*, *pešchan* P, *debāl*, *špāc* Y,  
*čpōšt* S, *zebā* Š.  
 belief *bāwar*.  
 believing *kābul* S.  
 bellow, to *naṭəl* Pš, *buṭ*, *naṭ*-O<sup>1</sup>, *anuv*-Y.  
 bellowing *bay* O, *qōnas*, *khānas* P, *baṭaz*  
 Y, *boṭas* S. Cf. bleating.  
 bellows *gučēi* O<sup>1</sup>, *dām*, *puṭnē* Y.  
 belly [*geḏa*, *xeḏa* Pš], *nas*, *škamba* O,  
*qīm* O<sup>1</sup>, *aštaf*, *xīṭ* P, *darūn*, *laṇḏik*, *ilṭr*,

- ūzūt* Y, *dēr*, *rēč'k*, *šikam* S, *dūr*, *wānj*,  
*word* W, *kēč* Š. Cf. guts, intestines.  
 beloved *yār*, *zurbar* P.  
 below *kšata* (v. *kšē*), *kūz* Pš, *jēm* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*ta*, *wačhanē* P, *dalin*, *noṭosār*, *sāro*,  
*šitāhān* Y, *plān*, *viš* S.  
 belt *psol* (v. *psoləl*), *walmastanai* (v.  
*mlā*) Pš, *kamarband* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S,  
*ezārband* P, *lākin* S.  
 belt, (leather) *suṭ-molān* Y, *rydāg* W,  
*karapči* Š.  
 bend, to *kōza*-O<sup>1</sup>.  
 Berberis *azito* Y.  
 berries, a kind of wild, red- *wēricanē*.  
 betrothal *kozda* Pš.  
 betrothed *čanyol* Pš.  
 better, is *bīdo*(?) Š.  
 beware *xabardār* Š.  
 beyond *pore* Pš.  
 bier *zinazo* Y.  
 biestings *wuržo* Pš, *fills* S, *pič* W.  
 big *loe*, *star* Pš, *stur* O, Y, *stur* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*ghand*, *ferimān*, *gūlū* P, *žēšt* S,  
*kalān*, *kačča* S, Š, *lup* W, *xēdir* Š.  
 bile *rōma* Pš.  
 bind, to *taṭəl* Pš, *taṭ*-O, O<sup>1</sup>, *beč*-P,  
*trāž*, *vad*-Y, *vānd*-S, W, *vind*-Š.  
 birch *zeviryo* Y, *b'rež* S, *bulli*, *furz* W.  
 birch(-bark) *barj* Pš.  
 bird *maryo* Pš, *parinda* Y, S, W.  
 bird (n. of a) *bubititi*, *yūci*, *kaṭir* O,  
*dasxār*, *pūi* O<sup>1</sup>, *bādār*, *xarkau* P,  
*bubuka*, *caṭoyo*, *ifo*, *waryijin*, *xoryū*,  
*žingo* Y, *pirmāi* S, *bakar*, *bilfak*,  
*kalanjōy*, *qakul*, *turpičū*, *žāriki* W.  
 Cf. water-fowl.  
 bird-net *salmā* W.  
 birth *zāt* P.  
 bit, horse's *yalamī* O<sup>1</sup>, *laṭām* P, *om* Y,  
 • W, *ām* Š, *laṭām* S, *nuxta* Y, *dāna* S.  
 Cf. bridle.



- bitch [spaī Pš], *mādukučōh*, *tāzi* P, *macio* Y, *māčik* S, *māček* W, *ked* Š.  
 bite, to *dāpəl* Pš, *gas-* P, *noŋo-* Y. Cf. chew.  
 bitter *trix* Pš, *tēš* O, *tēš* O<sup>1</sup>, *takku* P, *talx* P, Y, S, W, *tarku* P, *xošk*, *trakē* W, *ciš* Š.  
 black *tor*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *yrās* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *paddō* P, *n<sup>o</sup>roū* Y, *šūi* S, *šiu* W, *lēr* Š.  
 black-pocks *gulamiri* W.  
 blacksmith *pš-* Pš, *ā(h)engar* O, P, *mōciē* Y, *ustād* S.  
 bladder *spoxz* Pš.  
 blanket *šarai* [< IA] Pš, *kambala* O<sup>1</sup>, *pōlās*, *šil* Y, *kampał* W. Cf. bedding, rug, shawl.  
 bleat, to *wenger-* P, *ŋūil-* Y, *wāŋ-* W.  
 bleating *brežan* Pš, *bānas* P, *boŋas* S. Cf. bellowing.  
 blessing *duwā* O.  
 blind *rūd* Pš, *kōr* O, S, Š, *ōnd* O<sup>1</sup>, *biteh*, *kānō*, *kōr* P, *kurbos*, *yādē* Y, *kūr* W, *bezūwē* Š.  
 blindfolded *tečpejakā*(f) P.  
 blink, to v. wink.  
 blister *ōwa*, *šinai* Pš.  
 blood *wina* Pš, *in*, *šun* O, *sun* O<sup>1</sup>, *hīn* P, *xūn* P, Š, *ino* Y, *wēn* S, *wūžen* W.  
 blood, mixed with water *malob* Pš.  
 blood, dripping with *hīncakōi* P.  
 blood-brotherhood *biyādarxāndagi* P.  
 blood-fine *bađučāmb* P.  
 blossom, to *sprež-* W.  
 blow *zərb* P.  
 blow, with closed hands *gurmat*(v. *gruf*) Pš.  
 blow, to *pōb-*, *puf* *ken-* S.  
 blow out v. extinguish.  
 blowing *phī* P.  
 blue *šin* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *xingak* O, *kabūt* P, S, W, Š, *sauz* P, *azšrn* Y, *sāvz* W, *nile* Š.  
 bluish grey *xing* S.  
 blunt *kund* O, Y, S, *kull* P, *mzkv*, *s<sup>o</sup>mtē* Y, *kīnd* W, *gund*, *tund* Š.  
 boar *matō* Pš.  
 board *lāriē* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 board, roof- *taxta* S.  
 board (round fireplace) *taxtabandē* Y.  
 boat *kīsti* O, S, *kešti* P, *xan* Š.  
 bobbin *rešpuk* W. Cf. spindle.  
 body *jān* O, P, *badan* P, S, W, *tōn* P, *tono* Y, *bana*(?) S, *tana* S, Š, *tan* W.  
 bog *buštana* (v. *buštēdōl*), *tarma* Pš.  
 boil n. *lūna*, *nonkaī*, *šalūna*, *šanza* Pš, *dāna* P, *parəpaři* Y.  
 boil, to v.i. *yašēdōl* (v. *yašnā*) Pš, *yas-vēk* O, *yarw-* P, *urw-* Y, *yaks-* W.  
 boil, to, v.t. *jūš-* O, *yarwēw-* P, *kākv-* Y, *wārv-* S, *wūrv-* Š.  
 boiling *yašnā* Pš, *jōš* O, *yarw* P, *wūrv* Š.  
 bolt, of a door *poruy* Y.  
 bolt, hole for the door-b. *poruy-lan* Y.  
 bone [haq Pš], *stoyān* O, *haq* P, *yastē* Y, *ostok* S, *yašč*, *ustuxōn* W, *setxān* Š.  
 bonfire *dūna* (v. *tođ*) Pš, *pumbaraš* Y.  
 book *kitāb* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, W, Š, *ketiu* Y, *kitāv* S.  
 boon *xubi* O.  
 boot *bōt* O, *būt* P, *būto* Y, *okord* S, *šišk* W, *pēx*, *paizār* Š. Cf. shoe.  
 border of a field *vāzak* Š.  
 born *paidā* P, Y, S.  
 born, to be *zowul* Pš, *zay-* O, *zā-* P, *azistai* Y.  
 born in the preceding spring *sāmuyī* P.  
 both *dwārō* Wn 162, *dwārō/a* (v. *wāra*) Pš, *aqđugaq*, *ardū* O, *huddi(nān)* P, *aveli* Y, *kifē* W.  
 bottom *vən* Y.  
 bottom of a bed (plaited) *γisē* Y.  
 boulder *xīzai* Pš.  
 bound *basta* O<sup>1</sup>.

- bow *linda* Pš, *kanân* O, P, *drūng* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*drūn* Y, *kanōn* W, *can* Š.
- bow (pellet-) *yīllak* P, Y, *γō*<sup>c</sup> S, *xōs-*  
*mānek* Y, *sombōnak* W.
- bow (for carding cotton) *kamanek* Y.
- bow, the point of a *suvdiko* Y.
- bowstring *ziā* Wn 169, *zāi* Pš, *zāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*jir* P, *zē* P, S, *zō* Y, *dernāk*(?) S,  
*jai* W, *zil* Š.
- bowl, wooden *kuydūk*, *padreško* Y,  
*kolarā* S, *kabūn* W.
- box *sandux* O, *səndūk* O<sup>1</sup>, *sandūg* P,  
*sandūq* Y, W, *uk* S, *tovūno* Y.
- box (for cheese) *vorkyakyē* Y.
- box (on the ear) *čapilāk* P.
- boy *werkai* (v. *wur*), *zayai* Pš, *bača*,  
*klandō* O, *kulāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *bači*, *bālō*, *lerē* P,  
*mardumpār*, *zunayē* Y, *zomanōk* S, W,  
*kaš* W, *γōdā* Š.
- bracelet *bāhū*, *wašai* (v. *wandanai*) Pš,  
*čurī* P, *pālāstiko* Y, *prēst* S, *boin* W.
- braid *yafōyi* P.
- braid, to, v. *plait*.
- brain *māyzē* Pš, *mastery* O<sup>1</sup>, *mayze*  
*sōrika* P, *māyz* Š, *kala-māyzigo* Y,  
*mōyz-i sor*, *sətxān-māyz-i* S.
- bramble *γana* Pš, *kuryudō* Y, *čərīr* W.
- branch [*cāngō* Pš], *sāx* O, P, W, *cāngō* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*ši* P, *šāxo* Y, *vəzōk* S, *šolx*, *šāmō-*  
*nak* W, *šēxčak*, *xēš* Š.
- brass *ziyar* Pš, *mes* P, *mis* Y, S, W, Š,  
*birinj* S.
- brass-pot *məs-dig* W.
- bravo *šābāš* P, *šābaš* Y, *ofarīn* S.
- bray *aγ* O.
- bray, to *rayol* Pš.
- bread *wēl*, [*nəyan*] Wn 169, *nayan* Pš,  
*ōn* P, *en* Y, *txan* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kōk* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*nahari* Y, *gōla*, *xēšte* S, *pjōk*, *žec* W,  
*šepik* Š.
- bread (thin) *pāstēi*, *wišilyē* [*< Pš*] O<sup>1</sup>.
- bread (piece of) *xšān* Pš, *nōrī* O, O<sup>1</sup>.  
(Cf. morsel).
- bread (barley) *kōskōn* (*nayan*), *aršəmin* Y.
- bread (millet) *aršəmin* Y, *kileščak* Š.
- bread (wheat) *γadmin nayan* Y, *gidim-*  
*žec* W, *garša* Š.
- bread (made with curds) *kutaxin* Y.
- bread (made of *muyō*) *maymun* Y.
- breadth *psor* Pš, *bar* P.
- break, to v.i. *šledāl* Pš, *mēz*, *s-γōk* O,  
*maz* O<sup>1</sup>, *pōtišē(ē)* Y.
- break, to v.tr. *mizaw* O, *eri* Y, *vrēl* S,  
*vəstəw*, *škōndiv* W, *šičend*, *vraž* Š.
- breakfast *nārai* Pš, *nahari* Y, *xar-*  
*dōpp* W.
- breast *bar* P, S, W, *šinā* P, S, W, Š,  
*fiz* Y, *pš-i-bar*, *puz* S, *pēšbar*,  
*p'ūz* W.
- breast (female) *γwalūn* Wn 159, *tai* Pš,  
*čik* O, *siz* P, *išcin* Y, *čiči* S, *bap*,  
*daī* W, *biš* Š.
- breastwork *murčal* P.
- breath *ūda*, *sāh* Pš, *phī* P, *dom* Y,  
*tom* Š.
- breeze *nūwəq* W.
- briar *axriō* Y, *gulxār* S.
- bribe *māaselt* P.
- brick *xāšta* Pš, *xēšt* O, *uštu* Y, *šetk*,  
*šōlg*, *xēšt* W.
- brick, burnt *silō* O<sup>1</sup>.
- brick, dried *xēšt* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, Š.
- bride *nāwē* Pš, *ārīs* O, P, S, *so* Y,  
*kenyāla* P, *šābuk* Y, *oris* W.
- bridegroom *palasta* Wn 168, *šā* P, *sābuka*,  
*šāi*, *šābuk* Y.
- bridge [*pāl* Wn], *pul* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, *hi* P,  
*yeyā* Y, *yotuk* S, *škōrd* W, *yēd* Š.
- bridge, rope *dut* W.
- bridle *awlūn* Wn 159, *mlūna* Pš, *kaiza* O,  
*jelau* P, *awlān*, *qizagi*, *yunciz* Y,  
*γižūn* W. Cf. bit.



- bright rūp Pš, rūšana O, rušan P, roušan, signi S, nīr W.
- brightness brēnā Pš, ira P. Cf. light.
- bring, to rā-w- Wn 160/1, prēw- Wn 167; (inanim. obj.) rā-wrəl (v. wrəl) Pš, war- O, ár- P, āw- Y, izim- S, wuzem- W, vār- Š; (anim. obj.) °wastəl Pš, ēn-, zahēw- P, avēz- Y, nīr- S, kutāl- Š.
- bring in, to hēl kan- P.
- bring up, to deg- W.
- broad v. wide.
- broken māt Pš, rházōi, xāp P, fʳēd S.
- brooch čamō Y.
- brook, v. stream.
- broom jārūp O, parawak O¹, jārū P, Y, parwaxšē, rufo Y, rēf S, dʳepē W, wēdīrēm (corr. form) Š.
- brother uror Pš, marzá O, O¹, b(ə)yá P, vraí Y, vʳrūd S, vʳit W, vərād Š.
- brother, elder lāla P.
- brother-in-law bōja W, xezīrj Š; (husband's brother) lewar Pš, O¹, hīwar P, xʷsur, yūi Y, tēu S, bakš, īwar W; (sister's husband) dāmād O, zamaí Y; (wife's sister's husband) bāja Y; (wife's brother) āxšai Pš, xusurbārā O, āxšāi O¹, xasurbāra P, xʷsərbʳō, roucan Y, xusərbərē S.
- brown xər Pš, xīr O¹, žigarēn Y, šurang-zārd S, žigari, rakš W.
- bruise, to jabol Pš.
- bruised augār O.
- bucket kuzəlī O, bōko O¹, aftāuca P, °ovo Y, °āve S, langau, mašerba Y, yūdāra S, kūza W, Š, kuščak Š. Cf. water-vessel.
- buckle of a belt pišanciz Y.
- bud ʔandal Pš, ʔūpō O¹, ʔunca P, bučayi, tūga Y, ʔorrā W.
- buffalo meš Pš, miš(a) O¹.
- bug xowiza Y, šavzād S, xəuzit W.
- bulbul bulbul P, W.
- bulgar leather buryāl P.
- bull lēzda Wn 161, yuckai, ywai, (v. ywā) Pš, nargōi O, (nar-)gyōi O¹, qīay Y, axla, (ʔʔ-)kužuk S, buqā, dʷrukš W, sitōr, šij Š.
- bull, young ʔuqda O.
- bullock xwandar (v. xwāi) Pš, O¹.
- bullock, plough- gažōi O, kášagū P.
- bullet pōcūn S. Cf. arrow.
- burden bār O, P, bhār P, vīra Y, vūr S, vīr W, viz (w-) Š.
- burial-feast čāzdāni P.
- buried šax Pš.
- burn, to v.i. swəl Pš, bras- O, thī- P, tēv- S, θāw- W, : θod Š.
- burn, to v.tr. sejel (v. swəl) Pš, braz- O, thēw- P, guv- Y.
- burnt thōi P.
- burrow ros W.
- burrow, hare's sō-ʔālai (v. ʔālai) Pš.
- burst, to čāwč[əl] Pš, tār- P, zobūt- W.
- bury, to dīz- Y.
- bush tarāni P.
- but balkim O, xu, wālē, walekin P, allo nō S, °nāi W, ammō S, ammā W.
- butter čuk Wn 162, [kuč Pš], maskā O, W, Š, °o Y, pisk O¹, pōnū W.
- butter, clarified, v. clarified b.
- butterfly šāparak O, Š, °ik P, pīngrak O¹, kautia, rawa Y, parčinek S, mīndelič, pilek-milek W.
- butter-milk šomle, taruca (v. trīne) Pš, pikāk, tōpi O, O¹, dōy, waspē P, niya Y, nīduk S, dīy W, dūy Š. Cf. curds, milk, whey.
- button tūga Y, tukmoja Y, S, tāk W.
- build, to rēz- P.
- built al P.
- bustard [čārāi Pš], čaʔoʔo Y.

buy, to *pirawēd* [*\*parya-*] Pš, *šen-* O, *šrin-* O<sup>1</sup>, *guri-* P, *xōn-* Y, *xōrn-* S.  
 buyer *guriagar*, *xaridār* P.  
 buying *xarid* W, Š.

## C

cairn *colai* Pš. Cf. beacon.  
 cake *kulcā* S.  
 cage *kafastūr* Y, *kafas* S.  
 calamity *balā* P.  
 calculation *šumār* P, *isāb* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, W.  
 calf [*sxa* Wn], *sxai* Pš, *γuskak*, *xusi* O, *γwos* O<sup>1</sup>, *gūsāla*, *γasō*, *tōrpl* P, *bakəl*, *štūr*, *wosōk* S, *štūr*, *wōšk*, *doḡki* w<sup>o</sup>, *waci*(?) W, *šig* Š; (he-) *bārāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *bakrēda*, *muškoya* Y, *juāna* Y, W, *bakrēdi* S, *noband* W; (she-) *bāriē* O<sup>1</sup>, *fəryōmēk*, *mišcōyo*, *patešo* Y, *juwāē*, *wānē* S, *fəryōmē*, *rəgūm* W.  
 calf of the leg *γarai* (v. *γarəl*), *puḡdai* (v. *pūnda*) Pš, *oḡiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *iskambek-i pāi*, *baftak* P, *ilira*, *linga*, *nāliko* Y, *kāxliḡk*, *šōf-i pōdf*, *wont*, *zūngviš* S, *iskamba-i-pā* W, *ling* W, Š, *pura-i-gōšt* Š.  
 call, to *ušā-* Y, *qiv ken-* S, *qēw-* W, *kiv-* Š.  
 calling *kici* O.  
 call together, to *dhēw-* P.  
 camel [*wuš* Wn], *uš* Pš, *štūr* O, P, *wūš* O<sup>1</sup>, *iškīrō* Y, *štūr* S, *štūr* W, *štūr* Š.  
 camel-driver *sāruān* P.  
 can, v. able.  
 candle *šam*, *čiray*, *s'ya-čiray* S. Cf. lamp, light.  
 canter, to *halka kan-* P.  
 cap *kolai* (v. *xol*) Pš, *xōli* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kulā*, *kuḡ* P, *xūlo* Y, *kulē*, *talpak* S, *pakbāl*, *skid*, *tāqe*, *tilpak* W, *tākē* Š.  
 cap, woolen *pakoḡo* Y.

cap, woman's *pakvīk* Y.  
 captain *kēftan* P.  
 captured *destgūr* P.  
 caravau *kāfila* Y.  
 caravanserai *srāi* O.  
 card, to (wool) *šak* O<sup>1</sup>, *lib-* Y, *domb-* S.  
 care *eteāt*, *parwā* P.  
 carpenter *nažār* S, *ustāt* Y.  
 carpet *dāryē*, *yalicō* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 carpet (cotton) *stranj* W. Cf. coat, rug.  
 carrot *gajar* O, *gāzerak* P, *zardak* P, Š, *ōk* S.  
 carry, to *wərl* Pš, *g-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *bar-* P, *is-*, *tən-* Y, *wus-* S.  
 carry to (off) *yūnd-* W.  
 cartilage *tandwāi* Pš.  
 cartridge *kortus* Y.  
 cartridges, having *jāyuri* P.  
 carve wood, to *dard* car W.  
 cascade, v. waterfall.  
 cash *nāxt* P.  
 cast off, to *ražedəl* Pš.  
 castle *srāi* O, *arg*, *kāsr* P. V. fort.  
 castrated *škop* W.  
 cat [*pšl* Wn], *pišo* Pš, *pišl* O, *bulli*, *pus* O<sup>1</sup>, *pišak* P, *piško* Y, *pūs* S, *piš* W, *pūšak* Š.  
 catch, to v. seize.  
 catch a cold, to *ēkōv-* S, *škāv-* W.  
 cattle *māl* P, Š, *cōrpā* P, *čšir-pāla-f* (v.s.v. *čšir*), *štūr* Y, *čārvā* S, *čaf* W; (small) *pš* Pš, *carwōk* O, *čārcoyi*, *rizayak* Y.  
 cattle-shed *γūjəl* (v. *kolai*) Pš, *bāyēl*, *škāu* O<sup>1</sup>, *γiγio*, *pšrivur* Y, *škōš* S, *ayēl*, *pučt* W, *γejid* Š. Cf. goats' pen.  
 cavalry *resāla* P.  
 cause *jinib*, *sabab* W.  
 cause, to (to be made) *kēni-* Y.  
 cāve *cōrda* Pš, *čte* O, *γār* O, S, *khur* P, *kēn* Y, *bāi* W.



cavity *garang* Pš.

ceiling *čō* O<sup>1</sup>, *kō*, *talāf* P, *čof* Y, *widūm* Š.

Cf. roof.

cellar *wačhanē-yus* P.

centfoil *sādbārg* Y, W, Š, *kabūt* s<sup>o</sup> Š.

centipede *šobla*, *zanza* Pš, *mūr* O, S, *girgišo* O<sup>1</sup>, *čilpāt* P, Š, *saibal* P, *hazorčangōlo* Y.

certain *yakin* P.

certainly *walē* P.

chaff *kūtū* W.

chain *zanjir* P, *žafiro* Y.

chair *sandalī* O, *kursī* O<sup>1</sup>, Y, *kō* S, *čauki* P, *kyē* Š, *mindal*(?) S, *čevki* W.

chamber, upper *bālxāna* O.

channel, v. irrigation channel.

charcoal, v. coal.

Charles' Wain *hīb-vrīt* W.

charm *marai* Pš, *elm*, *tawiz* P.

chatter, to *čaredāl* Pš.

cheap *arzān* O, P, *ōn* W.

cheating, v. deceit.

cheek *čuc/ča* Wn 168, *anargai* Pš [*ānana*], *mux* O, P, *bojur* O<sup>1</sup>, *ruksāla* P, *nišok*, *rōx* Y, *rūi* Y, W, *linjek*, *pšūr* S, *lunj* W. Cf. face.

cheese *tarica* (v. *triv*) Pš, *panir* O, P, Y, W, *pō* S, *kirār*, *plāc*, *tarān* Y, *ijgai*(?) S, *londak* W, *alyāk* Š. Cf. curds, dried.

cheese-box *čorkyakyē*

chenar *činār* O, Y, S, W, Š, *čē* P, *rīm* Š.

cherry *gīlās* Y, S, *ōs* W.

chest v. box.

chew, to *žowul* Pš, *gran*, *zay* O, *jāw* P, *axšow*, *mā*, *žaf* Y, *šāw* S, *čemeš* S. Cf. bite, gnaw.

chewing the cud *xšān* [*šxwān*] Pš, *ramet* W.

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chicken *čirgōtai* O<sup>1</sup>, *čužiya* Y, *čučik*, (*kurčūn*) *zēmāni* S, *čiča* W.

chief *rahts* P.

child *wojrkai* O, *čurčk*, *jura* P, *zemon(ak)* Y, *telf* S, *zā*, *zēmān* W. Cf. boy.

children *aulād* O, *ot* P, *baškač* S.

child-bearing *zāžko* Y.

childless *būr* Pš.

chin *kaž* (v. *kše*), *zana* Pš, *zināk* O, *zaniē* O<sup>1</sup>, *zanuk* P, *zanax* Y, W, *alāša* W, *zingūn* Š, (no separate word) S.

chip of wood *totanai* (v. *taršaj*) Pš, *frōi* Y.

chisel *čwurlai* Pš.

choice *extiyār* P.

choose, to *bōž* O, *yawer* W.

chosen *čwara* Pš.

chop, to *waržol*, *žol* Pš, *tukun* Y.

chuck into the mouth, to *pīnol* Pš.

churn *čornac* W.

churn, to *ušan* Y.

churning *hīmzō* P.

circle *daur* P.

circuit *dūbara*, *gerde* P.

circumcise, to *naillō* Y.

circumcision *čik-skōdēm* Y.

clan *xel* Pš, *ulus* P.

clarified butter *ruṇa* Wn 161, *čwōrī* Pš, *rūn* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *liučōn* P, *rūy(ə)n* Y, W, *rēyən* S, *zīrō* Š.

clasp, to *čaf* Y, *nōdavn* W.

claw *mangul* (v. *gruf*) Pš, *mangulāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *čang* P, W, *panjāl* P, *čigālī* Y, *čingāl* S, *čangin* Š.

clay *gel* O, P, Š, *jer* O, *šū* P, *gil* Y, S, W, *xlāryō*, *šifōn*; *milγuz* (red); *milγō* (white) Y, *loī* S, *šark*, *šadk* Š.

clay-pot *gurcuk* O, *pišin* S.

clean *pūkizā* O, *kārt*, *sāf* P, *pāgzo* Y, *pāyzē* S, *pāyja* Š.

cleanse, to *spejəl*, *wɪnjəl* Pš, *pōk ken* S,  
*pōk car* W, *pāk ken* Š. Cf. wash.  
 • clear *barcer* (v. *cer*) Pš, *sāf* P; (sky)  
*loroŋo* Y, *wirdina* W.  
 clearly *čūrt*, *nāteq* P.  
 cleave, to *cir* O<sup>1</sup>, *pəcəg* Y. Cf. cut.  
 clever *kāy* Pš.  
 client *a(s)sāmī* P.  
 cliff, (high) *vənaŋaro* Y.  
 cloak *kač-šōy*, *pilamru*, *royz*, *šizōyun*,  
*šōy* Y, *wanjī*, *čapān*, *čayman* S,  
*čpān* W. Cf. coat.  
 clod of earth *yuroi-pīx*, *garbasē* Y.  
 close v. near.  
 close, to, v. shut.  
 closed *dəq* O, *bot*, *kəpē* Y. Cf. locked.  
 clothes *loša* Wn 168 [Pš *loxa* = *loša*  
 bedding], *kālī* O, °a P, *zopē* Y, *mus* S,  
*būt* W. Cf. dress.  
 cloud *garzə* Wn 168, *ōro*, *wryaj* Pš,  
*yēwər* O, *abar*, *wričj* O<sup>1</sup>, *air*, *tam* P,  
*mīy* Y, *ab(ə)r* S, W, Š, *mōi* S, *mēy*,  
*mūr* W.  
 cloudy *ozgū* P.  
 clover *sabargo* Y, *šaftal* S, *šaptal* W,  
*səbarga* Š.  
 club *gurz* P.  
 cluster of grapes *zangūrāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *γōro* Y.  
 coal *skor* Pš, O, *angešt* O, °ūšt S, *skāro*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *γār* P, *skārio* Y, *zuyōl* W.  
 coal, live *skarwəta* (v. *skor*) Pš, *zuyāl* O,  
*spōx* O<sup>1</sup>, *āzurjo* Y, *šēč* S, *angišt*,  
*škōrē* W, *nižār* Š.  
 coal, pit- *kemur* S.  
 coal pieces of, charcoal *pēmāna* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 coat *kōt* O<sup>1</sup>, *kūf* Y, *wanjī* S. Cf. rug.  
 coat, sheepskin, v. posteen.  
 cobbler *kovzdūz* Y.  
 cock *čirag* Wn 159, *čirg* Pš, *pīng* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*bāšana*, *xurōs* P, °ūs S, *narkirē* Y,  
*xōris* W, *čuš* Š.

cock-crow *bāng* P.  
 cognizance *dərak* Y.  
 coin *pāisā* Y.  
 coin, gold- *ašerafi* Y.  
 cold (adj.) *soy* Pš, *cāk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čštāwō* P, *axlen*,  
*yož* Y, *sard*, *xənək* S, *sir*, *xunuk* W,  
*šētā*, cf. *šecājum* Š; (n.) *sālā* O,  
*šūriš* P, (*h*)*ayās* S, *sūri*, *sarmō* W;  
 cold, a *zūkām* S.  
 cold, to be *škov* S.  
 colic *šwala* (v. *šomle*) Pš.  
 collar *gorici* Wn 163, *giribān* P, *hasaine*  
 Y, *garāy* W; dog's *gar-wandai* (v.  
*wandanai*) Pš.  
 collar-bone *heki* Wn 161 [*\*huška-ka*  
 'the dry bone'?), *grewa* Pš, *gruciē*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *fiz-yasti*, *parāyasti*, *šulko* Y,  
*brūtiyarc*, *čigas*, *tārak* W.  
 collect, to *čēn* P, *blacā* Y, *γūrt* W,  
*vīšt* *da* Š.  
 collected *lōl* O, *jām* O, P, *gol* S.  
 collyrium *wazan* O, *surma* P.  
 colonel *kārnail* P.  
 colour *rang* O, S, W, *rōng* P, *rok* Y;  
 (of skin) *γūna* Pš.  
 colt *biyāy d* O, *biyay* O<sup>1</sup>, *kur(r)a* P, Š,  
*taya* Y, *tayāk* S, *tōi* W.  
 comb *wēnj* Wn 162, *šmanj* Pš, *šakk* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*šānā* P, *šfīn* Y, *āfšūn* S, *nəbəs*,  
*zəlfak* W, *wešūj* Š; (curry-) *γajō* Pš.  
 comb, to *lmežəl* Pš, *nuvāš* Y.  
 come, to *rās*:- *rāyya* Wn 160/7, *γalai*,  
*rā-jēm* (v. *šwəl*) Pš, *žē* P, *as*, *šam*(??)  
 Y, *is* S, *wəzi* W, *yad* Š. Cf. arrive.  
 come out, to *nī* Y, *nēz* S.  
 command *ukəm* O, *farmān*, *gap* P,  
*hukm* P, Y.  
 command, to : *farmāš*, *wesčj* P, *band*-  
*awā* Y, *fərmē* S, *rami* W, : *rēmād* Š.  
 commandant *kūmaidān* P.  
 commission *barāt* P.



- compassion *rahm*, *rhammī* P.  
 complaint *zārī* P.  
 completely *bibāki*, *hamwār*, *puxta*, *saī* P.  
 comrade *mal* Pš, *rafuq*, *añdūcāl*, *hamrā* P, *rafiq* Š.  
 conceal, to *ūtaf*-P, *pāš va ken*-(?) S, *mūš*-W.  
 concealed *puṭ* O, *buḍ* O<sup>1</sup>, *juṭ*, *peṭ* P.  
 conceited *seṣṭa* P.  
 conclusion *ijrā* P.  
 condition *auhāl*, *hāl*, *hawāl*, *tab* P.  
 conscious (of a crime) *ūbālī* P.  
 consciousness *huš* P.  
 conscription, military *haṣṣafārī* P.  
 consent *rezā* P.  
 consideration *ṣaur*, *paricā* P.  
 constantly *hamwār* P.  
 contract, to *kaš kan*-P.  
 conversation *guṣṭigū*, *guṣṭār*, *xitāb* P, *gap* S.  
 convert, to *pherēw*-P.  
 converted into, to be *pher*-P.  
 cook, to [*paxawul* Pš], *biž*-O, *biz*-O<sup>1</sup>, *peč*-P, *kākv*-Y, *pac*-S, W, *pīj*-Š.  
 cooked *pox* Pš, *kikyii* Y, *pačok* S, *pačetk* W.  
 cooking-pot *dēgli* O, *dēg* O<sup>1</sup>, *āteši*, *dastē* P, *tāl* Y, S, *zāxcidīn* Y, *ēdan* S, *dīg* W, *dēk*, *dik*, *mishār* Š.  
 cool, to *wasēr*-W.  
 coquettish *mastāna*, *nāzuk* P.  
 coquetry *nāz* P.  
 copper *loh*, *tīla* Y.  
 copulate, to *ṣowul* (v. *ṣo*) Pš, *kīn*-O, *gēh*-P, *kun*-Y, *bugāy*-, *koc*-S, *ṣiy*-W.  
 copulation *ṣo* Pš.  
 cord *riṣṭan* P, *rismōn* S.  
 corn v. grain, ear of corn.  
 corner *yeṣai* (v. *yeaṣ*) Pš, *gūša* P, W, *kunj* P, Y, Š, *burž*, *ṣungū* Y, *xān-bōrs* S.  
 corpse *murda* O, P.  
 correctly *rastē* Y.  
 cotton *karvaši*, *purum* Y, *paxtā* S, W, *kənāi* W, *ševinj* Š.  
 cotton cloth *šoe* Pš.  
 cotton thread *ḡidanwo*, *paxtai*, *šizoyun*, *wušūles*, *wizinga* Y, *wōsi* S, *wāsāi* W.  
 cough *zukām* O, *ṣuxiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *khūfō*, *surfa* P, *xāpui* Y, *xōfuk* S, *qōx*, *toxtox* W, *k'exak* Š.  
 cough, to *ṣux*-O<sup>1</sup>, *khūf*-P, *xof*-Y, *xof*-S, *k'ex*-Š.  
 count, to *šmerəl* Pš, *imar*-Y.  
 country *mulk* O, P, *watan* P, S.  
 countryman *watandār* P.  
 courage *marḍi* P, *j'wānmarḍi* S.  
 courageous *dilēr*, *dilbēār* W.  
 court *darbār*, *dargā*; (of justice) *kačārī* P.  
 courteous *bāadab* S, *bah*° W.  
 courtesy *adap* P, (*h*)*adab* S, W.  
 court-yard *ṣolai* (v. *ṣalai*) Pš, °*ai* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 cousin, male *tərbūr* (v. *trō*) Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *trēpīr* O<sup>1</sup>, *vrai*(min), *baipur* Y, *bōyē* Y, S, *ručepc* W, *petiš* Š; female *tərle* (v. *trō*) Pš, °*ls* O<sup>1</sup>, *bailṣdo* Y, *mumbucīnāi* *wdūṣ* S, *bēčēd*°d W.  
 cover, to *ūtaf*-P, *gaw*-W. Cf. conceal.  
 covered *xāspūš* P.  
 covering *ṣolāft* O, *pūš* P.  
 coverlet v. bedding.  
 cow *ṣwā* Pš, *gōi* O, *gyōi*, *šiza-gyōi* O<sup>1</sup>, *gū*, *mādagū* P, *ṣavē* Y, *uṣūi* S, *ṣūu* W, *šāw* Š; young *ṣwawandir* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. heifer.  
 cowherd [*ṣabōn* Wn], *ṣōba* (v. *-ba*) Pš, *ṣēibōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *galawān* Y.  
 cowpen, v. cattleshed.  
 co-wife *bēn* Pš, *wān* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ambōy* Y, W, °*āy* S, *souno* Y.  
 crack *čāwd* Pš.  
 cradle *ṣāz* O, *šinā* P, *šucīn* S.  
 cramp *brēš* Pš.

crane *zāna* Pš, *kulāng* O, P, *zāniē* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 cream [*peraiçai* Pš], *ras* O<sup>1</sup>, *sıl̄o* Y,  
*sārek* S, *mārik* W, *marōb* Š; (sour)  
*kaimāx* O, *°āk* P, *°ok* S, *°oq* W,  
*°oxē* Š.

creator *parvardigār*

creep, to *cxedəl*, *xwajedəl* Pš, *rukūš*- Y.  
 creeper *zela* Pš.

crest of a cock *tāj* P.

crime *jurm*, *ūbāl* P.

crippled *zmol* Pš.

crocodile *nahāng* S.

crooked *cor* Pš, *kōš* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *kāj* O, *kušo*,  
*pāt* Y, *kard* W. Cf. *curbed*.

crop of a bird *zāyārg* Y, *pēyār* W.

crops *hāsel* P; (reaped) *yidesen* W.

cross, to *gudar*- P, *šaxs*- S, *šaxs*- W.

crossing *guzar*, *guzārān* P.

crow *kāryō* Pš, *kāy* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zāyo* Y,  
*siāsar* S, *čāyeli*, *karā* W, *akāb*(?),  
*xūrn* Š. Cf. *raven*.

crowd *dal* P.

crowling *bāng* O<sup>1</sup>, *boŋg* S.

crumble, to *fril*- W.

crush, to *nōšra*- O<sup>1</sup>, *kuš*- P, *šak*- S, *šiš*- W.

crushed *maida* P.

cry *nāra*, *šūr* P.

cry, to *šarəl* Pš.

cry out, to *narəl* Pš.

cry, of camel *barbar* O.

cuckoo *kakük*, *šayuk* Y, *bibuk*, *kipok* W.

cucumber *kadūi* Y.

cultivated field, v. field.

cup *jām* O, *piyāla* O, P, *°lo* O<sup>1</sup>, *čine* Y,  
*plātē* S, *°a* Š; wooden *lōšāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pilojo* Y, *pil* W; wooden milk- *xšir-*  
*kvesa* Y.

curbed *čang* P. Cf. *crooked*.

curdle, to *mōš*- W.

curds *māstē*, *matar* Pš, *jurāt* P, W,  
*poya* Y, *māst* Y, S, *pōi* S, *pāl* W, Š.

curds dried *kurūt* P, Y, S, *katez* P, *kutoz*  
 Y, S, *qorūt* W. Cf. *buttermilk*, *cheese*.

curl *wurbal* Pš, *kapēl* O, *zulf*, *kākul* P,  
*soyond* S, *pēca* S, W, *parčdn* Š.

curls, having *kākul* P.

curse *šarā* Pš, *šāp* P.

curtain *payda* P, *taxt* P, S, *pardā* Š.

cushion, v. pillow.

custom *doe* Pš.

custom-house *bandar* S; -official *xarč-*  
*gār* S.

cut n. *cira* Pš, *hacāla* P.

cut, to *parčar*- O, *kap*- O<sup>1</sup>, *kaš*-, *mač*-,  
*thā*- P, *pocag*, *skād*-, *tiš*- Y, *biriš* *cār*-,  
*rəstəv*- W. Cf. *chop*, *cleave*.

cut down, to *krr*- Y.

cut grain, to *dir*- O<sup>1</sup>, *durr*- P.

cut into pieces *qurt* P.

cut off, to *pre-kacul* (v. *prā*-) Pš, *čurt*  
*kan*- P.

cut out, to *škaštəl* Pš.

cut up, to *kūtəl* Pš.

cutting grain, v. reaping.

cypress *sārv* Š.

## D

dagger *kəkvāro*, *maxmudiyo* Y, *xanjar* S,  
*kušol* W. Cf. *sword*.

daily bread *rūzi* P.

dam \**hel* Pš, *band* P.

damage *yirāni* P.

damp *xušt* Pš, *šəlök* S. Cf. *wet*.

dampness *zyam* (v. *zimai*) Pš.

dance *bāzi* O, *wāyār* P, *raxs*, *yōba* Y,  
*raqōšl* W.

dance, to *wāyār*- P, *drūv*- Y, *raqōšl*/  
*ken*- S, *nemenj*- W.

dandelion *talx-kardači* Y.

danger *xatar* P.

dark *tārik* O, P, *tirič*, *tōrik* W; (-com-  
 plexioned) *škān* Pš.



- darkness *tārə* Wn 159, (*tam*), *tyārə* (v. *tor* <sup>1</sup>) Pš, *tōrəšyū* O<sup>1</sup>, *tārik* P, *tiro* Y, *tōrik*, *turki* S.
- darn, to *pezəl* Pš.
- date (fruit) *xajwə* O<sup>1</sup>.
- daughter *lūr* Pš, *dūa*, *dukā* O, *dūo* O<sup>1</sup>, *dut* P, *luḡdo*, <sup>o</sup>*diko* Y, *uudəḡd* S, *ḡəḡd* W, *ḡac*, *rezin* Š.
- daughter-in-law *nḡōr* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *nigōr* O, *su*, *sunū* P, *znro* Y, *wuznēl* S, *sənōr*, *sḡtəḡ* W, *zenaḡ* Š.
- dawn *sār* O, *subdamī* P, *jausarēn* Y, *rašt* S, *naḡdīn*, *ruz*, *sub* W. Cf. morning.
- day [*torēz* Wn], *rucaj* Pš, *rōḡ* O, *ryōz* O<sup>1</sup>, *deuās*, *ruē* P, *miḡ* Y, *dīn*(?), *mēi* S, *rōz* S, Š, *rneār*, *rūz* W, *mēḡ* Š.
- day after to-morrow *bēsār* O, *byē-ryūz* O<sup>1</sup>, *passabā*, *širuē* P, *məzdīra*, *yāmo* Y, *perəḡtem* S, *tōrt* W, *afaḡ* Š.
- days, three—hence *sūyyāmo*, *yūyyāmo* Y, *veder* Š; four—hence *pasāveder* Š.
- day, before yesterday *warḡ* (v. *uḡrumbai*) Pš, *injān* O, *inzān* O<sup>1</sup>, *ašōruē* P, *širizen* Y, *aḡuzd*, *vōkōḡin* S, *tōrt* W.
- days, three—ago *muš-injān* O, *čašōruē*, *pəšpariruē* P, *čirvizen*, *čurnō* Y, *aḡuzdēv* S, *peršib* Š; four—ago *afa bi-nzān* O<sup>1</sup>, *pēūrma*, *pānjəmo* Y.
- daylight *ručān*, *rhīnē*, *rušanī* P, *ruz* W.
- dead *mər* Pš, *muḡ* P, *moḡ* Y.
- deaf *koḡ* Pš, *kar(r)* O, P, S, W, *kōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *bigū*, *būru* P, *kuḡyastē* Y, *čūn* Š.
- dear *fri* S; (costly) *kimati* P.
- death *merō* P, *faut* W.
- debt *por* Pš.
- deceit *ḡulat* Pš, *fōrēb* O, *bāzī* P.
- deceived, to be *ḡuledəl* Pš.
- deceiving *mazak* P.
- deep *ḡawar* Pš, *ḡauē* O, *čaḡwər* S.
- deer *ḡsai* Pš, *lakaḡəwai* O, *lakaḡuēi* O<sup>1</sup>, *āhū* P, *ramūz* Y, *āhūi* S.
- defeat *šikast* P.
- deficient *zwam* Pš.
- defile *tangī* P, *kūgs* Š. Cf. hole.
- delay *lārḡa* Pš, *yārḡa* O, *mūlat*, *mḡolat* P.
- delicate *nāzanīn* P.
- demon *perai*, *raucai* Pš, *but* P, *barzəḡḡ* Y, *almasti* S, <sup>o</sup>*e*, *lēu* W.
- dense *tat* [corr. *tit*] Pš.
- deodar *rōḡo* Y.
- departing *rāhī* P. Cf. starting.
- dependent, a *a(s)sāmī* P.
- derision *tāna* P.
- descend, to *tōs*- Wn 167, *nim*- O, *šrim*- O<sup>1</sup>, *uzḡ*- P, *xafs*- Y, *xav*- S, *ḡām*- W, [*xafe*- Š].
- desert *maira* Pš, *bābān* O, Y, *sāharo*, *sahro* Y.
- deserving *lāyaḡ* P.
- design *ḡaraz* P. Cf. aim.
- desire *hawā*, *mudā* P.
- desolate *ḡirān* P, *barbād* Y.
- despatch, to *wesēj*- P. Cf. send.
- destroyed *barbāt* O, *qurt*, *xarāb* P.
- destroyed, to be *naḡedəl* Pš.
- destruction *halāk* P, *zōiya* W.
- devil *šaitān* O, S.
- dew *parxa* Pš, *purxə* O<sup>1</sup>, *zamarit* P, *nəb*, *praḡār*, *šaklām* Y, *šagnam*, *šak*(?) S, *mōrḡ*, *naḡd-yupk*, *ḡak* W.
- dewlap *ḡulek* Y, *yuk* W.
- diaphragm *ḡuc* Š.
- die, to *mḡəl* Pš, *mr*- O, *mer*- P, *mər*- Y, *mur*- S, *mərī*- W, *mar*- Š.
- different *byal* Pš.
- difficult *rəc*, *zūl* Y, *mōškīl* S, *xəḡ* Š; —crossing *kapra* Pš.
- difficulty *tangī* P.
- dig, to *kandəl* Pš, *kap*- O, *waxa(y)*- O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kinda*- O<sup>1</sup>, *kusēu*- P, *ken*- *nikand*.

- paš- Y, kan-, kāw- S, parkōl- W, cān- Š.
- dig out, to *hupēr*- P.
- dig up, to *peten*- Š.
- dinner *mulūk* S.
- direction *palau* O, *taraf* P.
- direction, in some or other *kāwun* P.
- dirt *raš* PŠ, *čirk*, *makān*(?), *maṭṭa* P.
- dirty *čirk* O, Y, *γark*, *kačal* P, *kizyo*, *γuzγap*, *xatralōy* Y, *k'āz*, *nāstē* S, *kark*, *xēden* Š.
- disaster *balā* P.
- disclosing *xwālō* PŠ.
- discorteous *bēhadab* W.
- discourse *skālwa* PŠ.
- discussion *radd o badd* P.
- disgrace *ruswā(ī)* P.
- dish, v. plate.
- dishevelled (hair) *γūza* P.
- dishonoured *dašwār* P.
- dislike, to *γandāl*, *kažāl* PŠ.
- disobedience *bisari* P.
- disputing *āriya* (*āra*) PŠ.
- dissolute *ēlāhi* P.
- distant, v. far.
- distress *xāri* P.
- distressed *γussamand*, *pēricān*, *ranjō*, *sargardān*, *xafa*, *xār* P, *dunaγay* Y. Cf. troubled.
- distribute, food at a feast, to *baxš*- Y.
- distributing *tīt* P.
- distribution *weš* (\**baxšya*-) PŠ.
- distributor of food *xādem* Y.
- ditch *xandak* P.
- divide, to *baxš car*-, *taxšim car*- W.
- dividing *taxšim* O, P, S, *boxš* Y, *bašak*, *baxš* S.
- diving *nimekyika* Y.
- division *weš* PŠ; of a field *zgān* O.
- do, to *k*- Wn 165, *kyl* PŠ, *k*- O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kan*- P, *ken*- Y, S, Š, *car*, *goš*- W. Cf. make.
- doctor *tabīb* O, <sup>o</sup>*ip* P, *hakim* P.
- dog [*spā* Wn], *spai* PŠ, (<sup>o</sup>*spuk* O, *spak* O<sup>1</sup>, *kučuk*, *espō*, *espaγ* P, *γalv* Y, *kuš* S, *šač* W, *kut/d* Š; (wild) *xurūso* Y, *xrēseg* S, *kik* W. Cf. bitch.
- dog-rose *larāni* P.
- doing what? *čēkāra* P.
- donkey, v. ass.
- don't na P, S, *mak* O, *či* Y, *mə* W, *ma* PŠ, Š. Cf. not.
- donkey's foal *tiya-xarak* S.
- door *war* PŠ, O, *bār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, W, *bār* P, *darwāza* P, S, *ṭvor* Y, *vōr* S, *derē* Š.
- door-frame *daršal* PŠ, *čaukāt* O<sup>1</sup>, *čapē* Y; (upper part of) *γūwarsən* Y.
- door-hinge *γūiniko* Y, *gōrj* W.
- doorkeeper *qāpēi* P.
- double *byārg* (v. *bray*) PŠ, *lohrij* Y.
- dough *patira* O<sup>1</sup>, *āgugay* Y, *šis* W; leavened *xambira* O<sup>1</sup>, *xamir* W; baked *lovaza* Y; unbaked *xisto* Y.
- dove, v. ring-dove, pigeon.
- dove-coloured *kabūt* Y.
- down *spah<sup>2</sup>ta* Wn 168, *kūz* PŠ, *jēm* O, *wačhanē*, *pastō* P, *sāro*, *pursōro*, *kalāpo* Y, *-ā* S, *-āi* Š.
- down of birds *patt* P, *muryulum*, *toḇat* Y, *toḇat* S.
- drag away, to *hupēr*- P.
- dragon *ažder* Y.
- draught, a *nōš* P.
- draw, to *kyl* PŠ, *xoš*- Y, *xas*- S, *čāž*- Š. Cf. pull.
- draw out, to *nawar*- O.
- draw a sword, to *kīn*- W.
- draw water, to *nawar*- S.
- drawing pay *tanzāxūr* P.
- dream *xūb* (*xōb*) PŠ, *xau* O, *xwāb* O<sup>1</sup>, *xōm* P, *xūbun* Y, *misūk*, *xōdm* S, *γīnōt* W. Cf. sleep.



dress *nuarai* Pš, *drěši* P, *anjām*, *pūšāk* Y;  
female *taurār* P, *žōy* Y. Cf. clothes.  
dress oneself, to *āyustəl* Pš, *paryan-čk* O,  
*āyun-* P, *ayd-* Y, *pānec-* S, *pūmec-* W,  
*peniz-*, *wēd-* Š.  
dress somebody else, to *āyunēw-* P, *aydā-* Y,  
*pūmecce-* W.  
dribble, to *tūr-* P.  
dried up *hušk* P.  
driftwood *pəwaz* W.  
drink, to *γōz-* Wn 166, *cašəl* [šūmāl] Pš,  
*ar-* O, *tr-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ter-*, *šup kan-* P,  
*šam-* Y, *pōv-* S, *pōv-* W, *berēz-* Š.  
Cf. sip.  
drip, to *cačədəl* Pš, *pīc-* O, *čak-*, *tūr-* P,  
*naxēē* Y.  
dripping *čakkak* P, *čakak* Š; (inside a  
house) *\*stuynūl* Y; (with blood) *hin-čakdī* P. Cf. drop.  
drive away, to *šarəl* Pš.  
drivel *šāf* Š.  
drop, a *čak* P; (of drinkable liquids)  
*čakka* P.  
drought, year of *uškāl* Y.  
drum *naγāra* P, *dəməmo*, *təplāya* Y,  
*tambūr* Š; of a spinning wheel *lira* Y.  
dry *spor*, *wuč* Pš, *tosand* Pš<sup>1</sup>, *wōkčl* O,  
*wyōk* O<sup>1</sup>, *hušku*, *ōškār* P, *ušk*, *gard* Y,  
*xōšk* S, W, *kāk* S, Š, *wōšk* W.  
duck *helai* Pš, *muryāwi* O, Š, *mō* S,  
*ēliē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kurye-āci*, *muryāwi* P, *axšen-  
sivē*, *kožvotoko*, *wūro*, *yečko* Y, *yōē* W.  
dumb *gungai* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *bibān*, *dincāna*,  
*guṇ* P, *gūl* Y, W, *gungesta*, *kūr* Y,  
*goḷ* S, *gōl* Š.  
dung *sarā* Pš, *sōro* Y, *yarx*, *wuḍiḷ* S,  
*đort* W, *đid* Š; (cow-) *wəasyā* Wn 159,  
*drabla* (v. *dre*), *γōšāk* Pš, *rəx* W,  
*škan* O, *skan* O<sup>1</sup>, *sayōn* P, *yuskōn* Y,  
*šiv* W, *žā-γaθ* Š; (goat-) *wuḍiḷ* S,  
*pašc* Š; (horse-) *xaršin* Pš, *lid* O<sup>1</sup>,

*pāru*, *xoškōn* Y, *šurm*, *pōru* S, *sargen* Š;  
(horse- or cattle-) *səgin* W; (sheep-) *pukē*  
Wn 161, *pača* Pš, *piškāl* O,  
*pučukāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *pōrk* P, *pškedrī* Y,  
*pōšk* S, *pōšk* W.  
durbar *darbār* O.  
dust *xāwera* Pš, *gard* O, P, *čārk* P,  
*kōrgar*, *šot* S, *šot* W, *sjt* Š.  
dust-storm *γubār* P, Y, S, Š, *xākbāt*,  
*air* P, *kundūt* Y, *γobār* W.  
dwarf-palm *mazirāi* O<sup>1</sup>.  
dwell, to *osedəl*, *pre-mištəl* (v. *mešta*) Pš.  
dye, a kind of *čukār* S.  
dyke *wand* (v. *wandanai*) Pš, *bānd* S,  
*boda* Y.

## E

eager *zurthō* P.  
eagle *hukāb* P, *ukāb*, *kvālyereno*, *karyoz* Y,  
*aqāb*, *šūz* S, *bispūr*, *uqōb*, *yīryōt* W,  
*tazarf* (f), et. *akāb* Š.  
ear *γwaž* Pš, *gōl* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *gū*, *gōš* P, *γū* Y,  
*γōl* S, *γīš* W, *γūž* Š.  
ear of corn *wažai* Pš, *xūša* O, P, Š, °O Y,  
*wēžai* O<sup>1</sup>, *sor*, *yūya* Y, *sōrox* S;  
of maize *sōtai* O<sup>1</sup>; of wheat *rāužc* Š.  
ear-ring *barywažai* (v. *γwaž*) Pš, *alka* O,  
*jumki* P, *kadrəno*, *γūāpikē* Y, *gušwōr*  
Y, W.  
earth *xāwera* Pš, *xāk* O, *bhāy* P, *γuroi* Y,  
*šot* S, *šot* W, *sjt* Š; the *zmaka* Pš,  
*bummā* O, *bummō* O<sup>1</sup>, *dharam* P,  
*zəmin* Y, *za*° S, W, *wəxs* S, *zemād*  
[not *ā*] Š. Cf. ground, soil, dust.  
earthcoloured *xaki* Y.  
earthquake *zilzilō* O<sup>1</sup>, °a P, *hanu* P,  
*šišo*, *zibijim* Y, *ziležim* S, *zaminžəm*  
S, W, *zulzulā* W, *zaminjumb* Š.  
ear-wax *γōi-kizyō* Y.  
earwig *gurgutāi* O<sup>1</sup>.

east *āstāb bardmadam* S, *mašriq* S, W.  
 easy *āsān* P, Y, S, *subuk* O, P, *askān* Y.  
 eat, to *xwār* Pš, *xr-* O, *wangēw-* P,  
*xār-* P, Š, *xōr-*, *pərxāw-* Y, *xwār-* S,  
*yāw-* W, *fur-*, *xā-* Š.  
 eatable *xaranē* P.  
 eating *xurda* O, *xūr* P.  
 eaves, skirting boards of *prəšū* Y.  
 eclipse *gra* h Y.  
 edge *muz*, *brūš* O, *kenāra* P, *sām* W.  
 effect *ijrā* P.  
 egg *hōya* Wn 168, *hā* Pš, *supāl*, *wulk* O,  
*ōlk* O<sup>1</sup>, *ēx* P, *ayur* Y, *ālik*, *təx-*  
*məry* S, *ury*, *falez* W, *tarmurx* Š.  
 egg-shell *pučala-i ērika* P.  
 eight *ot* Wn 158, *at(ə)* Pš, *āšt* O, *hāšt*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *ōšt* P, *ašco* Y, (*h*)ot S, *hat* W,  
*wašt* Š.  
 eighteen *aštēs* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *aštōs*, *hašda* P,  
*hōtādos* S, *ašda* W.  
 eighty *atā* Wn 159, *atiā* Pš, *cār-jistu* O,  
*aštāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *cār yustak* P, *aštād* S.  
 either—or *yā* S, *xō—xō*, *yō—yō* W.  
 elbow *cangal* Pš, *ārunj* O, P, *inj* S,  
*enj* Š, *cangal* O<sup>1</sup>, *razn* Y, *bāndik*,  
*wusuk* S, *būrt*, *kirkon*, *orinj* W,  
*wištjērn* Š.  
 elder *mašar* Pš; (greater) *xušt* Y.  
 elegant *nāzanīn*, *xərimān* P.  
 eleven *yaulas* (v. *yau*) Pš, *āandas* O,  
*sāndas* O<sup>1</sup>, *z(u)wēs* P, *losyū*, *yōzda* Y,  
*kədos* S, *das-iu* W, *dis-at-yāw* Š.  
 ell *gaz* O, P, Y, S, Š.  
 embankment, field *štr-mōl* O. Cf. *dyke*.  
 embers, v. coal, live.  
 embrace [*y(u)š* Wn], *yeš* Pš, *yāny* O,  
*bayalkāzi*, *cangāu* P, *ayūš* Y,  
*kačāk* S.  
 embrace, to *nəḍavn-* W.  
 emerge, to, v. come out.  
 imprisoned : *ptrəmd-o* Y.

empty *taš* Pš, *xāli* O, P, S, W, Š, *ē* Y,  
*tusk* O, *təs* W, *təs* Š.  
 empty, to *na-* Y, *təš kən-* S, *tes-* Š.  
 encouragement *dilāsā(i)* P.  
 end *ōxer* S, W.  
 endurance *takat* S.  
 enemy *dušman* O, P, S, *on* Y, *mudāi* P,  
*dāšman* W.  
 enemies, possessing *dušmandār* P.  
 enmity *dušmanī* P.  
 engaged *māmūr*, *maṅgīr* P.  
 engagement *wāda* P.  
 enough *bas* P, S.  
 entangled, to be *pargōš-* W.  
 enter, to *wis-* O, *dar zē-* P, *ti-* Y, *dēd-*,  
*axtād* S, *čorm-* W.  
 entertainment *mazāk* P.  
 entire (ox) *wušeng* W.  
 entrails *brāi*, *larmin* Pš, *rōda* O, *yīš'i*,  
*larmin* O<sup>1</sup>, *rūdā* P, *dāl-xāgar* Y,  
*zānžak* S. Cf. *guts*.  
 entreating *arz*, *minnat* P.  
 entrust, to *pāslawul* Pš, *supār-* P, *pīzam-*  
 Y, *spār-* S.  
 entrusting *supāriš* P.  
 envy *wiyār* Pš.  
 epilobium, willow-herb *suruxsāc* Y.  
 equal *siāl* Pš, *barābar* P, Y; (in weight)  
*tuāl* Pš.  
 eructate, to *kai ken-* S.  
 eructation *aržai* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *ararōy* Y, *arək* S.  
 essence *ain* P.  
 even *ga* O.  
 evening *nmāšām* (v. *nmānj*) Pš, *māšām* O,  
*šām* P, Y, S, W, *xuftan* Y, *z(u)šēr* S,  
*pīrz* W, *šūm* Š.  
 eveningstar *stur-zōyo* Y.  
 every *ar* O, Š, *har* P, Y, S, *hōr* S.  
 every day *rūzi* P.  
 everyone *harkī* P.  
 everywhere *harkū* P.



evil *bad* O.  
 ewe, v. sheep.  
 exactly *fakat*, *sal* P.  
 excellence *fazl* P.  
 except *γaira* P, *bayair* O, P, *bēyāri* S.  
 exchange *badal*, *sarbadal* P.  
 excited, to be *šūr*- P.  
 excrements, human *γul* Pš, *gūl* O, P,  
*gūt* O<sup>1</sup>, *γoh* Y, *guh* S, *gi* W. *γaθ*,  
*šāfc* Š. Cf. dung.  
 exempted *pəl* Pš.  
 exertion *stam* Pš.  
 excursion *sail* P.  
 excuse *urər* P, *nucāre* Y.  
 exhausted *hājes* P.  
 exiled *farār* P.  
 existence *hast* P.  
 expanded *wēr* Pš.  
 expel, to *nišind*- W.  
 expense *talaf* O, *xarē* P, S.  
 expensive *kimaṭi* P.  
 explanation *bayān* P, *tagbīr* Y.  
 explode, to *šparuv*- W.  
 explore, to *šanəl* Pš.  
 extend, to *rūr*- W.  
 extended *pan* O.  
 extinguish, to *gul*- O<sup>1</sup>, *wuziā*- Y, *niv*- W,  
*:wizud* Š.  
 extinguished *aṭvān* Y, *gul* O, P.  
 eye *stərg(a)* Wn 159, *starga* Pš, *ciml* O,  
*cōm* O<sup>1</sup>, *dida*, *teč* P, *cam* Y, *cām* S,  
*čāšm* W, *cim* Š; (of a needle) *swamb*  
Wn 161, *swam* Pš, *sim* O<sup>1</sup>.  
eyeball *lēma/ə* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *tēiko* Y.  
eyebrows *wērūje/a* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *abrū* O, S,  
<sup>o</sup>δ P, *kāš* P, *vri/ə* Y, *vrič* S, *cemis*(?),  
*vərau* W, *vərūž* Š.  
eyelashes *bāno*(v. *pāna*) Pš, *muja* P, S, *pēlek*,  
*penācko* Y, *mijāš*, *pəlū*, *pātk* W, *pūfc* Š.  
eyelid *rezma* Pš, *palkāk* O, *pātiš* S,  
*kək* W. Cf. eyelashes.

## F

face *max* Pš, *mux* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *rū* P, *rūi* Y,  
*rō* S, *pec* W, *pic*, *pēšānē* Š. Cf.  
cheek.  
facing *ruz ba* P.  
fade, to *permər*- W.  
faded *mām* (v. *mārl*), *spor*, Pš, *māk* O,  
*jingar* O<sup>1</sup>, *hušk* P.  
fair (market) *maila* P.  
fairy *pari* O, P, *parisāt* Y.  
faithless *biwesā* P.  
faithlessness *biwafāi* P.  
falcon *bāša* Pš, *γurzanq* O<sup>1</sup>, *bāz* P, S,  
*puzē* Y, *bāša* Y, W, Š, *čauli*, *bowurž*  
W, *šāin* Š, <sup>o</sup>nī P.  
fall, to *lweḍəl*, *pre-watəl* (v. *prā*-) Pš,  
*γūz*- O, *γwaz*- O<sup>1</sup>, *čar*- P, *čad*-, *tič*- Y,  
*at*- S, *wāz*- S, W, *palan*- W, *wāš*- Š;  
(as leaves) *ražedəl* Pš, *spūcau-wēk*,  
*xul-wēk* O.  
fall in, to *drabəl* Pš.  
fallen *prot* Pš.  
falling *γalt* S.  
falsehood *palma* Pš.  
family *kor*, *koyma* Pš, *ulus*, *aulāt*, *ayāt*,  
*xis* P, *ažyāl*, *nəfs* Y.  
famine *qāti* P, *žondokī* S.  
famous *manšahūr* P.  
fancy *xiyāl* P.  
far *lire*, *wrāya* Pš, *pēc* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *durin* P,  
*dīr* S, *šir* W, *šar* Š; distant *prat* Pš,  
*lūro* Y.  
fart *γər* (v. *γara*), *pəs* Pš, *puska*, *tiz* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pilyo* Y, *čos* S.  
fart, to *pil*- Y, *tor*- S.  
fast a. *rānjik* W.  
fast n. *roža* Pš, *rūzo* Y, *rečey* W.  
fat (adj.) *corb* Pš, *čixač*, *ruč* O, *čxač* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*čārbi* P, *farbo*, *γafs*, *laydik* Y, *mās* S,  
*γāfc* Š. Cf. stout, thick.

fat n. *wāzda*, *γwēz* Pš, *γwēzd* O<sup>1</sup>, *čārbū*, *γāzd* P, *hoč*, *səbrim*, *wāzd* Y, *čabrū*, *farbe*, *wəst* S, *čarvi*, *γip* W, *čārve*, *rag* Š. Cf. greasy.

fat (of the kidneys) *γoz* Pš.

fat-tailed *dumbi* P.

father *piyār* Wn 160, *plār* Pš, *pē* O, *piē* O<sup>1</sup>, *bāw*, *dāda* P, *tāt* Y, S, W, *pedār* S, *dād*, *ped* Š.

father and son *bāwehā* P.

father-in-law *szar* Pš, *xusur* O, Y, Š, *xa*<sup>o</sup> P, *xsir*, *xōšāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *xosər* S, *xə*<sup>o</sup>, *šurs* W.

fatherless *bibāw* P.

fathom *kulač* Y, *kələč* S.

fault *aib*, *yalat* P, *äib*, *xatāi* Y.

favour *marasta* Pš.

fawn *kablai* Pš.

fear *wēra* P, *bim*, *berkhō*, *tars*, *xaif* P, *trōs* S, *šāš* Š.

fear, to *tarhedəl* Pš, *γuš* O, *šār*, *γuš* O<sup>1</sup>, *berkh* P, *dəro* Y, *k(ə)rās* S, *wəšiy* W.

feast *mēmānī* P, *šār* P, Š, *wōtuk* S.

feather *baya*, etc. (v. *pāya*), *paxa* Pš, *parr* O, P, S, W, *puxai*(?) O<sup>1</sup>, *pōn* P, *pūqā* Y, *pār* Š.

feel pain, to *rič* W.

fell, to *kər*, *xap* Y.

felt *lamcai* Pš, *lamsai* O<sup>1</sup>, *namō*, *namat* P, *livzin*, *nāmyo*, *yiston* Y, *numōš* S, *yiftn* W, *namad* Š.

felt-pad (under the saddle) *dakuša* S, *iryal*, *jaofl* W.

female *māda* P, W, *šicak* P, *šiyō* Y, *šec* S, *sətrei* W.

fester, to *xūyedəl* Pš.

festered v. inflamed.

festival *maila* P, *mailis* Y, *iš* S. Cf. feast.

fetch, to *war* O.

fever *taba* Pš, *tebba* O, *tau* P, *idou* Y, *tav* S, *tablarzā* S, W, *andav* W, *tabak* Š.

fever, to have *leš* P.

fidelity *wafā* P.

field *γanir*, *kešta* P, *saxmo* Y, *zamin* S, *wūndr* W, *zenc* Š; cultivated *ābātī* O, *xāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *ābādī* Y, *dēkani* S, *kštā* W, *kšt*, *kašta*, *šibc* Š; (open) *pungie* O<sup>1</sup>.

field, section or division of a *zgan* O.

fiery *dam* P.

fifteen *pinzlas* Pš, *panjēs* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pačs* P, *pōnzda* Y, *pōnzdos* S.

fifth *pōnč/jumī* P.

fifty *panjos[t]* Wn, Pš, *panjastu* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pinjā* P, *pa*<sup>o</sup> S, *lūcistolos* Y, *p'insəšis* Š.

fig *injar* Pš, *injir* O<sup>1</sup>, *kocito* Y.

fight *jagra* O, *šaxa* O<sup>1</sup>, *šang* Y, *ded* S, Cf. battle, war.

fighting *gēnč* O<sup>1</sup>, *balwā(n)* S.

file *šār* Y, *suhān* P.

fill into, to *šenj* W.

fill up, to (of river) *span* W.

film over the eye *pul* Pš.

filter, to *šacūv* W.

filth *raš* Pš.

find, to *mōm* Wn 158, *mündəl* Pš, *waw* O, *wōw* O<sup>1</sup>, *γun* P, *āwir* S, *gōt*, *parvč(y)* W, : *vūd*, *deriyam* (for \**veriyam*) Š.

find place, to *wuj* Y, *wuc* S.

fine (adj.) *māhīn* P, *māida* S, *nāzūk* Š.

fine n. *jurm* P.

finger *n'gūt* Wn 161, *gūta* Pš, *angušt* O, P, *n'angušt* O<sup>1</sup>, *γušt* P, *panjā* P, S, *oguščo* Y, *ingit* S, *yāngəl* W, *āngišt* Š; (index) *čoromī* *oguščikō*, *čarangušē* Y; little *kilk'ust* P, *riza* *oguščiko* Y, *zelikik* Š; middle *mənzangušt* O, *malanē* *oguštigo* Y; the five *mangul* (v. *gruf*) Pš; space between *gruf* Pš.



- finger-nail v. nail.  
 finger-ring, v. ring.  
 finally *âxir* O, *âxer* (ul-amr) P.  
 finished *adât*, *lhâš*, *tamâm* P, *tayâr* Y, *xalâs* Y, S.  
 fire *aur* Wn 160, (< \*âtr-) or Pš, *rûp* O, *rôcân* O<sup>1</sup>, *âr*, *rhînê* P, *yûr* Y, *šnâi* S, *râxnig* W, *yâc* Š.  
 fire, to set—to *braz* O, *dar dah* P, : *guwêd*- Y. Cf. kindle.  
 fireplace *uryulâ* Wn 160, *or-yâlai* (v. *yâlai*), *borjal*, *nyarai*, *dorbalai* (v. *dre*) Pš, *dëgdân* O, *dî* S, *yrâi*, *nyarâi* O<sup>1</sup>, *gapâr* P, *livdên* Y, *digdân* S, *dildung*, *çîrf* W, *kêçarak* Š; board enclosing the- *taxtabandê* Y.  
 firewood *largai*, *daça* Pš, *dyûr* O, *dyûr* O<sup>1</sup>, *kôr*, *zêx* P, *izma* Y, *êub*, *yêz* S, *çûz* W, *iz* Š; pile of *lažino* Y.  
 first *çurmbat* Pš, *aw(w)al* P, Š, *awwalin* P; (adv.) *ewlâki* S.  
 first watering *xâkâv* Š.  
 fish *kêz* Wn 168, *kab* Pš, *mâi* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *mâhi*, *masê* P, *kap* Y, *môl* S, W, *mâye* Š; uneatable *kôrmahî* P, *kar-yasp* Y.  
 fist *mit* Wn 168, *muŧa(i)* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *muŧ* P, W, *mîšê* Y, *mê* S, *gawust*, *mêst* W, *mut* Š.  
 fit *munâsib* P.  
 five *pinja* Pš, *pênc* O, *pênj* O<sup>1</sup>, *pônê* P, *pânš* Y, *pînê* S, *pânz* W, *p'ins* Š.  
 five braids, with *pônîbâf* P.  
 flag-stone *pistû-yar* Y.  
 flame *lambo*, *şuylo* O<sup>1</sup>, *awarxo* Y, *rauŧ* W.  
 flame up, to *pišing*- W. Cf. kindle.  
 flank *pâlû* S. Cf. side.  
 flat *çit*, *sat* Pš, *sam* O<sup>1</sup>, *pistû* Y, *maidân* S, *amwâr* Š. Cf. plain.  
 flattery *žâna* Pš.  
 flavour *maza* P. Cf. taste.  
 flea *wrêža* Pš, *kaik* O, P, S, *šrak* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ruê* P, *friyo* Y, *kaig*, *špêrdânj* W.  
 flee, to *paredâl*, *têl*, *taŧtedâl*, *çyâstâl* Pš, *tiŧ*- O, *auz*, *lawak*, *çaçak*- P, *lûr*-, *çyal*- Y, *jih*- S, *rêd*- W, *recid*- Š; to make s.o. *tiŧaw-çk* O, *mahmizâ*, *lurê*- Y.  
 flesh, v. meat.  
 flight *kâl* P.  
 flint *çumax* Y, *çaxmax* S.  
 flock *yele* Pš; (of lambs) *olê* Pš. Cf. herd.  
 flood *niyûz* Pš, *sêl* P, S, *sêlâw* P, *sîl*, *tulismâd*, *yongo* Y, *lâyâv* Š.  
 flood, to *werzar*- W.  
 floor *nax*, *ârdi* Y; part of *yôrê* W.  
 flour *orç* Pš, *mâr* O, *wârûn* P, *yârê* Y, *wuŧok* S, *yûmj* W, *yduŧj* Š; dried *bôrme* Pš; mulberry *piŧ* P, *talkân*, *tûi-puŧky* Y, *tût-pot* S, *piŧ* Š; wheat *dâça* O<sup>1</sup>; made fr. dried apples *puŧê* Y.  
 flow, to *wêh*- P, *zîd*- S, (*naŧtj*-) Š.  
 flower *gul* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, Š, *gel* S, *gêl*, *sprêj* W; full blown *brang* O<sup>1</sup>; name of a *lâltâq* P, *gulsambarê*, *milkonçî*, *nêvyiko*, *xaxâlîç* Y, *çûj*, *šînšûd* Š.  
 flower-bed *xiâban* Y.  
 flute *špelai* Pš.  
 fly *mêç* Wn 159, *maç* Pš, *mangas*, *maŧi* O, *miŧi* O<sup>1</sup>, *maças* P, *moçuso* Y, *paŧê* S, *maks* W, *çangîn* Š.  
 fly, to *wurzedâl*, *owatâl* Pš, *parr*- O, *rhâz*- P, *vrêf*-, *wurafs*-, *çyîl*- Y, *araz*- S; : *rewuŧ* Š; to make to *mahmizâ*- Y.  
 fly up, to : *wuŧkyô* Y.  
 foal, v. colt.  
 foal, donkey's *tiya-xarak* S.  
 foam *kaf* P, W, *xêf* Y, S, *xûf* W, *xîf* Š.  
 fodder v. grass.  
 fog, v. mist.  
 fold *bray* Pš.

- fold, to *palašt* O.  
 fold (sheep), to *tanē* W.  
 foment, to *tabəl* (v. *taba*) Pš.  
 food *nuzarai* Pš, *xur(r)āk* P, Y, *tām* Y,  
*xūruk* S, W, *tahām* S; distribution  
 of—at a feast *xādem* Y.  
 foolish, v. *stupid*.  
 foot *špa* Wn 162, *pša* Pš, *pāt* O, *pārī*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *qadam* P, *pā* P, Š, *palo* Y, *pūd* S,  
*pūd* W, *pād* Š; (of a hill) *dāmōnē* Y;  
 upper part of *pušt-i pā* S; sole of  
 the *štānān polo* Y.  
 foot-chain *pičaur* O<sup>1</sup>, *zāclāna* P.  
 footprint *pal*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *paījāl* P, *pol*, *wulid*  
 (v. Zar.) Y, *layat* S, *pād* W.  
 for *kī* O, *kun* P, *nā*, *po* Y, *be* S, *ke* W.  
 for the sake of (da)pāra Pš, *pārak* O,  
*peš* P.  
 force *zūr(i)* P.  
 forcibly *mhākam* P.  
 ford, a *guzar* P, Y, S, *ovd*, *pilf* Y, *tort*  
 W, *pūd*, *trōke* Š.  
 fore-arm *cangal* Pš, *bazar* O, *dōst* S.  
 fore-hair *kajeki* O, *hulbar* P, *parčam* Y.  
 fore-head *wuēwulai* Pš, *pəf* O, *piṭ* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pisār*, *pišānī* P, *pē*<sup>o</sup> S, *pšānē* Y,  
*pišōna*, *ruk*, *tāpik* W.  
 foreign *begāna* P, Y.  
 fore-leg *yārmē* Y.  
 foremost *tariwāl* P.  
 forenoon *čāst* P.  
 forest *jaggal* P, S, W, *z*<sup>o</sup> Y, *kēsina* Y,  
*jiṅgāl* Š.  
 forget, to *fərmo-* Y, *fərnis-* S, *ramuṣ-* W,  
*renēs-* Š.  
 forgetting *šramot* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *nhāmur*, *farā-*  
*muṣ* P.  
 forget-me-not *šuvazī* Y.  
 forgive, to *baxš-* P, *gvēr-* Y.  
 forgiven *pəl* Pš.  
 forgotten *her* Pš.  
 fork, v. winnowing-fork.  
 form *sūrat* P.  
 former *gahina* P.  
 formerly *wrāte* Wn 169, *awāl*, *tərmis* W.  
 fort *kala* P, *lizo* Y, *qalā* Y, S. Cf. castle.  
 fortunate *mubārak* P.  
 forty *calwešt* Pš, *caštu* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čel* P, Y, S,  
*luwist* Y.  
 forward *apače* P, *prūt* W.  
 found *paidā* O.  
 fountain v. spring.  
 four *calor* Pš, *cār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čōr*, *čār* P,  
*čšir* Y, *čšūr* S, *čšūr* W, *cafor* Š.  
 four days ago, hence, v. day.  
 four-hundred *cūṇ-sō* Wn 161/3.  
 fourteen *cūārlas* (v. *calor*) Pš, *carēs* O,  
*cōres* O<sup>1</sup>, *čōrda* Y, *čā*<sup>o</sup> S.  
 fourth *čōrum/gā* P.  
 fowl, v. hen.  
 fox *lēmbar* (v. *lēm*), *spalam* Pš, *rōbā*  
 O, W, *rawas* O<sup>1</sup>, *rōbā*, *rūyasōk* P,  
*rūso* Y, *cōres* S, *naxčir* W, *rupsak* Š.  
 fraud *hila*, *mākr*, *rēw* P.  
 free *xalās* O, P, *yālā* P.  
 free, from sorrow *biyam* P.  
 free will *extiyār* P.  
 freeze, to *čiy* Y.  
 fresh *tānda* Pš, *šūr* O, *nō*, *nauca*, *lāza* P.  
 Friday *juba* P.  
 friend *mal* Pš, *imbāl*, *marzā* O, *dūst* P,  
 Y, S, W, *handam* P, *yār* P, Y, *aziz*,  
*merabōn* W, *āšnā* Š.  
 friendship *selwa* Pš, *āšnāi*, *dōsti* P.  
 friendliness *mehrabānī*, *xūbi* P.  
 fright *lor*<sup>2</sup> Pš. Cf. fear.  
 frighten, to *yušaw-* O, *yušre-* O<sup>1</sup>, *berkhēw-*  
 P, *drawā-* Y.  
 frightened *halapata* P.  
 frog *šlānda* Pš, *šōk* O, S, *marjūy* O,  
<sup>o</sup> *šy* O<sup>1</sup>, *bakā*, *γūk* P, *azuzyo* Y, *moγ-*  
*dōk* S, *mukuduk* W, *širbij* Š.



from *la*<sup>2</sup>, *na*<sup>2</sup>, *tar* Pš, *az* P, W, Š, *taš*,  
*ze* P, *že*, *zo*, *žo* Y, *ca* S, W.  
 from the presence of *dālī* P.  
 from there *cān* W.  
 front-tooth *kalagi danān* P.  
 frost *yax* S.  
 frostbitten *pčio* Y.  
 fruit *mēwa* P, S, W, *phōy* P, *mīwa*,  
*vory* Y; of briar *axri-gula* Y; (ripe,  
 soft) *fšii* Y.  
 fruits, dried *noql* P.  
 fruit-tree *mīwayē* Y.  
 fry, to *verit-aoul* Pš, *vareš* W.  
 frying pan *čimdērio* Y.  
 full *dāk* O, *thar* P, *pīr* Y, *pur*, *takt* W,  
*lap* Š.  
 full-moon *čadōs* P.  
 funeral *jenāsa* P.  
 fur-cap *talpak* S.  
 fur-coat *yška* Y, *rušt* S.  
 furze *kačō* P.  
 furze-gatherer *kačōarak* P.  
 future world, the *āxirat* O.

## G

gait *čimō* P.  
 gall *rasicalai* Pš.  
 gallop *čarxaiz*, *duq<sup>6</sup>lāč* S.  
 gallop, to *bəduwōn* S.  
 game said, *šekār* P, *naš* S. Cf. hunting,  
 play.  
 gang of robbers *tāy* Pš.  
 gap *wat* Pš; in a dam *dar-yol* (v. *yālai*)  
 Pš.  
 garden *bāy* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š, *bāxča* P, *baça* Y,  
*bōy* W; small *bayake* Y.  
 gardening *bāyčōnī* P.  
 garlie ["moorzha" Wn], *ūža* Pš, *sēr* O,  
*sir* P, S, *bīn* P, *užnu* Y; wild chive  
*latrak* Y.

garment *jāma* P.  
 gate *daricāza* S.  
 gathering *žalsa* S.  
 gazelle, v. deer.  
 gem *γamai* Pš.  
 general *jarnēl* P.  
 get, v. find.  
 ghee, v. clarified butter.  
 giddy *ženayeri* Y.  
 gift *baxšiš*, *piškaš*, *sauyāt*, *širini*, *xirai* P,  
*werga* Y, *pāltaxčē* Š (wrong transl.  
 Notes Shgh., cf. Lentz, Pamir-Dial.  
 188).  
 ginger *šunq* Pš.  
 girdle, round iron- *pastē* Y. V. baxter.  
 girl *čvara* Wn 168, *jinaš*, *peyla*, *tūng* Pš,  
*dukā* O, *dūkō* O<sup>1</sup>, *kaniz*, *kašte* P,  
*šinamia* Y, (*h*)*šcāk* S, *pərcōd* W;  
 (small) *kaštōč* P, *kinčākā* Y.  
 girdle *tang* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 girth *tang*, *trok* Y, *trāng* W, *terang* Š.  
 give, to *l*- Wn 167, *lāl*, [*war-kyāl*], *šandəl*  
 Pš, *baš*-, *šir*- O, (*šrūk*) O<sup>1</sup>, *baxš kan*-,  
*dah*- P, *dāl*- Y, *dāy*- S, *rand*- W,  
*šā(š)* Š.  
 glacier *šayoz* Y, *yaz* W.  
 glance *nazar* P. Cf. look.  
 glass *šišō* Y, *istakān* S.  
 glans penis *čula* Y.  
 glide, to *šicahedəl* (v. *šicai*) Pš, *šmuš-vēk* O.  
 Cf. slide.  
 glitter, to *bruš-vēk* O.  
 glove *destkaš* P.  
 glue *šrista* O, *s<sup>2</sup>trikēm* Y.  
 gnaw, to *šowul* Pš, *šuw*- W.  
 go, to *dym*- Wn 159, *wiyār* Wn 160,  
*drūmēdəl*, (*lāyāl*), *tlāl* Pš, *caw*- O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*čh*-, (*h*)*im*-, *par*-, *wēh*- P, *oy*-, *šui* Y,  
*š*-, *tōyd* S, *čāw*-, *rəč*-, *tuk*- W, *sāw*-,  
*tiz*- Š; (imper.) *muš* P.  
 go, to cause to *caw*- O.

go away, to *γarz* Wn 167.  
 go in, to *dēd* S.  
 go out, to *watəl* Pš, *nis* O, *nī* P, *nēz* S, *niwiz* W.  
 go round, to *ram* P, *wəniž* S.  
 goat *wuza* Pš, *bākri* O, *wz* O<sup>1</sup>, *buž*, *stūr* P, *vzo* Y, *buz* S, W, *bēdk*, *vz* S, *tily* W, *vaz* Š; he *wuz* Pš, *buz* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *narbuž* P, *ferāma*, *nar-baz*, *vaza* Y, *čut*, *kata*, *narvaz* S, *buč(ak)*, *nar-tuy* W, *bučak* Š; young *črpiš* W; young he *česān* Pš; young she *royot* W. Cf. kid.  
 goat (wild) *trouū* Y.  
 goats and sheep *rižayak* Y. Cf. cattle, small.  
 goat's down *marylam* W.  
 goat's hair *oziyne* (v. *wuz*) Pš, *dāš*, *wuzyno* O<sup>1</sup>, *lirs*, *vōz-yūnay* Y, *šōdx* S, *buzmūi*, *šrrs* W, *šōč* Š.  
 goat's pen *špəl* O<sup>1</sup>, *tarjo* Y, *šād* W.  
 goatskin *wēn* (v. *wuz*) Pš. Cf. skin.  
 goatskin bag *yūndai* (v. *yūnde*) Pš, *izē* Y.  
 Cf. skin, inflated.  
 goat-track *roy* Y.  
 go-between *rebār* Pš, *dallāl* P.  
 god *xudāi* Pš, O, P, Š, *Allā* P, *Xəda(i)* Y, *xəda* S, *xudoi* W.  
 going *čhō* P, *rawdn* Š.  
 goitre *yur* Pš.  
 gold *sərazar* (v. *sūr*), *ziyar zar* (v. *ziyar*) Pš, *tola* O, *sūr-zār* O<sup>1</sup>, *zar* P, *sucorum* Y, *till* Y, S, W, Š.  
 golden *tolāi* P.  
 gold coin *ašerafi* Y.  
 golden oriole *čkalpio* Y.  
 good *š* Pš, *šir(r)* O, *sir* O<sup>1</sup>, *bakār*, *kāri* P, *nēk* P, S, *xūb* P, S, W, *baf*, *yašē* Y, *fri* S, *bašant* Š.  
 goodness *kārigi*, *wibi* P.  
 good, to appear *γearš-vek* O.  
 goods *māl* O, Y, *asbāb*, *sāmān* P.

goose *zāya* Pš, *mullākriya* Y, *kāz* S, *qōz* W.  
 gourd *kašū* S.  
 governor *ākim* O, *hā°* P, *ākum* S.  
 government service *sarkāri* P.  
 graceful *xērīmān*, *xērāmān* P.  
 grain *γallā* O, S, W, *γals* O<sup>1</sup>, *biž* P, *xosto* Y, *yōu* Y, S, *dūnik* S, *žau* W; (single) *dānā* O, *phōr* P, *nānož*, *tuym* Y, *tēy(?)m* S, *tuzm* W; (parehed) *nine* Pš, *talca* P, *put* S, *pišt* W; (remaining on threshing floor) *rištalai* Pš; (unthreshed) *paixō* Y. Cf. seed.  
 grain (of wheat) *sepyak* Š.  
 grain-bin *dubul* P, *čāro* Y, *ambār*, *γōv* S, *γūv* W.  
 grandchild *nucasai* O<sup>1</sup>, *nawā* P, *nəvəs* S, *nəpūs* W.  
 granddaughter *nucasai* Pš, *nucoso* Y, *nebəs* Š.  
 grandfather *nīk* Pš, *zalpyē* O, *°iē* O<sup>1</sup>, *bābā*, *ghaṇḍ b°*, *kattabāu* P, *pap* Y, *pūp* W, *bāb* Š; (paternal-) *bobō* S; (great-) *γarnik* Pš.  
 grandmother *anā* Pš, *zalmāw* O<sup>1</sup>, *ghaṇḍ māci* P, *māmo* Y, *bibi* S, *mūn* W, Š.  
 grandson *mlēsa* Wn 162, *nucasai* Pš, *°ai* O, *nucsa* Y, *nəvəs* W, *nebās* Š; (great-) *karucasai* Pš.  
 grant, to *baš* O.  
 granting *člīn-ē* Š.  
 grape *mēwē*, *syūy* O, *syōy* O<sup>1</sup>, *dərāk* P, *angūr* P, Y, S, *agirdro* Y, *angūr* W, *angūrd* Š; (wild) *kvar* Pš.  
 grape-juice *buymoz* Y.  
 grapes, cluster of- *γōro* Y.  
 grasp *gir* P. Cf. seize.  
 grass *uš* Wn 167, *marya*, *wāš* Pš, *γwāši* O, *γwāsi* O<sup>1</sup>, *gihāi* P, *sauza* P, W, *wuš* Y, *giā*, *savza* S, *wiš* W, *wāš* Š; (a kind of) *sābah* Pš, *alafi* P, *sewuzuk* Y, *alaf* Š.



grasshopper, v. locust.  
 gratis *wiylā* Pš.  
 gravel *ḡyal* Pš, *xiriz* W.  
 graveyard *qabristān* O, P.  
 graze, to *carēdāl* (v. *car*), *powul* Pš, *ceraw*, *pay* O, *carēw* P, *bičirōn*, *loū* Y, *čarā ken*, *čarān* S; (abrade) *blošedāl* Pš.  
 grazing ground *tobalā* W. Cf. pasture.  
 greasy *čarbī* P. Cf. fat.  
 great, v. big.  
 greater (elder) *xušči* Y.  
 green *šin* Pš, *šin* O, *sābz*, *sauz* P, *sāuzē* Y, *sāwz* S, W, *sauja*, *sāw* Š.  
 Cf. blue.  
 green plant growing in ponds *obrai* Pš.  
 Cf. slime.  
 grey *sperā*, *xər* Pš, *yurūiraxg* Y, *bər* S, *būr* W; (blueish) *xing* S; (greenish) *xaki* Y, *xōki* W.  
 griddle *tāwē* S.  
 grief *zawr* Pš, *armān* P.  
 grieve, to *pašsedāl* Pš.  
 grind, to *aṇāl* (ṇr) Pš, *maṛ* O, *ēl* O<sup>1</sup>, *yāy* Y, *yūn* S, [*yān* Š].  
 grindstone *andra* O<sup>1</sup>, *yurzuṇo* Y. Cf. millstone.  
 grip *gīr* P.  
 grizzled *yeṣ* W.  
 groan *əhək* Y.  
 groan, to *kyof* Y.  
 groin *myāna* Pš, *yoṇut* W.  
 groom *mḡēlar* P.  
 ground *bummā* O, *kheṇ*, *dharam* P. Cf. earth.  
 ground (hollow piece of) *pūwā* O.  
 ground (open) *dašt* S. Cf. plain.  
 ground, ptc. *hinl-wāk* O.  
 ground, to be *sūledāl* Pš.  
 grow, to *waxš* Y, (intr.) *gūkən* S, *ḡ* car W.

guard *paira* P.  
 guard, to *dharēw* P, *pūy* W. Cf. protect, watch.  
 guardian *pairadār* P.  
 guest *mēlmūn* Wn 162, *melmā* Pš, *mē-mān* O, Š, *mehmān* P, S, *mi* O<sup>1</sup> Y.  
 guest-house *kōsxāna* P, *mimānxāna* W.  
 guilty *nāya* P.  
 guitar *rubāb* P, *tubūr* Y.  
 gum *šelmək* S.  
 gums *oraī* Pš, *wriyē* O<sup>1</sup>, *γūš-e danānika*, *pindar*, *penḡar*, *wirā* P, *°ē* S, *soṭkē*, *zōmbo* Y, *dān-pəḡf* S, *šendik*, *wēra* W, *kōm* Š.  
 gun *maltey* O, *miltēy* O<sup>1</sup>, *tofang* P, *tfak* Y, *miltəq* S, *mā* W, *can* Š; (European) *farang tfak* Y; (German) *jarmanī* P; (cannon) *tūp* P.  
 gun-powder *dārū* P, S, *dārui* Y, *dāwē* W, Š.  
 guts *kulma* Pš, *lirā*, *yīṣri*, *wōr* O<sup>1</sup>, *rūt* Y, *guhrū*, *rūda*, *ḡngər* W. Cf. entrails.  
 gutter *nāwa* Pš.

## H

hail *žalai* Pš, *°iē* O<sup>1</sup>, *jāli* O, *°a* P, Š, *šengeri* P, *mōyiki*, *žilo*, *žalabārān* Y, *žala* S, W, *mužək*, *šaxək* W, *mašək* Š.  
 hair *ūšt* Wn 159, *wēṣto* Pš, *dri* O, *d(ə)ro* O<sup>1</sup>, *dōš*, *gīnō*, *jāl*, *mūi* P, *γunia*, *kužke* Y, *γenōk* S, *γanī*, *ḡafš* W, *γūnj* Š; (single) *tār* P, *tāra* Y, *mūi* Š; (cut) *γōš* P; (long) *puṇo*, *°stūy* Y; (plaited) *ngaṣai* Pš; (fringe of) *pal* Pš; (on the body) *γūna*, *zumba* Pš, *mūi*, *rip* W; (of the pubes) *dērf* W; (woman's) *čunīē* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. lock of hair.  
 hair (goat's), v. goat's hair.  
 half *nemai* Pš, *nim* P, W, *nesp* P, *an-məf*, *parkand* Y, *kānd* Š.

- half-full *lomalen*, *malen*, *nimkalo*, *nimopir* Y, *nēmē* S.  
 half rupee *kirān*, *rhuš* P.  
 halter *kamand* P, *ingut* Y.  
 halting-place *manzil* W.  
 hammer *čukūš* O, *čakēk* O<sup>1</sup>, *bālukā* P, *baloko*, *košinē* Y, *balokē* S, *boleqa*, *xeyaz* W, *pulk* Š. Cf. sledge-hammer.  
 hamstring *š'ta-izikan* Y, *čangling* S.  
 hand *lās*, pl. *lāsto* Wn 162, *lās* PŠ, *dest* O, *dis* O<sup>1</sup>, *dōst* P, *last* Y, *dōst* S, *dast*, *lāst* W, *dust* Š; (back of) *čamba* Wn 167 (< Si.).  
 handful *muftai* O, *farzam*, *bamēa* P; (double) *mič* W.  
 handkerchief *rūimāl*, *dōsmāl* P.  
 handle *lāstai* (v. *lās*) PŠ, *destā* O, °ai, *kabzai* P, *dōsto*, *lastē* Y, *waš* W, *dastā* Š; (of a spinning wheel) *čar-xānuk* Y.  
 hand-mill *mečan* PŠ<sup>1</sup>, °in O<sup>1</sup>, *mučín* O, *garāt* P, *baydax*, *lingōn*, *yurzujo* Y, *karksang* S; (small, for salt) *yežio* Y; (wooden, for pounding gun-powder) *baydaxčuxo* Y.  
 hang, to *jaředəl*, *zangəl* PŠ, *lala-* O<sup>1</sup>, *žirōv-* W.  
 hang up, to *lamēw-* P.  
 hanging *auzān(d)* O, *aučzān* P, S, *lamō*, *tāla* P, *owezōn* Y, *awejān* Š.  
 happiness *xušāli* O, *xušwaxti* O, P, *xušānē* Y.  
 happy *xuš*, *xušāl* O, *xušhāl* P, *xušwaxti* P, W, *xušān* Y, *xoš* W.  
 hard *ney*, *šax* PŠ, *šing* O<sup>1</sup>, *yāwerti* P, *saxt* P, Y, S, *šax* Y, *kullax*, *šōx* S, *šux*, *tox* W, *xāš* Š.  
 hardness *saxti* P.  
 hare *soe* PŠ, *xargōš* O, °ōš P, °ūs Y, W, *sikak* O, *sa* O<sup>1</sup>, *khōrōgū*, *sahōk* P, *siy* Y, *sui* S, *sū* W, *šitum* [š°] Š.  
 harlot *kančani-* O, P, *yar* P, *kumā* Y.  
 harsh *bōš* PŠ.  
 harvest *deryok* S, *cāw*, *kišt* Š; (wheat) *yačm-lorovo* Y.  
 hash *kurma* P.  
 hashish *čars* P.  
 haste *bicari* P.  
 hat *šōpiē* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 hate *kinā* S, °a W.  
 hate, to *bōz kēn-* S, *bōz cār-* W.  
 have, to *larəl* PŠ, *dar-* O, *dēr-* P, *lār-* Y, *dēr-* S, *wēdər-* W, *dēr-* Š.  
 haversack *nāxta* Š.  
 hawk *bāšā* O, P, °ē S, *bašo*, *bāz*, *kirz-γal*, *lumciš* O<sup>1</sup>, *šāyin*, *sayūri* Y, *cācul* S, *čup* W, *karčapai* Š.  
 hay *wāšō* PŠ, *xēr* P, *γorj(?)* Š.  
 hay-stack *xērdān* P, *ušceno* Y, *uštin* S, *wōšdōn* W.  
 head *sar* PŠ, O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, W, *kal*, *sōr* P, *pusur* Y, *sōr* S, *kāl* Š.  
 head, top of v. top.  
 headman *ausakāl*, *malek* P, *arbab*, *čār-wəl* Y.  
 headstall *avzāl* S.  
 healthy *roy* PŠ, *bal* O, *jōr* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *salāmat* P, *tandrust*, *tāzo* Y, *bēfirišta*, *sihat* W, *jōr* Š.  
 heap *kat* PŠ, *rāš* Y; (of grain) *riyāša*, *wāna* PŠ. Cf. stack.  
 heap (of sheaves) *sosē* Y.  
 heap up grain, to *sēr ken-* Š.  
 hear, to *aur-* Wn 167, *ārwedəl* PŠ, *amar-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *harw-* P, *nəyuy-* Y, *apaxš-*, *šud* S, *kšūy-* W, *šen-* Š. Cf. listen.  
 heart *zrō* PŠ, *zli* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zur* P, *zli* Y, *ōvzui* S, *dil*, *pəzōv* W, *zārō* Š.  
 heat *brās*, *γarma* PŠ, *garmi*, *šundri* W.  
 heat, to *tāb-* P.  
 heaven *bešt* S, *behišt* W. Cf. sky.  
 heavy *drūd* PŠ, *wazmind* O, *grān* O<sup>1</sup>,



- girán P, ɣary Y, wazmín S, ɣʔrúŋg W, wazmen Š.
- hedge wārd Pš; (thorn-) parziñi Y.
- hedgehog ziŋgai (v. ziŋ) Pš, jarya O, sizgai O<sup>1</sup>, xarpuštak P, šü, šayur Y, šayor S, W, xarpuštak Š. Cf. porcupine.
- heel pūnda Pš, ɔ O<sup>1</sup>, pašna O, ɔno Y, khuri, pēšpā P, pāŋio Y, pāšnu. S, pōšna W, pērnak Š.
- heel-rope pul wāša Pš.
- heifer ɣunāji O, rəgüm W.
- height qadd P.
- height-sickness suđy W.
- hell dozax Pš, dā<sup>o</sup> S, W.
- helmet tay, xol Pš.
- help kumak(i) P, S, ɣārē Y.
- help. to kumak cār W.
- helpless nūlāj P, bičāra Y, bi<sup>o</sup> Š.
- hem laman, mayzai Pš, dāmən O<sup>1</sup>, ɔan S, avlānd, dāmənē, lamdo, madiri Y.
- hem, to nimil- W.
- hemp čars P.
- hen čirga Pš, kirzi O, ɔzi O<sup>1</sup>, kury P, kirio Y, kurčün, mākək S, kerk, mōk W, čai Š; (wild) kury-e dhāri P.
- henchman jellāt P.
- hence indawū O, mēn O<sup>1</sup>, cčend, enhāk P.
- hen-house ɣōst W.
- herd ramma O, P, romo Y; (of cows) pāda O, čārvā, galagāu S; (of goats) ramē S; (of horses) galla O, P.
- herd cattle, to čārān- S.
- here dale, rā Pš, inda O, ek(enhāk), ekestak, enhāk P, molo Y, mōđak) S, dərēm W, ude, yūdand Š.
- hermaphrodite šajūnak (v. šzja) Pš.
- hero mayanai Pš, pālacān P.
- heron tašja Y.
- hiccough silgiē O<sup>1</sup>.
- hidden ɣalai Pš, ɣolē, ɣūn(d) O, ɣalbi, peŋ P.
- hide, to fɣana- Y, pās va ken- S; (oneself) xax- P.
- hide, v. skin.
- high hask, lwaɣ, ucat Pš, čig O, O<sup>1</sup>, pabēga O, beland(i), rust, wakhē P, brlānd Y, ɔand S, W, wāc W, andēd(?) Š.
- hill bok, tapa Š. Cf. mountain.
- hillside sasto Y, pušta W; (steep) paifar, viščo Y.
- himself xusōr P.
- hinderance ar Pš.
- hindmost, the peština P.
- hindpart (of animals) špačkera Y.
- hinge, of a door v. doorhinge.
- hip suji O, suno O<sup>1</sup>, sēlji P, pēro Y, šuži S, ɣūyək, marsi (?), šūjiš, šūnj Y, sēvje, šūn Š.
- hip-bone šna Pš, hađq-e mēnikā P, mižistē, bɣok, da piščan bɣok Y.
- hire kerā P, ki<sup>o</sup> Š.
- hit zarb P.
- hither rā Pš, idal O<sup>1</sup>, mū-bō S, tərēm W, yiða Š.
- hoar-frost asaī Pš, pərx Y, šak W.
- hoe kaiaī, šaspār (v. spāra), Pš, kulangg O, P, kafān O<sup>1</sup>, šaspār P, kaland S, ɔdo Y.
- hold, to larəl Pš, ūr-uk O, dər P, iēdər- W. Cf. have.
- hole kōlak Wu 168, sūrai Pš, kē O, thōɣ P, surv Y, rus, sērv W, čāk, kōuɣj Š; (of the ear) ɣār O<sup>1</sup>, isroɣ, sōmbok S.
- hollow čiv O, gox Y; (below the sternum) kafēi Y.
- hollow piece of ground pūe<sup>o</sup> O.
- holly oak banj Y.
- home kālā (v. kōlāi) Pš.

honest *muzlis* S, *af-karkān*, *mālūndōr* W.  
honey *anglā* Wn 159, *gabina* Pš, *pīn*  
O, O<sup>1</sup>, *xīra-i zambūrika* P, *ag'mīn*  
Y, *šāt* Y, S, W, *asāl* S, W, Š.

honey-comb *pyāsa* (v. *zmany*) Pš<sup>1</sup>, *piāco*  
O<sup>1</sup>.

honour *ezat* P.

hoof *sua* Pš, *sumb* O, P, Y, Š, *kayawo*  
O<sup>1</sup>, *čogulī*, *šeflōc* Y, *samb* S, *sam* W;  
(cloven) *žongarai* Pš, *šilē* W.

hook *šāilē* Y.

hoopoe *denula* S.

hope *āmāšd* P, Y, *amēd/d* S, W.

hopeful *bāwar* S, *amēdvōr* W.

hopper of a mill *dāl* P, Y.

horn *šukār* Wn 162, *škar* Pš, *šāx* O,  
P, S, W, *sukar* O<sup>1</sup>, *šī* P, *šū* Y, *šou* S,  
*šou* W, *xāš* Š.

horse *ās* Pš, *yāsp* O, *yāsp* O<sup>1</sup>, *ōsp* P,  
*yasp* Y, *vōrōk* S, *yāš* W, *vārāj* Š;  
(red) *Jéran* P. Cf. mare, stallion.

horse clothing *prigān* W.

horse-dung, v. dung.

horse's load (half of) *būy* Š.

horseman, v. rider.

horse-neck *škyui* Y.

horse-race *paga* Y.

horseshoe *nāl* O, Š.

hospitality *melmastyā* (v. *melmā*) Pš.

hostage *yōšt* W.

hot *tāu* Wn 160, *tođ* Pš, *tōk* O, *tōk* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*dam*, *tapō* P, *prc*, *suzōn* Y, *garm*  
Y, S, W, *žōrm* S, *šundr*, *šin* W,  
*kaš* Š.

hour *sāt* O, P, Š, *garī* P, *sōat* W.

hourī *hūr* P.

house *borjal*, *kor*, *mena*, *mešta*, *xīna* Pš,  
*nēr* O, *nar* O<sup>1</sup>, *yus*, *kala*, *xāna* P,  
*kūei* Y, *xān* S, *xūn* W, *čid* Š; (two  
storied) *sinj* Y.

housewife *merman* (v. *mena*) Pš, *ceštena* O<sup>1</sup>.

houseowner, position of a *kafzudāi* S.  
how [*čorāng* Pš], *carāng* O, *zanēng* P,  
*čamin* Y, *čnā* S.

however *icālē* P.

how much/many? *cō* Pš, *cūn(d)* O, *čā*,  
*čeka* P, *čand*, *čamin* Y, *čomēnd* S,  
*cum* W, *cūnd* Š.

howl, to *varūy* W.

humble-bee *boburē* Y, *zəzōlog* S.

hump *keab* Pš, *kōpān* P, *kyrfo* Y, *kif* S,  
*kap* W.

hump-backed *čūyai* Pš.

hundred *ši* Wn 160, *sal* Pš, *sō* O, *sū* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pōnē* *yūštak*, *sō* P, *sad* P, Y, W, Š,  
*pānāwist*, *šōr* Y, *sād* S, *isād* Š.

hunger *lučāza* Pš, *gušnagl* O, *yurčagl* P,  
*žondokl* S.

hungry *icurza* Wn 161, *wažai* Pš,  
*xrunuk* O, *x<sup>u</sup>ranak* O<sup>1</sup>, *yurča* P,  
*waharaj*, (*w*)*ušlyo* Y, *žcondok* S,  
*mōrz* W, *mažjānj* Š.

hunter *pālawēn* S, *pālawēn* W.

hunting *škār* O, *škar* P, *škur*, *waina* Y,  
*šiw* Š.

hurt *augār*, *jak* O.

hurt, to *mač* P.

husband *māz* Wn 159, *mez* (v. *mafa-*  
*naī*), *caštan* Pš, *ce* O, *mālī* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*xā(i)* P, *šife* Y, *māl(ok)* S, *šāi*,  
*šauhar* W, *čār*, *šūmā* (?) Š.

husks *poky*, *sabūstaf* Y.

hut (on a mountain pasture) *xarwō* Y,  
*ktič* W, *krič* S.

hyena *kož* Pš.

## I

I *mā*, *rā*, *zə* Pš, *az* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, *mun* O, P,  
*ān* P, *mān*, *zo* Y, *mak* S, *icuz* W, Š.  
ibex *cičik*, *yukš* W; (male) *naxčēr* Y, Š,  
*šūmānē* Y, *rang* W; (female) *naxčēr*



- erto Y, *buz*, *merg* W. Cf. mountain-goat.  
 ice *yūx* O, O', Š, *karraz* O', *ix* P, *lax-  
sax* Y, *yax* S, *yič*, *yaz* W.  
 ice-house *yaxdān* P.  
 idiot *lūw* S.  
 idol *but* P, *bot* S.  
 idol-temple *butxāna* P, *bəḏ°* S.  
 idolatry *butparasti* P.  
 if *agar* P, Y, *ka* O, *wahgam* Y.  
 if not *nē čē* P.  
 ignoble *bisī* P.  
 ignorant *jel* Pš.  
 ill (sick) *nājer* O, P, Š, *ranjūr* O',  
*bēstō*, *bimār* P, *bē°* S, Š, *čayō* P,  
*lurwē* Y; (from fever) *kuf* S.  
 ill-advised *nažaxt* W.  
 illness *Provo* Y, *bēmāri*, *kassal* S, *bē-  
mōri* W.  
 immediately *psāt* Y.  
 immersed *šrūp* O.  
 impale, to *čormix* P.  
 impatient *blicar* P.  
 impatience *blicari* P.  
 impendent *bilažām* P.  
 impolite *bēadab* S.  
 impossible *šanda* Pš.  
 imprisoned *bandi* P.  
 in *či* Wn 161, *kē* Pš, *nē* O, *tar* P, S, Š,  
*ba* Y, *da* Y, W, *ma* S, *dar* W.  
 in all *xullas* P.  
 incite, to *ažiyil* Pš.  
 indigestion *ažer* Pš.  
 in front of, v. before.  
 in order that *tā* Y.  
 in time *bajāt* P.  
 inch, an *bamča* P.  
 inconsiderate *bīyawri* P.  
 incrustation *kpor* Y.  
 indeed *zu* P.  
 independent *xudextiyār* P.  
 individual *žaucai* Pš, *nafs* Y.  
 inflamed *xuřin* Pš, *šūm*, *xřind* O.  
 inflammation *phuyjō* P; (of the lungs)  
*šūš-dard* W. Cf. swelling.  
 inflated skin, v. mussuck.  
 informed *xabar* O, P, Y.  
 information *xabar* Y.  
 inheritance *mīrša* S, W.  
 injustice *haif* P, *zulm* W.  
 inkhorn *dewet* P.  
 innocent *bēyaib* S, *bēgunā* S, W.  
 innumerable *askarār*, *bihisāb* P.  
 insect, n. of an *seangū* O, *čalkırmo* Y,  
*xəuzt* W.  
 inside *zdare* Wn 169, [*danana* Pš],  
*darūn* P, S, (*n*)*adram* Y, *darūnya* Š,  
 insipid *škāt* Y.  
 instead of *hēwaz* P.  
 instep *rašan*, *šfina* Y, *puband*, *pušt-i-  
pā* S, *ce* (*pūd kaf*), *pēš-i-pā*,  
*tsaken* W.  
 intelligence *wūš* O, *aql* P.  
 intelligent *poh* Pš, *ušyār* O. Cf.  
 wise.  
 intention *benā*, *qast*, *mudā*, *nigat*,  
*xatir* P.  
 into *kī* O, *dar* P, *darūn*, *tro* Y.  
 intoxication *kaif* P.  
 inundation v. flood.  
 investigation *bībāxāst*, *surāy* P.  
 invisible *yaibi*, *yaibat* P.  
 invocation *duwā* P.  
 iron *čspnd* Wn 161, *osplna* Pš, Pš',  
*ain* O, *rō* O, O', *āhen*, *rū* P, *rispēn* Y,  
*āhūn*, *žpōn* S, *tiš* (?), *yīšn* W, *sepen* Š;  
 (made of) *āheni* P, Y, *āhanin* S.  
 iris *margas* Y; (of the eye) *cām-  
mordiktg* S.  
 irreconizable *nažan* Y.  
 irrigate, to *čād*-Y, (*veki*) *deh*-S, *wərwə*-W.  
 irrigated *xarob* Pš.

irrigation *arżino* Y, *ar-dičik* S; (first)  
*xōkova* Y, *xākāv* Š; (second) *dūva*,  
*livde* Y, *dāhāv* Š.

irrigation-channel *wāla* Pš, *jōi* O, *γicāi*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *trog-wēliko*, *wēliko*, *wolo* Y, *jovār*,  
*nār* S, *čormu*, *wād* W, *wēd* Š. Cf.  
 stream.

irrigation furrow *k'iš* Š.

irritate, to *zorēl* Pš.

is, v. be.

itch, to *kei* W.

itching *buxār* O, *garg* P, *lyoxē*, *xuri*,  
*xārišē* Y, *xurūš* S.

## J

jackal *giday* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, *šayāl* O, P,  
*šoyol* S.

jacket *kurfī* O, P, *korčē* Š; (woollen)  
*māucar* P.

jar *kūza* Y, *kōzē* S, *nēlād* W; (earthen)  
*kolālī* P, *sofo* Y.

jaw *wāca* Wn 169, *zāma* Pš, *alašd* O,  
 P, W, *zāmba* O<sup>1</sup>, *kuliko* Y, *alašē* S,  
*lišā* Š.

jaw-bone *kelidak* P.

jay *menākā* O<sup>1</sup>.

joint *mur* W, *bānd* Š.

joke *wašta* Pš, *mazāk* P.

journey *plā* Pš, *safar* Y.

jowar, v. maize.

joy *šādgārī* P. Cf. merriment.

Judas-tree v. arghawan.

judge *mumaiz* P, *qāzi* P, W, *kāzi* S.

jube-tree *sziyo* Y. Cf. *Senjet Darra* P.

jump *γor*, *trap* Pš, *xēz* O, *tōp* O<sup>1</sup>.

jump, to *wātāl* (v. *wurzedāl*) Pš, *xist*  
*kan* P, *ustušē* Y, *araz* S.

juniper *yovurso* Y, *arā*, *wōit* S, *yārs* W,  
*hambačē* Š.

just *insafdar* S, *odil* W.

justice *adālat* P, *insāf* S, *ādī*, *insōf* W.

## K

keep, to *sātāl* Pš, *ār* O, *dharēw* P.

kernel *zayai*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *mayz* P, Š, *širmālē* Y;  
 (pine-nut) *zwayak* O; (rice) *šamōx* O.

kettle *sofo tāl* Y. Cf. cooking-pot.

kettle (porridge) *kaḡkaḡo* Y.

key *kili* O, *kiliyāšt*: P, *kylēu* Y, *uškaz* S,  
*wušik* W.

khan *xān*, *xāwān* P.

kick, a *pišpāi* P.

kid *pšarlai*, *waryūmai* Pš, *buzāld* O,  
*gurū* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čey* W, *gičē* Š; (newborn)

*čana* Y, *šlōnōk* S; (one year old) *sēr-*  
*lūi* [Pš], O<sup>1</sup>, *takačār*, *šusara* P, *čānoγo*,

*frayomiy*, *narčān* Y, *rižuk*, *take* S;  
 (female during first year) *išten* P;

(female, one year old) *frayingo*, *prenjio*  
 Y, *frayom* S; (two years old) *dusara*,

*taka* P; (three years old) *šusara* P.

kidney [*baḡolāi* Wn], *pušta-warga* Pš,  
*gurda* O, P, W, *γulkak*, *zlikak*(?) O<sup>1</sup>,

*wulγa* Y, *gul*, *wolk* S, *waltk* W, *unj*  
 (*wušē*) Š.

kill, to *wēzen* Wn 160/6, *wa-šlāl* (v.  
<sup>o</sup> *šlāl*) Pš, *užnaw* O, *wāzn* O<sup>1</sup>, *u-*

*mēr* P, *mōz* Y, *kāl*, *šan* S, *čāx*,  
*šay* W, *kažē* Š.

killed *kušta* P.

kiln *wēzn* Pš.

kind, sort *qism* S.

kindle, to *šilaw* O, *bala*, *sil* O<sup>1</sup>, *lagēw*,  
*thēw* P, *tšfōv* Y, *pešin* S, *picer* W,

*pešin* Š.

king *bādšā* O, *pādšā* P, Y, S, W,  
*mištor* Y.

kingdom *pādšāhī* P, *malk* Y.

kingfisher *macixor* Y.

kinsman *ulus*, *xīš* P, *xēš* S, *xēš* Š.

kiss, a *mača* Pš, *pūč* O, *mačī* P, *boh* S,  
*bā*, *bām* W.



kiss, to *kəul* Pš, *čūs* P, *boh*-, *gof*- Y.  
kite *cār*, *kalmay*, *karčeyai* W.  
kitten *prškeze* Y, *pəšbaŋgi* S, *pišzəmān* W.  
knead, to *əyazəl*, (*kəc*-*mandəl* Pš, *mar*-,  
*mušaw*- O, *guy*- Y, *tun*-, *weri*- W.  
Cf. rub.  
knee *zūng* Wn 169, *zangūn* Pš, *zanšrak*  
(v. *zānū*) O, *zānū* O, P, *gəyfi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*zik* Y, *zung* S, *bərīn*, *zōnū* W, *zūnə* Š.  
knee cap *parvašīn* Y, *yēnak* Š.  
kneeling *duzānū* P.  
knife *čāra* Pš, *čārtkai* O, *kālīgak* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*čākū* O<sup>1</sup>, W, *kūčanōk*, *piškaus* P,  
*kəro* Y, *ki/ēl* S, *kəž*, *tasma-kaš* W,  
*čed* Š.  
knit, to *jōpa*- O<sup>1</sup>, *woj*- Y.  
knock, to *brazā*- Y.  
knock against, to *štrax*- W.  
knocking at the door *taxtax* O.  
knot *giriya* O, *yungdō* O<sup>1</sup>, *gerē* P, *gəro*-,  
*yurēx* Y, *gəri* S, *jirex*, *žerāx* W,  
*girē* Š.  
know, to *pažan*- O, *pān*- P, *diš*-, *vžān*- Y,  
*wəzūn*- Š. Cf. recognize.  
know thou *bedān* P.  
knowing *‘āgū* O, *āmuxta*, *dāninda*, *hi*-  
*lata* P.  
knowledge *elm* P.  
known *zda* Pš, *mālūm* O, *ayān* P, *mālūm*  
P, W, *mālēm* Y.  
knuckle *brök*, *čotē*, *kəox(i)-yaste* Y, *mer* W.  
knuckle-bone (used in a game) *aryund*  
Pš.  
kran (coin) *kirān* P.

## L

labour *kiō* Y.  
labourer (agricultural) *duhqān* Y.  
ladder *xarxəc* O<sup>1</sup>, *sulān*, *šor* P, *zind*  
P, S, *afšīnjo* Y, *šātūn* S, *waxār* W,  
*narvünd* Š. Cf. stairs.

ladder, rung of a *pokor* Y.  
ladle *avzano*, *avzaniko*, *narkafēi* Y.,  
*kāfē* S, *wəzūm* W. Cf. spoon.  
lagging behind *fərīnd*, *partāwai* S. Cf. left.  
lake *čand* O, *hānz* P, S, *haud* Y, *zoi/e*  
Y, W, *kūl* Š. Cf. pond.  
lakh, 100 000 *lak* P.  
lamb *icrai* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *lrai* O, *lyērāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*yarččūca* P, *icari*, *wārū* W, *wārg* Š;  
new born- *wərya* Y; female *wērak* S;  
f. one year old *wōryō*, *wōryiko* Y;  
male *worok* S; m. one year old *nar*-  
*worya*, *prasilanē* *icarē* Y.  
lame *xūž* Pš, *guł* O, *guđai* [Pš], O<sup>1</sup>,  
*kutčō* P, *šut(t)* P, Š, *lang* P, S, W,  
*šel* Y, *šal* S.  
lament *feyan* P.  
lamp *palta* [: wick] O, *čérūy*, *fānūs* P, *čirūy*  
Y, *čirūydlān* S, *corāue* Š. Cf. lantern.  
land, v. country, field.  
landslip *šot* W.  
lane *čdla* (v. *kəlai*) Pš.  
language *lauz* P, *vāžan* Y, *zəvūk* S. Cf.  
tongue.  
lap *čtž* Pš, *dāmen* P.  
lapis lazuli *lāžvər* Y.  
large, v. big.  
lasso *kamand* P.  
last *axir* O, *axeri* P.  
last year [parēša Wn], *paros* Pš, *prasul* O,  
<sup>2</sup>*ol* O<sup>1</sup>, *pažāsuy* P, *prasul* Y, *pərsāl* S,  
*pārd* W, *pārsāl*, *pərcās* Š; belonging  
to- *parđingī* W; -but one *inzəol* *cān* O<sup>1</sup>.  
late *dər* O, *nəuaxl* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, Y, *yir* P,  
*dəš* S, *deš* W.  
later *bē* O, *ga* Š.  
laugh, to *xandəl* Pš, *xan*- O, *khan*- P,  
*xənd* Y, *xānd*- S, *kānd*- W, *sānd*- Š.  
laughing *khanči* P.  
laughter *xandā* (v. *xandəl*) Pš, *xani* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*kanda* W.

law *ieriet* Y, *qânûn* W.  
 lawful *rawâ* P, *halâl*, *halar* Y.  
 lawless *bitamiz* P.  
 lawn *sazra* S.  
 lazy *kahal* Y.  
 lead *surup* Pš, *surb* P, *arziz* Y, *srb* S.  
 lead, to *râ-w-* Wn 166, *kutâl* Š.  
 lead away, to *botlâl* Pš.  
 lead down, to *ün-* P.  
 leaf *pāya*, *paxa* Pš, *bārg* O, Y, S, Š, *pač*, *puxa* O<sup>1</sup>, *pōn* P, *poñek* Y, *palé* W.  
 lean *narai* Pš, *qangar* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, *lāgar* P, *dolk* Y, *xarāb* Y, W, Š, *bē* S, *lāta* W.  
 lean against, to *pūtrāz-* W.  
 leaning on *takia* P.  
 learn, to- *yūrs-* Y, *pōrin-* S.  
 learned *zda* Pš.  
 learning *hilata* P.  
 leather *šūu* Y, *pūst* S, *mandik* W. Cf. *skin*.  
 leather-belt *karapēi* Š.  
 leave n. *ruxsat*(f) P, Y, W, *ro* S, *ruksat* Y.  
 leave, to *ān-* Wn 160/1, (*pre-šodol* (v. *prā-*) Pš, *g-* O, *z-* O<sup>1</sup>, *uast-* Y, *la ken-* Y, S, *la cer-* W.  
 leaving *rawān* P, *rahi* Y.  
 leech *šawara* Pš, *šuluk* O.  
 left (hand) *kīy* Pš, *člp* O, P, S, W, Š, *čelā* C, *čelā* O<sup>1</sup>, *čop* Y.  
 left behind *pāte* Pš, *qzok* O, *mānda* P.  
 left behind, to be *ūzeh-*, *daruzeh-* P, *fəris-* S. Cf. *remain*.  
 leg *šānga* Pš, *leng* P, *ling* S; of a bed *šenpālīko* Y.  
 lentil *nask* P.  
 leopard *prāng* Pš, *palāng* O, P, Y, S, W, Š, *prōng* O<sup>1</sup>, *parōy* P, *āzāda-palang* Y; (a kind of) *xar-palang* Y; white- *pōs* W.  
 leprosy *prang* Pš.

less *dūs* Š.  
 lesson *sabak* P.  
 lest *bādā*, *bādāi*, *nē čē* P.  
 let loose *xalās* O, *elā*, *yala* P, *hafe*, *yalē* S.  
 let loose, to *ān-āret* Wn 160/1, *la ken-* Y. Cf. *leave*, *release*.  
 letter *xatt* O, P, *kāyaz* P, W.  
 liar *daryāl* Pš, *durūggūi* P, *gyi* W, *durūggū* S.  
 liberated, v. *let loose*.  
 lick, to *cač-* [Pš], O, *las-vēk* O, *lis-* P, *neriz-* Y, *lēs-* S, *liž-* W, *šak* Š.  
 licking *čača* O.  
 lid *baryolai* Pš; (of wooden trough) *xino* Y.  
 lie n. *daroy* Pš, *drišt* O, *drēši* O<sup>1</sup>, *durūy* P, S, W, *čōpt*, *fyeli* Y.  
 lie down, to *cemul-* Wn 160, *camlāstl*, *γazedol* Pš, *nuč-astak* O, *dugur*, *rhiz-* P, *lōyn*, *nōlie-* Y, *nesi-* W.  
 life *šioāk*, *šwandūn* Pš, *umr* O, P, *omy* W.  
 lift up, to *riyawdol* Pš, *škob-* Y, *zenz-* S.  
 ligature on bow *pād* W.  
 light (adj.), v. *bright*.  
 light (not heavy) (v) *spuk* Pš, O, *zubuk* O, P, *so* Y, S, Š, *si* W, *alukai* O<sup>1</sup>, *rānjik* W.  
 light n. *ruqā* Wn 161, *raqā* (v. *rūq*) Pš, *nūr* O, P, S, *ruqai* O<sup>1</sup>, *rhūnē* P, *āruno* Y, *rušan*(f) Y, S, *šnāi* S, *nir*, *rōšanai*, *vōin* W, *mēden* Š; (lamp) *čirāy* S. Cf. *brightness*.  
 light a fire, to v. *kindle*.  
 lightning *brečnā* Pš, *barq* O, Y, S, *bruš* O<sup>1</sup>, *balk*, *jabalak* P, *velico* Y, *ātašek* S, *āte* Š, *ātšak* W.  
 like *yūnde*, *laka* Pš, *padak* O, *dhr(ang)* P, *gnik* S. Cf. *resembling*.  
 like, to *šayol* Pš.



- limb *hadamə* Y.  
lime *čuṇa* Y.  
limp, to *ngišedəl* Pš.  
line *karša* Pš.  
lined *qalamī* W.  
linen *son*, *zərər* S, *ködnök* W.  
linseed *imoγō* Y, *katānək* S.  
lion *šēr* P, S, W, *šēr* Y, *babr* S.  
lip *sū*, *sūṇ* Wn 161, *šuyq*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *lab* O,  
P, S, W, *šuyq* O<sup>1</sup>, *lauē* P, *poršik* Y,  
*riqlav* S, *lafē* W, *šand* Š.  
list *čitra* P; of names *pešk* P.  
listen, to *nyutəl* Pš.  
little, a *laš* Pš, *dukt* O, *kop*, *yila* Y, *cōv*,  
*icoklak* S, *andak*, *kam* W.  
little, too *yēso* P.  
little finger v. finger.  
live, to *zindagōni kən* S, *zindagōni*  
*car* W.  
livelihood *guzārān* P, *guzarān* Y.  
liver *yina* Pš, *jāšr* O<sup>1</sup>, *jigār* P, Y, S,  
W, Š, *yēṇ* Y.  
living, v. alive.  
lizard [*samsara*, *karboṇai* Pš], *kirwās*,  
*latək*, *šūšmār* O, *samseri* O<sup>1</sup>, *karwās*,  
*šilāy* P, *karbasa*, *šalāku*, *yāncilyā* Y,  
*kərešik* S, *karbās*, *šēt* W, [*cārbāšk*  
(Šk.) Š].  
load *bār* O.  
load, to *leṭəl* (v. *leṭəl*) Pš, *dašyək* O,  
*vira* Y.  
lobe of the ear *kayik* O<sup>1</sup>.  
lock *jandra* (v. *žaranda*) Pš, *kulf* O,  
P, Š, *kolf* Y, S, *kulp* W.  
lock, of hair *wurbał* Pš, *kākul* P.  
locked *qil* O, *šox* S.  
locust *malax* Pš, O, P, Y, S, *mō* W,  
*mēx* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *fusfesiya*, *yaspa* Y, *mūr*(?)  
W, *čidšak*, *tid* Š.  
log *pəṭō* Y.  
loins *pəšt* S.  
long *uđd* Pš, *dray* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *bištō* P, *vāṇ* Y,  
*darāz* S, Š, *vəṭduk* S, *vərz* W.  
long way *frax* W.  
longing *cucab* Pš, *armān*, *yōra* P.  
look, to *kas* S, *deḏiγ* W. Cf. see,  
regard.  
look here *ma* S.  
looking about *diāre* Y.  
loom *saxt(ərəm)*(?) Y.  
loose *γarand*, *xor*<sup>2</sup> Pš, *xalās* P, Š.  
loosen, to *avatl* (arat) Pš, *mgi* O,  
*myūz* O<sup>1</sup>, *lasēw* P, *wien*, *yucan* Y,  
*ucšūy* W.  
loosened *hafe* S, *xalās* Š.  
lose, to *harēw* P, *gviḃō* Y, *apanis* S,  
*nis* W, *benes* Š.  
lose the way, to *rapic* W.  
loss *talaf* O.  
lost *wruk* Pš, *barbāt*, *γūn'd*, *γark* O,  
*gum* P, *gviḃ* Y; (in gambling) *pər* Pš.  
lost, to be *har* P, *api* S.  
louse *zyānzi* Wn 169, *spaia* (š) Pš, *spai* O,  
*spūi* O<sup>1</sup>, *ispō* P, *spūo* Y, *špōl* S,  
*šiš* W, *sapaš* Š; (small, red) *wraje* O<sup>1</sup>.  
Cf. tick.  
love *mīna* Pš, *āšuyi*, *ēq*, *dōsti*, *mahabat*,  
*meher* P.  
love, to *bilār* Y.  
lover *mayan* (v. *mīna*) Pš, *āšuy(bāz)* P.  
low *post* Pš, Y, *laṇṇai*, *tūt* O<sup>1</sup>, *wačan*,  
*xamba* P, *past* S, W, *nēθ*(?) Š.  
lower *lara* Pš, *toru* Y, *\*dir* Š.  
lucerne *špešta* Pš, *irγoγo*, *piṭio* Y,  
*γurūk* S, *wižerk* W, *γorj*(?) Š.  
lungs *šəza* Wn 161, *parpūs*, *səṭai* Pš,  
*šūš* O, *daṭ* O<sup>1</sup>, *papō* P, *pāpəs*, *šūš* Y,  
*γol*, *šəš* S, *šūš* W, Š.  
lupine *taftal* Y.  
lying down *mlāst* Wn 162, Pš, *gal*,  
*neastak* O<sup>1</sup>.  
lying on back *stūn* Pš, *stūnyo* Y.

## M

- \* m, the letter *mīm* P.  
*mađ leuanai* (v. *leua*) Pš, *diuān(a)* O, P, *jağ* P, *dēvōnē*, *lēu* S. Cf. stupid.  
 madness *masī* P.  
 magic *jādūš*, *seher* P.  
 magpie *kyuŋyo* Y, *kyēvzāk/g* S, *kiržepē* W, *kizēbs* Š.  
 maid *peyla* Pš, *čimilkeryo* Y. Cf. girl.  
 maize [*jwār* Pš], *šuta* O, *dujār* O<sup>1</sup>, *jōwārī* O, P, *ju*<sup>o</sup> Y, *zitaī* P; ear of *lūṭaki* P; straw of *kuso* Y; beard of *bambofi* Y.  
 majesty *huzūr* W.  
 make, to *rēz* P, *gax* S. Cf. do.  
 make water, to v. urinate.  
 male *nar* Pš, P, Y, W, *nerinā* O, *nērōk* P, *γōš* W.  
 male child *jura* P.  
 malice *yārat*, *šaitāni* P.  
 malicious *šaitān* P.  
 man *sarai* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ādam* P, W, Š, *māneš*, *mēr* P, *maṣa*, *mēr* Y, *ādam*, *māfok* S, *ḍāi*, *mardīna* W, *ma*<sup>o</sup> Š, *xdlg* W, *čārik*, *mardīna* Š.  
 mane *owē*, *icraž* Pš, *yāl* O, P, Y, S, W, Š, *čalo* Y.  
 manger *auxur* O, *axūr* O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, <sup>o</sup>or S, *rūz-āxur* W, *renūr* Š.  
 mangy *paman* (v. *pam*) Pš.  
 manner *šan* Pš, *zail* P; in this *hērangi* P; in what *carang* O, *kērangi* P.  
 mantilla, a woman's *pakol* S.  
 manure, v. dung.  
 many *zut* O, *ḡal*, *yalaba* P, *zahānd* Y, *fai* S, *tki* W, *bāz* Š. Cf. much.  
 many, how *cūn(d)* O.  
 many, so *on* O.  
 marching *kūš* P.  
 mare *aspa* (v. *ās*) Pš, *myāndeni* O<sup>1</sup>,

- \* *madiāna* P, *moyoyo* Y, *bāital* S, W, *mādiyān* S, *madāx* W, *vērj* Š.  
 markhor fem. *mārxēr* O, *būz*, *čroug-vzo*, *mažoyo* Y; male *čraū* Y, *janear*, *žuok* S, *uxrā* W. Cf. mountain-gost.  
 marmot *dala(?)*, *wūy* Y, *winek*, *wundok* W. Cf. weasel.  
 marriage *nikā* O, W, *nekā* P, *icāda* S, *kataudāt* Š.  
 marriage procession *werā* Pš.  
 marriageable age *icāda* S.  
 marrow *māz* Pš, *māyz* O<sup>1</sup>, Y, W, Š, *moyz* S. Cf. brain.  
 marsh *šūra* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. bog.  
 marten (pine-), v. pine-marten.  
 master *caštan* Pš, *bādār*, *čēštan* O, *sāheb*, *xāwān*, *xāncand* P, <sup>o</sup>und Y.  
 mastigate, to v. chew.  
 match *gūgird* Y; of a gun *pilla* S.  
 matchless *biazimī* P.  
 match-maker *rebār* Pš, *dallāl* P.  
 matter *kāl* P, *trik* Y.  
 matter, v. pus.  
 mattock, v. hoe.  
 mattress *tōšak* P, *carang* Y, *kūpačā* W; filled with cotton *pur<sup>m</sup>* Y. Cf. bedding.  
 may be *formē* Y.  
 meadow *uršo* Pš, *tāla*, *mar-yuzār*, *ulang* P, *mīryo* Y, *mērj*, *sarza* S, *gōz* W. Cf. pasture.  
 measure (of grain) *oṭai* Pš.  
 measure, to *mā*- Y, *kač*- O<sup>1</sup>; (liquids, etc.) *pyamēl* Pš.  
 meat [*ycaše*, "zarāh" Wn], *ycaša* Pš, *gāka* O, <sup>o</sup> O<sup>1</sup>, *γūš* P, Y, *gušt* S, W, *poδf* S, *γīst* W, *gūj(w)t* Š; roast *kabāp* P; — or fish *ngolai* Pš.  
 medicine *dawā* O, *elāj* P, <sup>o</sup> Y, *dārū* P, <sup>u</sup> Y, *darmān*, *dūwai* P.  
 meeting *jalsa* S.



melon *khōrēbuj* P, *lārū* Y, *xarēz(a)* Y, Š,  
 °būz Š.  
 melt, to fro- Y, °au sāw Š.  
 memory *yād* O, Y, *dētār*, *yōd* W.  
 mending *mahalan* Y.  
 merchant *saudāgar* O, P, °*ager* Y, °*ogar*  
 S, W, *saudagar* Y, *bāzārgān* S.  
 merriment *xušālī* O, *mastī*, *xušwaxtī* P,  
*waly* Y. Cf. feast, joy.  
 merry *xušwaxt* P. Cf. happy.  
 messenger *astōjai* (*āstāwul*) PŠ, *kāset* P.  
 middle *myanj* (v. *mlā*) PŠ, *mānz* O, *nesp* P,  
*miyān(e)*, *nasn* S, *mōlung* W; in the—  
*makhār* P.  
 midnight *nīmīfē* O, *barābar xōvo* Y,  
*nīmshab*, *nesmešar* S, *brobarnājd* W.  
 milk *šōz* Wn 160, *paī*, *šauds* PŠ, *pāk* O,  
*šēpi* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pē* P, *xšira* Y, *xōm* S,  
*zārē* W, *žūed* Š; (sour) *šamze* Wn 169,  
*trōšp* S, *triŋ*, *triš* W, *maska* (incorr.  
 for butter) Š. Cf. buttermilk, curds.  
 milk, to *čēk* Wn 161, *luwāšl* PŠ, *dūš* O,  
*dus* O<sup>1</sup>, *dūc* P, *lūz* Y, *dēš* S, *šic* W,  
*šūj* Š.  
 milk-cup, (wooden) *xšir-kēsa* Y.  
 milk-pail *lawayūna* (v. *luwāšl*) PŠ, *kizapē*  
 P, *lipēa*, *vašē* W.  
 milk-rice *čirgrinj* Y.  
 "Milky Way" *čarx-i falak*, *wārcan* Y,  
*kākašon* W.  
 mill *šaranda* PŠ, *āsyā* O, *jndro* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*xēra* P, *xirjo* Y, *xuđari* S, *xōdōrg* W,  
*xedārj* Š. Cf. handmill.  
 mill-broom *fāru*, *rāfiko* Y.  
 mill-race *trōbi* Wn 169, *xōrānī* O<sup>1</sup>, *na-*  
*wōzē* Y, *nawōk* S, *nūn* W.  
 mill-stone *paī* PŠ, O<sup>1</sup>, *xēragir* P, *xur-*  
*sago* Y, *xōdōrg-jār*, *wirt* W.  
 mill-wheel *carx* O<sup>1</sup>, *wirdān* W.  
 millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) *ēšdōn* Wn 161,  
*šdan* PŠ, *arzan* O, *alan* O<sup>1</sup>, *ārzan* P,

*yurzon* Y, *wuždān* S, *arzan*, *yirzn* W,  
*pīnj* Š; (*Panicum italicum*) *γōšt*  
 (*āzāšl*) PŠ, *gāš* P, *γavarso* Y, [*jāwau*  
 Sk., Š].  
 mimic, to *pūtmai-* W.  
 mind *hōš* S.  
 mine *šūnan* W.  
 minister *warir* P, Y, S.  
 mint (plant) *welanai* PŠ.  
 mirror *šina* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, W, *āhena*, *šisa* P,  
*āino*, *šišojo* Y, *ainek* S; looking-glass  
*šiša* S.  
 miser *baxil* S, *bəzəl* (?) W.  
 miscarrying *speyāza* PŠ.  
 missing *bijā* P.  
 mist *dund*, *lara* PŠ, *manyār* P, S, *miš-*  
*āyiko* Y, *ar-tagāw-yat* ("it came  
 down"?) Š.  
 mistress *bibi* P.  
 mix, to *lar-* [PŠ], O, *wēdāz* Y, *alalas*  
*kən* S, a° *car-*, *šānd* W.  
 mixed *gaš* P, *kati* Y.  
 moat *xandak* P.  
 mockery *tāna* P.  
 mode *zail* P.  
 modesty *hayā* P.  
 moist, v. wet.  
 moisten thoroughly, to *ničōd* Y.  
 moisture *nəb* Y.  
 mole *xāl* P.  
 moment *lāza* P, *fasl* S.  
 money *hūy* Y, *pāisā* Y, Š, *γarni*, *pūl* S, *pāl* W.  
 monkey *maimūn* S.  
 month *māst* Wn 169, *miyāst* PŠ, *māi* O,  
*mēhī* P, *mō*, *mox* Y, *mā* S, Š, *mēj* W,  
*mēst* Š.  
 month, n. of a *hamal* P, *asad*, *simbulā*,  
*tamās* W, *kaus* Š.  
 monthly *mēhīn* P.  
 moon *miyāst*, *wašmai* PŠ, *spošmai* PŠ, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*maryok*, *mātau* O, *mahōk* P, *imojo* Y,

- māton*, *iculmēk* S, *mōtob*, *zēmak* W, *mēt* Š; the new *kēlāl* P.  
 moonless night *tarōzmai* (v. *spožmai*) PŠ, *trōžmai* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 moonlight *rabāza* PŠ.  
 moraine *ābūya* Y, *ambol* S, *šui* W; heap more *digari* S. [of stones *xōris* Y.  
 moreover *balkim* O.  
 morning *sār* O, P, *saxar* O<sup>1</sup>, *ručān* P, *sāhar* P, Y, S, *suboliyo*, *sārpagā*, *wūšē* Y, *rašt*, *sub* S, *ruz*, *sārake*, Š; in the *subdamik* W. Cf. dawn.  
 morning-meal *pižāni* W.  
 morsel *nuarai* PŠ, *nōri* O, *tōk* P.  
 mortar *ōyur* P.  
 moslem *musulmān* P.  
 mosque *mazdik* O, *mašit* Y.  
 mosquito *mēsa* Wn 159, *zumašā* (v. *zicā*), *māšai* (v. *mač*) PŠ, *paša* O, P, *pā* W, *myāsai* O<sup>1</sup>, *gyiblenikē* Y, *kurpaša* Y, S, *maziē*, *paša* Y, *joz* S, *kanek*, *pišn* W, *čangin* Š.  
 moth *parwāna* P, Y, W, *parwincog* S, *icē* W.  
 mother *mor* PŠ, *māwā* O, *mo* O<sup>1</sup>, *ai*, *mā(č)*, *māma* P, *nāno* Y, *mād/dar* S, *nān* S, W, Š, *mād* Š.  
 mother and daughter *māwehā* P.  
 mother-in-law *xicāša* PŠ, *syūy*, *xušui* O, *syoy*, *xicāšic* O<sup>1</sup>, *xuš* P, *ašō* Y, *xoš* S, *xušdōman*, *šax* W, *xīš* Š.  
 motor-car *mōtar* P.  
 mount, to *qak* P. Cf. rise.  
 mountain *yar* PŠ, Y, *giri*, *kō* O, *gri* O<sup>1</sup>, *dhār*, *khandi* P, *yar* Y, *kū* Y, W, Š, *ālax*, *kūh*, *šaxa-yer* S, *tāx* Š. Cf. hill.  
 mountain-ash *tūr* Y.  
 mountain-goat *garcanai* PŠ, *āu* O, *yir-canai* O<sup>1</sup>, *mēšak*, *naxčir* Š; female *sur* P, *šuncār* W; male *tōy* P. Cf. deer, ibex, markhor.  
 mouse *mažak* PŠ, *balūr*, *kawār*, *danān*, *carō* P, *pōry* Y, *mūš* S, W, *pōrk* S, *pork* W, *pūrg* Š. Cf. rat.  
 moustache *byt* Wn 159, *brēt* [PŠ], O<sup>1</sup>, *brūt* O, Y, *bu* P, *bō* S, *coršt* O<sup>1</sup>, *x-rut* Y, *šābrut* S, *brūt* W, *birut* Š; large *brutčapar* W.  
 mouth *xūla* PŠ, *dān*, *pōz* O, *pyoz* O<sup>1</sup>, *šōnū* P, *pēkorē*, *yure* Y, *fōc* S, *zāš* W, *zēv* Š.  
 mouthful *inda* PŠ, *teka* P.  
 mouthpiece of bellows *bolūdo* Y.  
 move, to *xwajedl* PŠ, *čhām* P, *mūz* Y, *tač* W.  
 move, to v.tr. *čimēc*, *žukēc* P, *muža* Y.  
 movement *yūn* PŠ, *arakat* O, *malak*, *šūr* P.  
 moving *rawān* S.  
 much *zut* O, *ferimān*, *zulu*, *yalaba* P, *ambox*, *boh*, *šipi*, *žahānd* Y, *fai*, *lip*, *ziat* S, *bisjār*, *foi*, *zafai*, *zafci* W, *ōn* O; so- mind, *yenda* Y; complete *binās* Y.  
 mucus *rōma* PŠ, *balyam* Y, *qat*, *lišp* W; (from nose) *nezgo* Y, *xolm* S; (from mouth) *balyam* S.  
 mud *gel*, *maffa* P, *jeriv* (?) W.  
 muddy *xer* PŠ, *xatralōy* Y.  
 mulberry *tūca* Wn 160, *tūt* O, O<sup>1</sup>, Y, S, W, *tī* P, *m<sup>re</sup>re*, *tūi* Y, *tūd* Š.  
 mulberries, dried *mais* P, *kišori* Y.  
 mulberry-flour *pišt* Š. Cf. flour.  
 mule *kačar* O<sup>1</sup>, *qāter*, *yābū* P, *kačir* Y, Š.  
 mulla *mullā* O, P.  
 multicoloured, v. piebald.  
 multitude *yalabagi*, *zuluği* P.  
 murderer *ādamkuš* P, *šaduk* S, *šitk* W.  
 murmur *šuršur* P.  
 mushroom *xomba* PŠ, *cigyerē* Y; (a kind of) *pušānek* Y; (white) *xarpūst* Y.  
 music *sur* P, *mailis* Y, *šāzingē* Š.



musk *tātār*, *mušk* P.  
 mussuck, v. skin, inflated.  
 mutilating *nasak* P.  
 muzzle *frušē* Y.  
 my *jmā* Pš, *manān* P, *mon* Y, S, *zu* W.  
 myself *maxsōr* P.  
 mystery *ramūz*, *serr* P.

## N

nail *mēx* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, Š, *kūk* P, *mīx* Y, W; wooden *šārg* Š; (finger-) *nūk* Pš, *taxt ta angust* O, *nark* O<sup>1</sup>, *nōrk* P, *anaxno* Y, *nāxšn* Y, Š, *no*° W, *nar-xōk/g* S, *dager* W.  
 naked "oon" Wn [= *ūn* < \**bagna*].  
*laṣar* [barband] Pš, *lāč* O, P, *šilēx* Y, °*ax* S, W, °*ak* Š.  
 name *nēm* Wn 158, *nūm* Pš, Š, *nām* O, P, Y, *nīm* S, *nong* W.  
 narrow *narai* Pš, O, *tang* O, S, W, Š, *tag* O<sup>1</sup>, *čind*, *luṣṣu* P, *togo*, *trok* Y, *būrk*, *tan'k* S; street *langi* P.  
 natural *xudāi* P.  
 nature *šin* Pš; condition *tab* P.  
 navel *nōc* Wn 159, *nū(m)* Pš, *nefak* O, *nāf* P, S, Š, *nif* Y, *nōf* W.  
 near *paxē* Wn 168, *zarma* Wn 169, *caxa*, *naždē* Pš, *bōy* O, *bōi* O<sup>1</sup>, *da*, *dāl* P, *karib* P, S, Š, q° Y, *nəzdik* P, *na*° Y, *tari*, *tartar* P, *šolo*, *šut* Y, *šiš* W.  
 nearest to the village *warbōi* Pš.  
 necessary *lāzim*, *munāsib* O, *waṣip* P, *zarūr* P, Y, *bakōr* S, W; *is-bōya* Pš, *bāyad* Š.  
 necessity *zarūri* Y.  
 neck *ṣāra* (v. *ṣarəl*) Pš, O, *mayzai* (v. *māzə*), *warmez* Pš, *gardan* O, *makaydāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *manḡd* P, *škyui*, *šile* Y, *gardak*, *ṣorok* S, *gerdān* W, *māk* W, Š, *tōr* W.

necklace *oṣai* Pš, *ghana* P, *garai*, *mādrayē*, *xafabandē* Y, *pərg* W; silver *mušfi* Y.  
 neckrope of yoke *sabəranj*, *samlasiko* Y, *vīrk* W.  
 need, to *širər*/γ W.  
 needle *suntən* Wn 162, *stōn* Pš, *šini* O, s° O<sup>1</sup>, *šičin* P, *šinjo* Y, *šitōn* S, *šic* W, *sej* Š; (packing-) *yorəm* Wn 168, *sparxai* Pš, *təbana* O, *xaršizn*, *juāl-dūz* Y, °*oz* S.  
 needy *šilax* S. Cf. poor, naked.  
 Negro *habaši* P.  
 neigh, n. [šāšnai, *haṣ* Pš], *ingās* O, *hengas* P.  
 neigh, to *šisin* O<sup>1</sup>, *ušun* Y.  
 neighbour *hamsāya* P, a° Š, *jār* P<sup>1</sup>, *amsāyo*, *grambeu* Y, *amāsyi* S.  
 neither-nor *nāi-nāi* S.  
 nephew (brother's son) *wrārə* Pš, *rāšai* O, *rāšai* O<sup>1</sup>, *biyāyūrək* P, *vraipūr*, *vērri* Y, *vērri-man* S, *vērripār* W; (sister's son) *xorayai* (v. *xor*) Pš, *xīyūrək* P, *xuri* Y, *xir* S, *xariyōn* W.  
 nerve *pala*, *wuša* Pš.  
 nest *manjolo*, *šan* O<sup>1</sup>, *yēčio* Y, *parenda* *xān*, *yēca* S, *yōθ* W, *yēθ* Š; bee's-*šōr* Pš.  
 net *wrəz* Wn 169, *tor* Pš, *dām* O, P, *alkē* S, *tor* W, *pēθ* Š. Cf. snare, trap.  
 nettle *xulxadī* Y.  
 never *heč kala* (na) (v. *kala*) Pš, *hāč-waxt* W.  
 new *nawai* Pš, *nūw* O, *nyōw* O<sup>1</sup>, *nō* P, *noucoyo* Y, *nūwōk* S, *šoyd* W, *nū* Š.  
 news *xabara* O<sup>1</sup>, *auhāl* P, *xabar* P, Y, W, Š; good *zerai* Pš.  
 New-Year festival *nawrōz(c)* S.  
 next year *šasār* P.  
 next world, finally *āxerat* Y.

niece (brother's daughter) *wrera* (v. *wērāw*)  
Pš, *rāšra* O, *rāšra* O<sup>1</sup>, *wrēriyo* Y;  
(sister's daughter) *xorja* (v. *xor*) Pš,  
*xurigo* Y.

nice, to look *warš-vek* O.

night *špa* Pš, *šō* O, *šyōu* O<sup>1</sup>, *w(ō)yār*,  
*xawān* P, *xōšow* Y, *fēršou*, *šab* S,  
*nāγō* S, W, *šāb* Š; part of *šūma* Pš;  
-s halt *šūp* W; this very *wyārawayār* P.

nightingale, v. *bulbul*.

nightmare *xapasa* Pš, *rāγd* S, W.

nine *nəh* Pš, *nā* O, *nō* O<sup>1</sup>, *nō* P, *nōu*  
Y, S, *nāu* W, *nāu* Š.

nineteen *nulas* (v. *nəh*) Pš, *nēs* O, *anēs*  
O<sup>1</sup>, *nanis*, *nužda* P, *nūzda* Y, *nowəš/dəš*  
S, *dəsnab* W.

ninety *nawc* Pš, *nincē* O, *nawād* S.

nipple, v. breast (female).

nit *riča* Pš, *rško* O<sup>1</sup>, *rško* Y, *šūng* W.

no *na* O, *nā* P, *nai* W; (adj.) *hāc* Y.

noble *hōki* P.

nobleman *mirzā* P.

noise *čāpa*, *γaw*, *šxwal*, *šay*, *zucāz* Pš,  
*šūr/r* P, *awāz* Y.

nook *cōrda* Pš.

noon *γarma* Pš, *ō* O<sup>1</sup>, *nūwōz* O, *ōz* P,  
*ōz* W, *mižen* Y, *čāst*, *maikēn* S.

noose *parwandai* Pš.

noon *mādir* W.

north *šamāl* O, P, *ol* W.

nose *pīza* Wn 159, *paza* Pš, *ak* O,  
*nini* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *damāy*, *nēšt* P, *fško* Y,  
*fusik*, *nic* S, *mīs* S, W, *nej* Š.

noseless, etc. *būrai* Pš.

nose-ring *pezuān* (v. *paza*) Pš, *nati* P.

nostril *šemzō* Wn 169, *spažma* Pš, *par-*  
*xāna* O, *sužm* O<sup>1</sup>, *bīnčān*, *damāral*  
P, *fšekafsurv* Y, *dimāy*, *fšōk-pačē* S.

not *na* Pš, P, S, Š, *nak* O, *ci*, *ce*, *cu*, *ē*,  
*no*, *nā*, Y, *ne* W; is not *ništa* Pš,  
*čēš* Y, *nest* S, *nist* Š. Cf. don't.

nothing *čūca* Y.

nourish, to *nmānjāl* Pš.

now *os* (*osedāl*), *no* (v. *nan*) [*< nor*] Pš.  
*pērī* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *badī*, *γē*, *γāri* P, *wos* Y.  
*diga*, *ingē*, *naksō*, *psāt*, *sō* (?) S, *nīr* W,  
*šic* Š.

numb *kuγ* Y.

number *šumār* P, *imāl* Y.

nurse *dāya* S.

nurturing *parvariš* S.

## O

O! *ai* O, *ā*, *ai*, *ō*, *āyā*, *wō*, *yā* P, *ai* Y,  
*e*, *o*, *wa* S, *allō*, *ēi*, *wai* W.

oak *bālūt* O, Š, *yan* P.

oar *fe* Š. Cf. spade.

oath *γear* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kasam* O, *q* P, Y, S,  
*qurān* P, *wor* Y. Cf. swear.

oats *jaudar* O<sup>1</sup>, *dəšin* S, *lso* Y.

obey, to *nγutāl*, *manāl* Pš.

observe, to *thār* P.

obtain, to v. get.

object *māzad* P.

occupied *māngir* P.

occult knowledge *panjbed* P.

of *ya* Wn 163, *da* Pš, *tar* O, *ta* O<sup>1</sup>.

off, away *badār* Y.

officer *hafsar* S.

oil *tēl* P.

old (living things) *zor* Pš, *zāl* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*kačd* P, *zor* Y, *xyār* W, *pīr* Š;  
(inanimate things) *kōna* P, *kō* W,  
*kuhno*, *tēl* Y; (man) *šhafadhār* P.  
*mūisafed* S, W, *safebān* Š; (woman)  
*pīrazāl*, *pīraki*, *zāl* P, *zoro* Y, *kam-*  
*pīr* S.

old age *kačdō* P.

olive-tree [*šona*, *šawana* Pš], *šōwan* O<sup>1</sup>.

olive-coloured *spišē* Y.

on *mīnde* Wn 163, *bānde*, *pa* Pš, S, *jer*, *sar* O,



zār O<sup>1</sup>, ba P, bar P, Y, po, sko, tro Y,  
rū, sōr S, da, rū-i, sōk W, pi Š; at  
the top of sō(r) P.  
once jal, kala Pš, waxti W.  
one yau Pš, iē O, sō O<sup>1</sup>, zu P, yū Y,  
wōk, yak S, lu W, yūr Š; (of several)  
yūyo, yukvego Y.  
one another (h)alamān W.  
one each igōn igōn W.  
onion piāz O, S, pky/āz, tekai P, piy Y,  
piuk, piyōz W.  
only guj O, fakat P.  
orrial mēš-i kiškōr S; (male) miya, naxčir-  
pozāžē Y, kuškōr, mōn, wār W (cf.  
ram); (female) saza Pš, sūš<sup>o</sup> O,  
mēšak W.  
open arat, wit [ $<$  \*wi-šita] Pš, xē P,  
wulai Y, hēi S, ŋ W, yēt Š.  
open, to prānatel, spardel Pš, gabdā- Y;  
(the eyes) xaraw O.  
opened xor<sup>2</sup> Pš, yalē S.  
or yū P, Y, Š, H(?) Y.  
orange nāranj Y.  
order, to v. command.  
order, in—that tā Y.  
oriole, golden- čkalpio Y.  
ornament [anor Pš], fa:ī P, sarf<sup>o</sup>rāze Y.  
orphan yatim O, sayir Y, sō<sup>2</sup> W, sayēr S.  
other bi, bəl Wn 160, bəl, nor [ $<$  \*an-  
tāra-] Pš, bē, bēga O, bi O<sup>1</sup>, žā P,  
dir Y, digar S, W, yan W.  
otter saglaū Y, saglavi S, sagāwi,  
šūpiš(?) W.  
out panēšta O.  
out of breath hōnadīy Y.  
out of place bijā P.  
outery čiq P.  
outside panēšta O, -nēšta O<sup>1</sup>, bōr, bērun,  
maḥōr P, biavān S, baḥr, vičung W,  
caiza Š.  
oven tanūr O.

over par Pš.  
overflowed toē Pš.  
overturned, to be parzedel Pš.  
overturning čapa S.  
Ovis Ammon yōr-alī Š (v. mountain  
goat).  
Ovis Poli rūš W; male trokš W.  
owl lagō O<sup>1</sup>, bāf P, būm P, W, Š, bū Y,  
qīm W.  
own xpal Pš, xui O, xwai O<sup>1</sup>, xukān P,  
xoy Y, xē S, žūnen W, xu Š.  
own, to dar- O. Cf. have.  
owner bādār O, sāheb P. Cf. master.

## P

pace pal<sup>1</sup> Pš, wiyaug W, gām, qadam S.  
pack-saddle, v. saddle.  
pad nyoṛai, namla (v. lamcaī) Pš.  
padlock jandra (v. žaranda) Pš. Cf. lock.  
pain zaur Pš, dard P, S, Š, yam, tūb P;  
in the ribs brišiek O<sup>1</sup>.  
pain, to dīm- O, bēs- P.  
palace dargā, sarāi P.  
palate kūmai Pš, kām O, P, Y, S, kōm W.  
pale rangzārd S.  
palm (of hand) waryowai Pš, °we, talū  
O<sup>1</sup>, kaf O, P, kaf-e dōst P, °dest S,  
°dast W, peno Y, p'ū(ə)n W, bēn Š.  
paradise behešt, jannad P.  
parched, v. grain (parched).  
parents-in-law qodl W.  
parrot tolt O<sup>1</sup>, tōli P, tūli S, sautzūti W.  
partner šarik P.  
partridge tanzarai, zarka Pš, kauk O,  
sāc(?), zrzj O<sup>1</sup>, bōdana, žirež P, žoržo Y,  
wužžir S, čkər W, zarij Š.  
parturition stam Pš.  
party ferkā P.  
pass n. hān P, kutal P, Š, yar Y, ponuk  
S, wiγin W.

pass, to v. cross.  
 passed *ter* Pš, O, O'.  
 passing *guzar* P.  
 passion *cwāb* Pš.  
 pasteboard *noṛnoṛo* Y.  
 passtime *sāttar* P.  
 pasture *car* Pš; mountain-*gāz* Š; summer-  
*yēl* Š. Cf. meadow.  
 patch of cloth *paspon* Y.  
 patience *sabr* P.  
 patient *sabr* S, *togatdar* W.  
 path *sima* Pš. Cf. road.  
 pay *muzdur*(?)  
 peas *maruk* P, *čeri*(?), *k'šer*, *pateko*,  
*čurmuṛo* Y, *karāš*, *muḥik*, *axax*,  
*paṭak* S, *k'roš*, *patek*, *faš* W. Cf.  
 beans, lentils.  
 peace *gicāš* Pš, *āšti*, *sulu* P.  
 peach *šafālū* O, O', P, Š, °le Y, °olū  
 S, W, *šadrax* P.  
 peacock *myawar* Pš, *myaumurjān* O'.  
 peak *peza* (v. *paza*) Pš, *khandi* P.  
 pear *nāk* P, *nāšpāti* P, W, °e Š, *dbrūo*,  
*ambrōz*, *nərouci* *čoggō*, *kyogō*, *nāz*,  
*potiy*, *foḱ* Y, *pišu* W, *marōd*, *nōk* Š.  
 pearl *marjalarā* Pš.  
 pedal (on a loom) *pālīko* Y.  
 pedestrian *palai* (v. *pal*) Pš, *piyāda* Š.  
 peddler, v. merchant.  
 peg *moḥai*, *sparxai* Pš, *maḥwai* O', *čūr*,  
*max* Y, *mēx* S; (wooden, on pellet-  
 bow) *zangtāk* S.  
 pellet-bow, v. bow.  
 pen *kalam* P.  
 penis *yeṇ* Pš, *yeṇl* O, *yeṇ* O', *čöl*, *lāwər* P,  
*yeḥ* Y, *čöl*, *dūr* S, *γər* S, W, *paṭ* W,  
*čulak*(?), *juš* Š.  
 people *xalag* O, *mardum* P, Š, *xalk* P, S,  
*maxluk* S, *xalq* W.  
 perfection *kamāl* P.  
 perfume *xuṭbū* P; (a kind of) *kalānfār* P.

\*perhaps *šāyi* Pš, *magam* P, *albatt* S, W.  
 perishable *fānī* P.  
 period *mausum* P.  
 period of two years *lohsaxo* Y.  
 peritoneum *speṭta* Pš.  
 permission *ruxsat* Y.  
 permit, to *lam dah* P.  
 perplexed *hairān* P.  
 person *šawai* Pš, *naḥar* P, W, Š, *tan* S,  
*xālg* W; (a certain) *felāna/i* P.  
 perspiration *xwala* Pš, *arāq* O, Y, S, W,  
*xōla* O, *xalo* O', *arāk* P, Š, *xul* Y,  
*xair* S, *šil* W.  
 pestle *lawar* Pš, *γursang* O, *baγrič*,  
*molāi* O'.  
 pheasant *pātačūr* Y.  
 piece *paša* P.  
 pick, to *bāz* O, *čū* Y, *čew* S, *čip* W.  
 pick up, to *špew*, *kherew* P.  
 pick-axe *kulag* P, *giṭe* Y.  
 picture *negār* P.  
 piebald *gaž* (v. *āgaž*), *prāgg* (v. *prang*)  
 Pš, *ablaq* P, *kaš* Y, *čöl*, *rangā-i*  
*gūnagūn* S, *ar xēl*, *čūž*, *šard* W.  
 piece *foḱ* P. Cf. morsel.  
 pieces, in small *riza* P.  
 pierce, to *kif* S.  
 pierced, to be *sūjedəl* Pš.  
 pig *matō*, [sarkūzai] Pš, *nālat* O, *xūg*  
 S, Š, *xīg* W.  
 pigeon *kauntar* Pš, *kaftar* O, *kabūtār* P,  
*korio* Y, *koviš* S, *kibit* W, *čebūd* Š.  
 pilau *palāw* P, *palau* Y.  
 pillow (a kind of) *dampḥok* P.  
 pile up, to *yāš* W, *tāž*(?) Š.  
 pilgrimage *markad* P.  
 pillar, v. post.  
 pillow *takyā* O, *bālist* O', *bānapai*,  
*taisōri* P, *tagio*, *virzanē*, *vrazidinē* Y,  
 \* *tōk-sari*, *vōz* S, *tōkiyā*, *vōz* W,  
*mutaka*, *vižjē* Š.



- pin (of a spindle) *česō* Y.  
 pincers *ambār* O, W, Š, *uro* Y, *or* S, *cepio* Y.  
 pineb *škulak* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 pinch, to *ceb* Y, *cərup* W.  
 pine-cone, edible *zāņezai* (v. *zānai*) Pš.  
 pine *wāziyā* Y, *dram*, *nāstar* S, *pit* (?), *yīrā* W; edible *bedr* W.  
 pine-marten *luū* Y, *yūyik* (prob. marmot) S.  
 pine-nut, kernel of the *zwačak* O.  
 pistachio *pista* O<sup>1</sup>, *postā* Y, S.  
 pit *čayul* Y, *glac* W; (for storing butter) *hanjui* W.  
 pit-ocal *kemur* S.  
 place *yālai*, *tin* Pš, *jāi* O, P, Y, Š, *jāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *žaya* Y, *jā* S; (to this) *eken-hāk* P; (in that very) *ōkân* P; (for putting pots) *čif* W; (where the horse is bound) *pēš-āzər* S.  
 place, to (*kšē*) *žodəl* Pš, *g*, *nūo* O, *yuh*, *lam dah*, *nhēn* P, *wāst* Y, *nezdər* W, *lā k* Š. Cf. put.  
 plain n. *awāri* O, *maidān* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *on* W, *mēro*, *samo* O<sup>1</sup>, *dāk*, *pušta* P, *dašk* Y, *dašt* S, W, *dāšt*, *medān*, *pušta* Š.  
 plait n. *bray* Pš.  
 plait, to *lāu* P, *paricuf* W. Cf. weave.  
 plan *tagbīr* P, Y.  
 plane, oriental, v. *chenar*.  
 planet *wexs* (?) S.  
 plank *frūn*, *tax-rū*, *taxta* S.  
 plant *buta* P, *nābāt* S, *nabōt* W, *cūdm* Š; (n. of a) *wayūna* Wn 169, *ōmō*, *xər-ywaf* (v. *xər*) Pš, *pičilt*, *šiytko*, *šax* Y. Cf. shrub.  
 plant, to *njatəl*, *zanəl* Pš, *niyā* Y, *nēnd* S, *nūd* W.  
 plaster, to *axerəl* (v. *xər*) Pš, *sift* Y.  
 plastering *šəgār* S.  
 plate *kāsa* O, *ē* S, *ždyi* O, *majma* P, *tūčak* Š.  
 platform *čārsīr*, *raža* Y, *rēt* S, *raš* W.  
 platoon *turp* P.  
 play *loba* Pš, *bāzi* O, *ē* S, *štomi* O<sup>1</sup>, *xēdiya* Y, *naš* S, *štik* W.  
 play, to *nivāz* Š.  
 please, to *šāzəl* Pš, *rīm* Y, *befār* S.  
 please God *emšalla* P.  
 pleased *xuš* O. Cf. agreeable.  
 pleasure *xwand* Pš, *xubi* O, *aīs* P, *xošānē* Y.  
 Pleiades ["pairmoni" Wn], *perūne* Pš, *bol* (?) Y.  
 plenty *yalabagi* P. Cf. much.  
 plough *yart(a)* Wn 169, *yawē* Pš, *špār*, *yūx* O, *špārō*, *yucē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kulba* P, *kugo*, *kičta*, *katā*, *sporo* Y, *kālba*, *kirūg* S, *kīrēn* W, *špār* Š; (peg in the) *saryār* Y; (part of) *šakyē* Y. Cf. ploughing, ploughshare.  
 plough, to *karəl* Pš, *kīr* O<sup>1</sup>, Y, *mēlēu* P, *kīr* S, *wīd* Š.  
 plough-bullock *gažōt* O.  
 plough-handle *hostaganu* Y, *čalāk* S, *yīčak* W.  
 ploughing *kiriš* S, *čērij* Š.  
 ploughman *čērijgār* Š.  
 plough-pole *āwusp* Y, *āwišp* S, *hešt*, *wēšp* W.  
 plough-share *špāra*, *tiyāšō* Pš, *sārišpār* O, *karkiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kando* Y, *spār* S, *špūndr*, *špōr*, *šōrs* W.  
 plough-wedge *ačardine*, *yuvazgo* Y.  
 plug *mūnai* (not *mūnai*) Pš.  
 plum *ālū* Y.  
 plunder *ulja* P.  
 pocket *jlak* P.  
 podex *čara*, *kūna* Pš, *kūn* O, *kūnašai* O<sup>1</sup>, *lunc-e kučurika*, *šōngōk* P, *yumino*, *pero*, *šakōt* Y, *šen* S. Cf. anus.

poet *šāher* P.  
 poetry *šāherī* P.  
 point (of a knife) *nūk* O, P, *nēš* P, *nūl* Š.  
 poison *uēš* Pš, *zār* O, P, S, W, Š, *tar-kaī* P, *saykiyo*, *zahar*, *žaro* Y.  
 Polar Star *qətb* W.  
 polish, to *zəloyəl* Pš, *say* O. Cf. rub.  
 polite, v. courteous.  
 polo-ball *kəpō* Y.  
 polo-stick *hālō* Y.  
 pomegranate *anār* P, Y, *punđuk* O'.  
     *alāno* Y.  
 pommel of a saddle *ngūbai* (v. *kicab*) Pš.  
 pond *uasta* (v. *uandanai*) Pš, *anz* O,  
     *qanđ* O, O', *talāu* O', *hanz* P. Cf.  
     lake.  
 pony *yābū* Y.  
 poor *yarib* O', P, Y, S, W, *sūdai* P,  
     *ājiz* Y, *bēčōra* S, *nātudān* W, *uān* Š.  
 poplar *gulramen*, *rameno*, *tarik* Y,  
     *safe'idōr* S, W, *uormēk* S, *piyax*,  
     *rizabary* W.  
 porcupine *suggūn* Wn 162, *škon* Pš,  
     *sukal* O, O', *šuyur* P. Cf. hedgehog.  
 porridge *rōz*, *zastār* O', *ažlē* Y, *ōš* Y, W,  
     *pažār*, *sədik*, *xašpa* S, *āš*, *xušpa* Š;  
     (barley-) *dāilē* S.  
 portion *jirē* O, *baxš* S.  
 possessor *xāucand* P.  
 post *stən* Pš, *sutun* O, *se* Š, *styčn* O',  
     *ustūn* P, *ustuno* Y, *stūn* S, *is* W.  
 postman *pōstin* O, Š, *pōstaki* P, *bēžak* S.  
 pot *xumb* Š; (large, earthen) *mał* O'.  
     Cf. cooking pot.  
 pouch (for gunpowder) *kamār*, *kutia* Y.  
 pound, thump *žak* O.  
 pound, to *žikac* O.  
 pour, to *zvar* Y; (into) *kał* W; (out)  
     *sanjəl* Pš, *andāz*, *žuržur* P, *dri*,  
     *na*, *zu* Y.  
 poverty *yaribi* P.

power *hoqūf*, *jabr*, *gūwat*, *tāb*, *xudrat*,  
     *zūri* P; (having this much) *hawekai* P.  
     Cf. strength.  
 powerful *jabār*, *qūcaldār*, *nāk*, *muta-*  
     *bar*, *zūrawar* P. Cf. strong.  
 praise, to *stāyəl* Pš, *stau* W,  
 praising *tārif* P.  
 prayer *nmūnj* Pš, *duca* O, P, *munājāt*,  
     *numāz* O, *māz* O', *salāt*, *nemāz* P,  
     *na* Y, S, *duā*, *nemōz* W.  
 precipice *žurp* Y.  
 pregnant *brālba*, *warla* Pš, *umēdwar* P,  
     *waro* Y, *hamāl* P, *amēdwar* S, *varenj*  
     W; (animal) *āwest* P, *vazāro* Y.  
 preparation *zerma* Pš, *sarišta*, *tayāri* P.  
 prepare, to *rēz* P, *gar* S.  
 prepared *žōr* O, *žōr*, *puxta*, *rāst*, *tayār* P.  
 presence *nēla* O.  
 present n., v. gift.  
 present (adj.) *hāzer* P.  
 press down, to *drabəl* Pš, *vordenz* W.  
 previous *tarineāl* P.  
 price *baya* O, *bhāi*, *nirx* P, *kinat* Y,  
     *qummat*, *way* W; (paid for bride)  
     *tūyāna* P.  
 prince *šāzāda* O.  
 princess *bēgum*, *xānem* P.  
 prison *bandixāna* P.  
 prisoner *yasir* S, W.  
 proclaimed *ayān* P.  
 produce *hāsel* P.  
 produced *paidā* P.  
 promise *lauz* O, *ād*, *wāda* P.  
 prop *aram(ai)*, (*ar*) Pš.  
 propel, to *nikiz-vek* O.  
 proper *munāsib* P.  
 property *māl* O, P, Y, S, *danlat* O, P, Y,  
     Cf. riches.  
 prophet *pāyūmbar* O, *pai* Y.  
 prostrated, to be *parzedəl* Pš.  
 protect, to *sātəl*, *zəvəl* Pš. Cf. guard



protection *parvarīš* S.  
 protector *nigāwān* P.  
 proud *sarferāz* P.  
 pudenda *šarm* Y.  
 puerperal *langa*, *zaryāla* Pš.  
 pull, to *kān*- Wn 161, *kšol* Pš, *kaš kan*- P,  
*xoš*- Y, *xaš*- S, *xāš*- W; (out) *neṣ*- P,  
*nig*- Y; (up weeds) *žimež*- Y.  
 pulse (vein) *mežāz* P.  
 pulse (crop) *yāmu* Y, *mašorj* Š.  
 pulverized *hinl-vēk* O.  
 pumpkin *koḍūw* W.  
 pungent *tekkū* P.  
 pupil *šāgird* P; of the eye [*kasai*], *torai*  
 (v. *tor*) Pš, *ṛāsi* O, *dukā* O<sup>1</sup>, *šūi* S,  
*mardik* W.  
 puppy *kūčuk* O, *ek* W, *gurji*, *kūčuk* P,  
*ekena*, *ekonakē* Y, *škonok* S, *šken* W,  
*čaxbuc*(?) Š.  
 pure *nož* Pš, *pākirā* O.  
 purpose *madlab*, *maxsūd*, *niyat* P.  
 pursuing *rūf* P.  
 pus *zauca*, *raš* Pš, *zū* O<sup>1</sup>, *rīm* P, *narzū* Y.  
 pustule, v. blister.  
 put, to *ban*-, *g*-, *nūc*- O, *new*- O<sup>1</sup>, *ecēw*- P,  
*fācinā*- Y, *nūš*, *wēd*- S, *ḍā*-, *nēḍ*- Š.  
 Cf. place, make to sit.  
 put fire to, to, v. kindle.  
 put on, to, v. dress.  
 put to flight, to *tišaw-čk* O, v. flight.  
 puttees *paitawo* Y.

## Q

quail *meqaraz* Pš, *bašier* O<sup>1</sup>, *woṛyo* Y,  
*wore* S, *wēlē* W.  
 quarrel *dāwā*, *guftigū* P.  
 question *puštana* (v. *puštadēl*) Pš,  
*poštān(n)a* O, *pursān* P, *pursān* W.  
 quick *zyar* Wn 169, *žir* Pš, *čabuk* O,  
*šir(o)* O<sup>1</sup>, *tünd*, *zak* P, *jald* S.  
 quickly *dastl*, *rau*, *raue*, *talicasa* P, *žut* Š.

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quiet *ēman* Pš, *karār*, *tal* P.  
 quilt *zopē* Y. Cf. clothes.  
 quince *behi* P.  
 quite *xūb* S.  
 quiver *šwalai* Pš, *našun* W.

## R

radish *turb* O, *sārb* Š.  
 rafter, v. roof-beam.  
 rag n. *yūnj* O, *latai* P, *lūq* W.  
 rain [oor], *pašakāl* Pš, *bārān* [Pš], O,  
 O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, Š, *auyār*, *ṛār* P, ntv,  
*wāriyo* Y, *novok* S, *bōrēn*, *wūr* W,  
*dinyā* (cf. Sköld *dinya*) Š; (heavy-)  
*šeba* Pš.  
 rain, to *warēz*- Wn 166, *woredēl* Pš, *ṛor*-  
 O, *ṛār*, *wāš*- P, *nov*- Y, *bōr*-, *nav*- S.  
 rainbow [da buḍai tāl, sra-ušna Pš],  
*kamān-i Rustām* O, S, W, Š, *sūrsino*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *kamāni*, *nāxēwri*, *tofang-i Rustām*  
 P, *mira-avlasto* Y, *nerau* W.  
 rainy *ozgū* P; (season) *pašakāl* Pš.  
 raise, to *riyauedēl* Pš, *wustaw*- O, *uštēw*- P,  
*škob*- Y.  
 rake *namuriz* W.  
 ram *maž* Pš, *aurai* O, *kuca*, *mandk* P,  
*požēxi* Y, *jāndār*, *kškār*(?) S, *ṛəš*-  
*k'ela*, *k'ala*, *pūs*, *tux*, *uštōx* W,  
*mežij*, *nir* Š; sheep, male- *nārk* S.  
 ram in, to *lūḍ*- W.  
 ramchikor *žorx* W.  
 ransack, to *šanēl* Pš.  
 rat *maža* (v. *mažak*) Pš, *gəlak* O, *gi*<sup>o</sup> O<sup>1</sup>,  
*gurbamūš* P, *mirmušān* Y.  
 ration *žirē* O.  
 raven *erōy* [Afr. *erōy*] Pš, *xun* Y, *xarn*,  
*zūy* S, *žend* W.  
 ravine *pal*<sup>1</sup>, *xwar* Pš, *kurri* P, *ṛor*,  
*karum*, *žirāv* W, *darra* Š. Cf. valley.  
 raw *om* Pš, *xāmē* O, *yām* O<sup>1</sup>, *hāmō* P,  
*xām* P, Y, S, *yīg* W.

- ray *mārij*, *paloša* Pš.  
 razor *pāki* O.  
 reach, to *awas* O, O<sup>1</sup>.  
 read, to *hcastəl*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *aw* O, *γwəs*, *haw* O<sup>1</sup>, *xān* P, *buxōn* Y, *belav* S, *joy* W, [*joy* Sk.] Š.  
 ready *hāzer* P, *tayār* P, Y, S.  
 reap, to *rēb* Wn 167, *raedəl*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *dir* O, *lari* Y, *derüy* S, *drāw* W.  
 reaping *lau* Pš, *drau* O, *provo* Y, *daryok* S, *dirau* W, *cāw* Š.  
 reason *sabap/b* P, S, *sāen* P.  
 recent *yānd* W. Cf. new, young.  
 recite, to *xān* P.  
 reciter (of tales) *qessaxān* P; (of prayers) *fāchaxān* P.  
 reckoning *isāb* O, O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. calculation.  
 recognize, to [*pēzn* Wn], (*pe*)*zandəl* Pš, *pazan* O, *pazdan* W. Cf. know.  
 red *sūr* Pš, *kūš* O, *sūr* O<sup>1</sup>, *hincakōš*, *surkh(š)* P, *gulgūn*, *surx* Y, *sərx* S, *sokr* W, *rūst* Š light *vūr* Y.  
 reed *šar-γasai* Pš, *nai* O, P, Y, S, *qumb* P, *nai*, *xāleniyo* Y, *niyok* S, *nāčrk* W, *kirūšt* Š.  
 reflection *yaur* P.  
 refreshed *tāza* P.  
 refutation *radd* P.  
 regard, to (*par*), *thār* P. Cf. look.  
 regarding *pari*, *sail* P.  
 regiment *paltan* P.  
 regret *pezmān* P, *pšaimān* S.  
 regretful *pšaimōn* W.  
 reject, to *šayol* Pš.  
 relation, blood- [*xpul*, *xēš* Pš], *xēš* S, *xēš* Š.  
 release, to *xalāsa* O<sup>1</sup>, *hēl kan* P.  
 released, v. let loose.  
 religion *din* S.  
 remain, to *ūzeh* P, *fəris* S, *toš*, *wəzəc* W. Cf. left behind.  
 remaining *pāte* Pš, *qzok* O, *bākt*, *mānda* P.  
 remedy *elāj*, *darmān* P.  
 remembering *awē* P.  
 repair *adel* P, *patun* W.  
 reproof *malāmat* P.  
 repulsion *radd* P.  
 request *āra* Pš.  
 requesting *dādxān* P.  
 resemble, to *mōnō kən* S, *mōnō car* W.  
 resembling *mesl*, *misāl* P, *gnik* S. Cf. like.  
 resin *zāwla* Pš, *širxēšt* P, *čirwask*, *wāziyā* Y, *šelmək* S.  
 respite *mātal*, *thāl* P.  
 rest of a matchlock *degazayē* Y.  
 resting *karār* P.  
 restless *biuvar* P.  
 retirement *stana* Pš.  
 return *byarž* Pš.  
 return, to *tēs* Wn 167, *jār-watəl* Pš, *čayū* Y, *pišew* W.  
 returned *stūn* (v. *stana*) Pš.  
 revetting wall *wask* W.  
 revolve, to *šar* O.  
 reward *mujrā* P.  
 rheum *xkōm* W. Cf. mucus.  
 rhubarb *čukri* O, *čugurē*, *šiko* Y, *rūc* S.  
 rib *puštai* Pš, *ie* O<sup>1</sup>, *kabəryā* O, *urā* P, *arē* S, *haqī-e kaburγātkā* P, *alixa*, *porəγē* Y, *ostok*, *kamar*, *wəlox*, *parik* S, *ək*, *purs* W, *pərs* Š.  
 ribs, the place under and between *sar-r-dil* Y.  
 rice *wriže* Pš, *rezan* O, *rizon* O<sup>1</sup>, *berenj* P, S, *rahō* P, *burinj* Y, *bi* W, *bi* Š, *grinj* Y; (unhusked) *mai* Pš, *šole* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *iqol* O, *sēl* P, *sālē* Y; (a small grain of) *maktān* P; (kernel of) *šamāx* O; (milk—) *čirgrinj* Y; (with dhal) *xuško* Y; (with meat) *šulo* Y.



- rich *ḡāk* O, *daulatmand*, *mutabar* P, *akābur*, *bāi*, *dauladār*, *kuatin* Y, *māldār* S, *bōi* S, W.
- riches (wordly) *dunḡā* P. Cf. property.
- ride, to *viḡāw* W.
- rider *suor* Pš, *ḡ(u)wār* O, Y, W, *sō* P, *sa*° Š, *suwār* S.
- riding *suwari* P.
- ridge *lerai* (v. *lor*°) Pš; (between irrigation plots) *wirg* W. Cf. border, embankment.
- ridicule *peše* Pš.
- rifle, v. gun.
- rifles, fighting with *tofangjangi* P.
- rifleman *tufangg*dār P.
- right *ḡurust* O, *adel* P, *rāst* P, Š, *raioā* P, *urzuḡ* Y.
- right (hand) *ḡica* Wn 169, *ḡai* Pš, *xwai*, *xwairinc* O, *xurēnc* O¹, *urzuḡ* Y, *rāst* S, W, *worzg*(o) W.
- rightly *rastē* Y.
- ring *harkāra* P, *murdik* S; (finger-) *calai* (v. *colai*), *ḡūta* Pš, *ḡuštiri* O¹, *ḡuštiri* O, P, S, *ḡuštiri* P, *parguše* Y, *čelik*, *ḡiḡitok* S, *ḡuštara*, *plōḡōšt* W, *čila* Š.
- ring-dove *paxtak* O, *fāxtar* P, *fāxtaga*, *migva* Y, *fāxtē* S, °a Š.
- ring-worm *sponai* Pš.
- rinse, to *puru* W.
- rip up, to *riz* W.
- ripe *pōx* Wn 168, *pox*, *xurin* Pš, *alzōk*, *puxōk* O, *kirkiji*, *pšāi*, *šām* Y, *pēx*, *sēr* Š.
- ripen, to *peš* W.
- ripple *maka* W.
- ripped *čir* P.
- rise, to *xatəl* Pš, *wust* O, *ḡak*, *ušt*, *xist kan* P, *ḡib* Y, *xaz* S, *ḡiz* W, *andez* Š.
- rival *stāl* Pš.
- river *toe* Pš, *daryā* O, P, Y, Š, °āb O¹, °āi S, *wōkxāna* O, *daryāb* O¹, *daryō* W.
- rivulet *laštai* (v. *lašta*) Pš, *ḡi* P. Cf. stream.
- road *lār* Pš, C, *rāl* O, O¹, *panān* P, *pādo* Y, *rā*, *sarāk*, *šoval* S, *vodek* W, *pünd* Š; (steep) *paranyiko* Y.
- roar, to *arras jan* P.
- roast, to *alwocyl*, *teyl*, *writawul* (v. *writ*) Pš, *paḡa* O¹, *wroč* Y.
- roasted *writ* Pš.
- rob, to *čur* P.
- robber *rahzan* S, *rah-zan* W.
- rock *parša* Pš, *kamar* O¹, P, S, *yər* S.
- rock-crystal *belaur*, *kūti* S.
- rod *ḡipk* W.
- roll, to *laḡar* O, *waḡēw* P, *ḡaltan* Y.
- roll down, to *ḡaštəl* (v. *ḡarəl*) Pš, *du-gur* P.
- roll together, to *palēw* P.
- roll up, to *ḡāḡəl* (v. *ḡarəl*) Pš, *zuāy* W.
- rolling *ḡəl* P.
- rolling-pin *ziḡkyān* Y.
- roof *čat* [Pš], O¹, *čiw*, *pōn* O, *pōn* O¹, *kō* P, *ištēy* Y, *kiskūd* S, *iskakut*, *kūt* W, *dišit* Š. Cf. ceiling.
- roof-beam *bainš* (v. *weša*), *weša* Pš, °o O¹, *destak* O, *da*° S, *xar*, *mōwēši*, *tirḡai* O¹, *wē* P, *gaḡ*, *frāspūy*, *nax-daru*, *pārsē*, *patarē*, *wār* Y, *tir*, *walē*, *wāl* S, *bōin*, *pərwās*, *patari*, *sipask*, *was* W, *sepāč*, *wūs* Š.
- roof-board *miḡxōn* O¹, *destak* P, *ḡeror* Y, *taxta* S, *bit*, *taurič* W.
- roof-gutter *nāx* P.
- room *xūna* Pš, *ḡaza* Y.
- room, to find *wuc* S.
- root *wex* Pš, *bēx* O, W, *myūcan*, *wulič* O¹, *bēx*, *ḡix*, *kōrdi* P, *vən* Y, *wēx* S, *wiūx* W, *wreša*(?) *vūš* Š.

root-fibre *wēye* Wn 160, *zela*, *wula* Pš, *rišā* P, Y, *woxo* Y, *rāštē* S, *rišta*,  
 • *wādn* W.  
 rope *wandar*, *biyāsta*, *wāš* (v. *wandanai*)  
 Pš, *bēš* O, *bēs*, *pišē* O<sup>1</sup>, *bāš* P,  
*tanou* Y, *rasan*, *vōš* S, *šiven* W,  
*vāš* Š; (fastening plough-pole) *čēr* W;  
 (made of willow-bark) *tiyo* Y. Cf.  
 yoke-rope.  
 rose *gulāb* P; (white) *phul-wārai* Pš.  
 rot, to *pu* S.  
 rotten *sxā*, *wrost* Pš, *šri-būk* O, *ltu*,  
*pio* Y, *pusidā* S, *pišk* W.  
 rough *zraš* Wn 169, *lače*, *heār*, *ziš* Pš,  
*diz* O<sup>1</sup>, *drušē* Y, *dorvšt* S, *dirist*,  
*skurf* W.  
 round *yunđ* Pš, *girđai* O<sup>1</sup>, *girđo* Y,  
*peš* W.  
 rub, to *muršen* Wn 161, *mušal*, *zdoysl* Pš,  
*mušaw*, *say* O, *muza*-, *xal* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*astar*, *menth* P, *lēmōn*-, *māgv*-, *sā* Y,  
*māyū*-, *saw*-, *šak* S, *mānd*-, *šinc*-,  
*suuz* W. Cf. smear.  
 rub to powder *vizam* W.  
 rubbing (of a new-born child) *waryānāi*  
*(āyāšl)* Pš.  
 ruby *lāl* P.  
 rue *spānda* (v. *spalanai*) Pš; (seed of)  
*spalanai* Pš.  
 rug (knitted) *kālin* P, *palās* P, W, *pe* S,  
*kaliyo*, *qālin* Y, *peles* Š; (woven)  
*gillm* O, Š, *°ilm* P, S.  
 ruin *jazir* Y.  
 ruined *pər* Pš, *γīrān* P.  
 rumour *gap* P.  
 ramp, of horse *sejəri* W.  
 run, to *zyāstəl*, *paredəl* Pš, *dang-čk* O,  
*dhāw dah*, *hala(š) kan*-, *halka kan* P,  
*bedaway*, *γāz* Y, *araz*-, *γuz*-, *ziš* S,  
*gaš* W, (*nāstij*), *šāz* Š; make to-  
*dhāwēw* P; *γazavd* Y.

run away, to v. flee.  
 rung of a ladder *šurbāšak* Š.  
 running trap O<sup>1</sup>.  
 rupee *rīpē* O, *čafai*, *rūpat* P, *°āyo* Y,  
*°ē* S, *°iā* W, *°iya* Š.  
 rust *zangar* Y, *zang* W.

## S

sacrifice *qurbān*, *satka* P.  
 saddle *zin* Pš, O, P, Y, S, *zind* O<sup>1</sup>, *palan* Y,  
*paling* S, *pōšp* W, *bōdān* Š; (donkey-)  
*korjān* S, *mūlā*, *taqūm* W; (cloth)  
*jalār*-, *laštokum* Y, *telik* Š; (-girth)  
*trok* Y.  
 safe *salāmat* O, P.  
 safety *amān* P.  
 saint *buzurg*, *pīr* P.  
 saline efflorescence *razg* W.  
 saliva *lāya*, *tūk*, *wužgyē* Pš, *putu* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*āwa-i šunđika* P, *tuf* P, W, Š, *pišoro*,  
*tfē* Y, *taf* S, *ylig* W.  
 salt *mālga* Pš, *nimēk* O, *n°mēk*, *mēk* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*namā* P, *nāmālyo* Y, *nāmēyē* S, *nā*-  
*māk* W, *namak* Š.  
 salutation *salām* P, Y, W, *salāmat* Y,  
*mūbarak* W.  
 sand *səga* Wn 169, *šəga* Pš, *rēg* O, S,  
 W, Š, *siyo* O<sup>1</sup>, *rīg*, *seya* P, *səyo* Y,  
*luwārē* W, *šāš* Š; (grain of) *sistā*  
 Wn 169.  
 sandal *capli* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 satan, v. devil.  
 satisfied *moš* Pš, *qak* O<sup>1</sup>, *šir* P, *sēr* S,  
*satk* W.  
 satisfied, to be *bār* Y.  
 savoury *mazadar* Y.  
 saw n. *arē* O<sup>1</sup>, *arra* Y, Š, *gir* Y, *arrē* S.  
 sew, to *ganđ* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 say, to, v. speak.  
 scab *gam*, *pəx* Pš, *garg* P; (of a wound)  
*wār*, *xeš* Pš. Cf. scar.



scabbard *ɣəɫəft* O, *ɣəɫəf* P, *š*, *heho*, *tupiva* Y.  
 scales *tarəzū* Y, *°zē* S, *š*, *t̪rəzū* W.  
 scar *dāy* P, *hoɣ* Y, *wərk* W. Cf. scab.  
 scare away, to *pūtrūm(b)-* W.  
 scarf *luŋgi* P.  
 scatter, to *hwastəl*<sup>3</sup> Pš, *phiš-* P.  
 scissors *ka'iiti* P, *qačio* Y, *qaiči* S. Cf. shears.  
 scold, to *huvāš-* P, *vrōn-* S.  
 scorpion *laɣam* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *gaždum* O, P, *š*,  
*°umba* Y, *čayardum* P, *kurmo*, *škrafta* Y,  
*gəzdəmb* S, *gūdim*, *ɣəndəl* W.  
 scrape, to *skoɣəl* Pš, *kawēr-* P, *zərend-* W.  
 scratch, to *skoɣl* Pš, *graw-* O, *khā*,  
*kawēr-* P, *drūp-* W; (oneself) *xūr-* S.  
 scream *bayāra* (v. *ɣaredəl*) Pš, *nāra* P.  
 scream, to *žiriɣ-* Y.  
 scrotum [*xoɣa* Pš], *lauɣa* O, *xəyā* P,  
*ɣɣurɣa* Y, *xəyē* S, *ɣumənək* W,  
*ɣarın* š.  
 scum, v. foam.  
 scurf *xwar* Pš.  
 sea *daryā* O.  
 sea-monster *nahāng* S.  
 seam *nginda*, *skoe* Pš.  
 search, to *šanəl* Pš, *luɣ-* P, *kəs-* Y,  
*čalg-* W. Cf. seek.  
 searching *talab* P.  
 season *mausəm* S, *°im*, *fasl* W.  
 second (adj.) *bəl* Pš, *dīm* O.  
 second irrigation, v. irrigation.  
 secret *rāz* P.  
 security *amān* P.  
 see, to *kəs-* Wn 167, *gorəl*, *katəl*, *lidəl* Pš,  
*wīn-* Pš, Y, S, W, *š*, *juɣ-* O, *jūn-* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*bučh-*, *dhōɣ*, *tul-* P, *kas-* S, *čes-* š.  
 seed *toma*, *zaɣai*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *tuxm* P, *t̪ɣɣ(ʔ)m* S,  
*ðəŋg*, *təɣm* W, *təɣm* š. Cf. grain.  
 seek, to *dhēw-*, *luɣ-* P, *tela-*, *wuškuj-* Y,  
*škarr-*, *təlap-* S, *škürg-* W, *tātīb-* š.  
 Cf. search.

seer (weight) *sīr* P.  
 seize, to *na* Wn 160, *nɬwul* Pš, *nas-* O,  
*āleš-*, *guri-* P, *fār-*, *ɣəɫ-*, *ɣur-*,  
*ɣitrənd-o* Y, *nas-*, *zenz-* S, *durz-* W,  
*anjā-* š. Cf. take.  
 select, to, v. choose.  
 self *xpal* (*jān*) Pš, *jān* O, P, *xui* O,  
*xuəi* O<sup>1</sup>, *xud*, (*xu*)*xu* P, *xoyo* Y,  
*xadak* (v. *xē*) S, *zāt* W, *xu* š. Cf.  
 own.  
 selfwilled *xudrūya* P.  
 sell, to *proɫəl* Pš, *prāy-* O, *prāw-* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pharāt-* P, *plār-* Y, *par-ðe-* S, *pūrind-* W,  
*pardā-* š.  
 send, to *āstawul*, *leɣəl* Pš, *šičaw-* O,  
*wesəɣ-* P, *škor-*, *xuzd-* Y, *āstay-* S,  
*sətiy-* W, *bāz-* š.  
 sense *aql* O, *huš* P.  
 separate *byal* Pš, *alāhida*, *judā*, *žahi* P,  
*wəɫɣo* Y, *jidā* W.  
 separate, to *wār-* Y.  
 separation *judāi* P.  
 sepulchre *markad* P.  
 serpent, v. snake.  
 servant *nūkar* O, P, *nau*<sup>o</sup> S, W, *maz-*  
*dūr* P, *šadar* Y, *ɣəɫəm*, *marām* W.  
 service *xizmat* O, P, *xed*<sup>o</sup> P, *xis*<sup>o</sup> Y,  
*nūkarī* P, *muzdur(ʔ)* Y.  
 sesamum *kunzala* Pš.  
 set, to (about the sun) *riš-* Y, *wis-* W.  
 settled *taī* P.  
 seven *owə* Pš, *hə* O<sup>1</sup>, *wə* O, *həɫ* P,  
*avdo* Y, *əvə* S, *hūb* W, *ūvə* š.  
 seven months, a period of *afmahā* S.  
 seventeen *awēs* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *habda*, *hattəs* P,  
*avda* Y, *əvəðədos* S.  
 seventy *awīā* Pš, *awaitu* O, *awāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*šinim* *ɣuštak* P, (*h*)*aftād* S.  
 severe *ɣaweri* P.  
 sew, to [*gaɣɣəl* Pš], *undərw-* O, *andarɣ-* P,  
*°ərv-* S, *zūy-* Y, *dərev-* W, *ancəv-* š;

- (with large needle) *γundr iēcan*(?) O<sup>1</sup>.  
 Cf. darn.
- shabby, tattered *telt* Y.
- shade *siyā*, *sōrai* (v. *siyā*) Pš, *syākā* O,  
 °o O<sup>1</sup>, *sēy* P, *sayo* Y, *sāye* S, *sāya* W.
- shady side of a valley *nišōr* P, *ničay*,  
*nosiy* Y, *nišorm* S, °irm W.
- shake, to *drābōl*, *šanedōl* Pš, *xultaw-ōk* O,  
*jukēw*, *jumbēw* P, °ēn- Š, *firšōn*,  
*muža* Y, *tāp* W; (apricots) *wolun* W;  
 (dust) *cīcan*-O, O<sup>1</sup>; (the head) *čukēw*-P;  
 (a sieve) *pariē*-P.
- shaking n. *dagas*, *jūlē* P.
- shallow *rangai* Pš, *tunuk* Y.
- shame *šarəm* O<sup>1</sup>, *šarm* P, Y, S, W,  
*fšarm* Y, *ayā* S, *šarmindagi* W.
- shame, to put to *šarmēw*-P.
- shameless *btanagō* P.
- shampoo, to *muta*-O<sup>1</sup>.
- share *hisāb* P, *asē* S.
- sharp *terō* Pš, *tendura* P, *tēz* P, S, Š,  
*tray* Y, *tiz* Y, W, *teyd* W, *ciš*, *nēza* Š.
- sharpness *brūz* O.
- shave, to *tožōl* (v. *taršaj*), *xriyōl* Pš,  
*rin*-O, *thā*-P, *tuyd*, *xird*-Y, *tūl*-S,  
*tiš*-W, *tēš*-Š.
- shawl *šāl* O, P, *sariē* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. blanket.
- sheaf *cašai*, *tāngūi* O<sup>1</sup>, *larzē*, *mišca* Y.
- shear, to *skastōl* Pš, *kušta*-O<sup>1</sup>, *fxa*-Y,  
*varin*-W.
- shears *bāstiko* Y.
- sheath, v. scabbard.
- sheep *γarō* P, *gaspand* W, *jaendār* Š;  
 (ewe) *mež* (v. *maž*) Pš, *mēl* O, *mai*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, W, *mo/āγorūk* P, *mūo* Y, *mēl* S,  
*maž* Š; (fat-tailed) *ghān(ā)* *γarō*,  
*gaspand* P. Cf. ram.
- sheep, wild, v. orial.
- sheepskin *munyo* Y.
- sheep-pen *špol* Pš, *paršin* Y. Cf. goat-pen.
- sheepskin coat, v. posteen.
- shelf *rūn* W.
- shepherd *špō* Pš, *čupān* O, Y, Š, °o S,  
*šwān* O, *špōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *xuwan* P, *xw(u)*-  
*wān* Y, *špūn* W, *šibōne* Š.
- shield *kaggal* O<sup>1</sup>, *separ* P, *keṛē* Y.
- shin-bone \**wozai* (v. *wāzō*) Pš, *wōzēi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*nliko* Y, *kāke-ling* Š.
- shirt *kēs* O, *kēs* O<sup>1</sup>, *kāz* P, *pīrahān*,  
*yoktaha* Y, *šari* S, *pirān*, *yaktā* W,  
*korče*, *kurta*(?) Š.
- shirtband *girdān* Y, *kaitān* P.
- shivering *parγaz* Pš. Cf. tremble.
- shoe *diči* O, *dučē* O<sup>1</sup>, *jašta*, *kausarā*,  
*mōza*, *paizār* P, °ār W, *kofšē* Y,  
*kāfs* S, W, *kāvš* Š; (Kafir) *tačingē* Y.
- shoe-string *yursiliko* Y, *bānd* S.
- shoot, a young *nehāl* P.
- shoot, to *wištōl* Pš, *tfšak* *daha* Y.
- shooting, v. hunting.
- shooting-ground *šekārjāi* P.
- shooting star *likeyahā* O<sup>1</sup>.
- shop *dukān* P.
- shopkeeper *dūkāndār* O, P, Y.
- shore, v. bank.
- short *lanč* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, *yanōkō*, *kōl*,  
*luyju* P, *kūkva* Y, *koš* S, *koš* W,  
*kut*, *pašt* Š.
- short-breathed *fšai* Y.
- shoulder *wužō* Wn 161, *oža* Pš, *dōš* O,  
*galγ* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *šānd* O, P, *šžō*, *wulāl* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pēšāna* P, *surdo* Y, *šwō* S, *šōna*,  
*yisp* P, *šwō* Š; (-blade) *walai* Pš,  
*wuljōr*, *γarmē* Y, *šūk*, *šōna* S, *fšak* W;  
 (back of) *fšak* Š; (top of) *iskacusk* W.
- shouting *kiči* O, *šayē* O<sup>1</sup>, *γauγā* P.
- shovel, v. spade (wooden).
- show n. *sāils* Y.
- show, to *wiγār*-Wn 167, *šowul* Pš,  
*nišān* *dah*-P, *nišāz*-Y, *nəmay*-S,  
*šisiv*-W.



showing šom O, šām O<sup>1</sup>, nešān Š,  
nišōn W.

shroud kafan O.

shrub buta P; (n. of a) balak P, áričo,  
ašasto, bām-sezio (jujube?), l'rivā,  
vuryakōndi, wulyeyo, xio, yūmenā Y.  
shut, to xambēn- Š; (one's eye) numuḥ S.  
shuttle rešpuak W.

sky, to bugnēdol Pš, šūrox- Y, witrin- W.  
sick, v. ill.

sickle lor<sup>1</sup> Pš, dās O, dāš<sup>r</sup> O<sup>1</sup>, dēs P,  
Pruyus Y, dūr S, šitr W, šerf Š.

side zarma Wn 169, carma (v. carman),  
lor<sup>2</sup>, xwā Pš, palau O, dūbara,  
kenāra P, pālū S; (from that) phāri P;  
(from this) phyāri P; (to that) pū P,  
vrāčoṣa Y; (to this) pī P, mir čoṣa Y.  
sieve pezna (v. pezoḥ) Pš, čeyel O, yalbēl  
O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š, prazn O<sup>1</sup>, elak, paričōn P,  
frāybzl, yarbzl, hīlak Y, frazbiz,  
yalbīl W.

sieve, to pōwēl- Y.

sigh [asucelai < \*ā-s(u)uōāhita-ka- Pš],  
sā O<sup>1</sup>, āhū P, hāzer Y.

sigh, to kašw- P.

sight nandāra Pš.

sign išārat, nemāyān, nišān P.

silence xap S, qarōr W.

silent yalai Pš, karār O, čub P.

silk wrečam (v. wrečōl) Pš, aurušum O,  
pīlo O<sup>1</sup>, birišum P, vri<sup>o</sup> Y, abri<sup>o</sup> W,  
foršmē, kač Y, arcēšum S, abrišum Š.

silk-worm kač-kurma Y.

silver [spīn zar Pš], nōkra O, nō<sup>o</sup> W,  
spīu-zār O<sup>1</sup>, čašai, nuqra P, nō<sup>o</sup> Š,  
šim P, droxom, nukrā Y, nokrē S.

similar cer Pš, mešl P.

sin gunā O, P, Y.

sinew wuza Pš, lagge O<sup>1</sup>, rag S, yēr W.

sinful geš P.

singing darkūp(?) P.

single wtr W.

sink, to gribō- Y.

sinner gunagār O, P.

sip, to šām- O. Cf. drink.

sister xor<sup>1</sup> Pš, xioār O, O<sup>1</sup>, xī P, ixō,  
ixiko Y, yəxōai S, šūi W, yax Š.

sister-in-law xījinjek P, antōrē W;  
(brother's wife) urandār Pš, ēer O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
biyājinj P, zrnzo Y, vrūdkuč S,  
vritkōnd W, xiūn Š; (husband's  
brother's wife) yor Pš, ja O<sup>1</sup>, ixčogo,  
yūi wulo, yana Y, yūš S, bakš-kōnd W;  
(husband's sister) nandror Pš, xšint  
O<sup>1</sup>, nanū P, dōxtandār(?) S, xūyun W;  
(wife's husband's sister) xuyčeno Y;  
(sister's brother's wife) xūšdāuman S;  
(wife's sister) xošīna Pš, bājā O,  
xuyčeno Y, šasirz W.

sit down, to čin- Wn 160, nāstēl Pš,  
spūcaw- O, n- O, O<sup>1</sup>, nhin- P, niž- Y,  
nīš- S, nezēl- W, neθ- Š.

sit down! yāl(?) W.

sit down, to make činaw- Wn 166,  
naw- O, na- O<sup>1</sup>, nhēn- P, nāilā- Y,  
bōšān- S.

six špōš Wn 158, špaš Pš, šū O, šō O<sup>1</sup>,  
xī P, uxšo Y, xuāš S, šād W, xāuš Š.  
sixteen špāras (v. špaš) Pš, šūlēs O,  
šucālēs O<sup>1</sup>, šāzda, xudōs P, šōnzda Y,  
xuāšdos S.

sixty špeta Pš, šūštu O, šucēštu O<sup>1</sup>, šī  
yūštak P, šast P, S, šūroicist Y.

sixth day xuručīna P.

skin carman Pš, un O<sup>1</sup>, xwar Pš, pōst  
O, Š, wzan O<sup>1</sup>, pūst, pūšt, xām P,  
karāst Y, korost, pāsk S, pīst W.  
Cf. goatskin.

skin, inflated šai Pš, iz O<sup>1</sup>, mašk, san-  
darā P, dril, maška Y, dēcāk, wūz-  
nuk, xēčē S, šōck, šōi-šōnōč, kolvār,  
yāzn W, zenāc Š. Cf.:

skin-bag (for flour) *xalfān* Y; (small) *laxēto* Y, *kuleār* S, *pitvār* W.  
 skull [kaparai Pš], *k'emalyo* Y, *kal*, *kapāl* S.  
 skull-cap, v. cap.  
 sky *āsmān* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *falak* O, *āyēs* P, *asmino* Y, *osmān* W, *ās°* Š.  
 sky, clear, v. clear sky.  
 slander, to *šār* W.  
 slate *sūl* Y.  
 slave *mrayai* Pš, *mrig* O, *mreš* O<sup>1</sup>, *γulām* P, *bande*, *hadē*, *ida* Y, *andag* W. Cf. servant.  
 slave-girl *winja* [\*bandaci] Pš, *winz°* O<sup>1</sup>, *idiko* Y, *indigunj* W.  
 slaughter, to, v. kill.  
 sledge-hammer *būqir* Y. Cf. hammer.  
 sleep *xūb* (*xōb*) Pš, *xau* O, *xwāb* O<sup>1</sup>, *xōm* P, *xūbun* Y, *minduk*, *misūk*, *xāb* S, *yūnūk* (v. *yinōt*) *rēxupēm* W, *xduš*, *xūdm* Š.  
 sleep, to *mīn*, *mis*- S, *rēxup*- W.  
 sleep, to go to *no-astak* O, *rhiz*- P.  
 sleeve *lastūnai* (v. *lās*) Pš, *avlästo* Y, *zöl* S, *dröst* W.  
 slender *narai* Pš, *bārtk(ōk)* P.  
 slide, to, v. slip.  
 slime, green—on standing water *γōb-naduk* S. Cf. green plant growing in ponds.  
 sling *mačoyna* Pš, *falaxmān* S, *škupn* W.  
 slip, to *šmuš-vēk* O, *laxš*- P, *suxuy*- Y, *lxē*- S, *liv*- W, : *zenēid* Š.  
 slip, to make to *belišmān*- S.  
 slippery *šwai* Pš, *šwaya* O<sup>1</sup>, *lhanš* P, *riŋga*, *s<sup>2</sup>xauk* Y. Cf. smooth.  
 sloe *amaxno* Y.  
 slope *pečūmai*, *zawar* Pš. Cf. hillside.  
 sloping down of a field *lamərz* W.  
 slowly *uro* Pš, *dēr* O, *wrikye* O<sup>1</sup>, *marōk* P, *molāim* Y, *āstia* S.

*sušall konkai*, *wur* Pš, *zāri* O, *zēri* O<sup>1</sup>, *čind* P, *rixa* Y, *čof*, *čor*, *māda*, *rizyāk* S, *zəkalai* W, *jəlik*, *katrāik* Š. Cf. tiny.  
 small-pox *gul* Y.  
 smear, to *axepəl* Pš, *mar*-, *menth*- P, *dā*, *labakon*- Y, *māl*- Š. Cf. rub.  
 smeared with *γark* P.  
 smearing *axēp* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 smell *būš* O, P, Y, W, Š, *bhām* P, *vāl* W; (good) *būi* S, *xužbūi* Y; (bad) *ganda-būi* P, *icah* S. Cf. stinking.  
 smile *tabasum* O, *pūsaxand*, *tamassum* P.  
 smoke *dund*, *lū* Pš, *dūd* O, *lugai* O<sup>1</sup>, *dūt* P, *k<sup>2</sup>šūn*, *lūi* Y, *diš* S, *dit* W, *duš* Š.  
 smoke, to *cigg*- (not *č-f*) Wn 167, *čilim* *xāš*- W, *čaf*- Š.  
 smoke-hole *daricačā* O, *rišy*, *sārčā* O<sup>1</sup>, *rūčōn* P, *rūžen* Y, *teurcūn* S, *ričn* W, *rūz* Š; (covering of) *dārxušto* Y.  
 smooth *post* Pš, *riŋga*, *s<sup>2</sup>xauk* Y, *sušy* W, *širn* Š. Cf. slippery.  
 snake *mangār* Pš, *°or* O<sup>1</sup>, *mār* O, *haš-dār*, *kirm* P, *iz* Y, *woxs* S, *fukz*, *mōr* W, *devūsk* Š; (black & white) *kapča* *mār* O; (slightly poisonous) *šuturmār* O.  
 snare *lūma* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *lūina* [*< mlūna†*], *tor<sup>2</sup>* Pš, *lōmago*, *pāš*, *pežiko* Y, *alki* S, *đung* W, *pēš* Š. Cf. net, trap.  
 sneeze *nəai* Pš, *čiya* O<sup>1</sup>, *atsa*, *pan* P, *γəniŋo* Y, *axse*, *sakāu* S, *aqsa* W, *aksan*, *piršak* Š.  
 sneeze, to *kəirf*- Y, *təriš*- S, *ferx*-, *pörš*-, *šref*- W.  
 snipe *noyūž* Y.  
 snore, to *xəruš*- W.  
 snout *wurbūz* Pš.  
 snow *wāwera* Pš, *γōš* O, *γōš<sup>2</sup>* O<sup>1</sup>, *γarp* P, *wārfo* Y, *barf* S, W, *warf*, *im*(?), *zem* W, *ženij* Š.



snow-storm *šuriš* P.

snuff *nasioār* Y.

so much *do-mra* (v. *mra*) Pš, *hega*,  
*hōweka* P, *alō(?)*, *ind*, *mind* Y, *dunda* S.

soap *sābūn* S.

sod, v. clod of earth.

soft *post* Pš, *nārm* O, S, Š, *nōšr* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*marō* P, *polēm* Y, *mēlāim*, *sust* S,  
*mulaīm*, *narom*, *xošk* W, *melāyim* Š.

softly *marōk* P.

soil *khej* P, *šot* S.

soldier *supā* O, *fauj*, *nūkar*, *sipāi* P,  
*spāhi* Y, *fauji* S, *sallot* S, W, *pel-*  
*tanē* Š.

sole of the foot *kaf-e pā* P, S, *štānān*  
*polo* Y, *nūšor* S, *šatta* W, *kaf-e*  
*pād* Š.

some *cə*, *jəne* (v. *co*) Pš, *cūn(d)* O, *cā*,  
*cāwar*, *khāin* P, *čand* Y, S, Š.

somebody *kūi* W.

something *ca* O, *zā* P, *čēi*, *štiva* Y,  
*čizi* S, W.

somewhere *kāwun* P.

son *zoe* (v. *zowul*) Pš, *klān* O, *kulān* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*puš*, *zāy* P, *pūr* Y, *zot* S, *poir* W,  
*puc* Š; (only-) *kašai* (v. *kašr*) Pš. Cf.  
step-son.

son-in-law *zōm* Wn 168, *zūm* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*dāmūd* O, W, Š, *nāsai* O, *zām* P,  
*zamai* Y, *dōmūd*, *zēmūd* S.

song *badela* O, *ila* O<sup>1</sup>, *bait* O, P,  
*fagyikē*, *naxš* Y, *sāz-lūf* (imper.?) Š.

soot *kalzy* Y, *katšit*, *rižem* W.

soothing *dilāsā(1)* P.

sorcerer *jādūgar* P.

sorcery *jādū* P.

sore, v. boil.

sore-eyed *lōč* Pš.

sorrel *selziko* Y.

sorrow *nūl*, *paxsāk* (v. *paxsedəl*) Pš, *γām*  
S, W, *k'in* Š.

sorrow(ful) *γangin* S.

sort *qism* S, *šayd* W.

soul *jān* P, S, *nəfs* Y, *jōn* W.

sound n. *šay* Pš, *awāz* O, *γax* P; (of  
falling water) *γaryārā* P.

sound (adj.), v. health, in.

soup *zicamna* Pš, *širučā* O, *si°* O<sup>1</sup>, *šu°* P,  
*šō°* S, *ša°* Š, *plawā* P, *šurvāi* Y,  
*čā* W.

sour *torw* Wn 169, *trūw* Pš, *trūš* O,  
*tof* O<sup>1</sup>, *sit*, *turš* P, *trīšp* Y, *teraš* S,  
*trēšp* W, *tušp* Š.

sour milk, v. milk.

south *junūb* O, *jn°* S, *jan°* W.

sow, to [*kōr*- Wn], *karl* Pš, *kar* O,  
*nikiz* O<sup>1</sup>, *phīs*-P, (*tēym*) *deh*-S, *šōd*-W,  
*wēd*-Š.

space (below the ribs) *tusak* O<sup>1</sup>; (between  
fingers) *grut* Pš, *gruft* O<sup>1</sup>.

spade *krōz* Wn 168 [cf. 'korotung' to dig],  
*yūm* Pš, Pš<sup>1</sup>, *bēl* O, S, W, Š, *kurāzi*  
O<sup>1</sup>, *pī* P, *bīl*, *bīlco* Y; (wooden)  
*bhambī* P, *fia*, *fīyiko*, *kvārāzo*, *suniko*  
Y, *fi* S, W, *pēi* W.

span [*goffi* Wn], *welēt* Pš, *jusp* O, *jbasp*,  
*zbast* O<sup>1</sup>, *belist*, *kučōk* P, *wulēyo*,  
*wojon* Y, *wušt* S, *wajāb* S, W, *avārt*,  
*haret*, *wolēt*, *xarek* W, *widēd* Š; (from  
thumb to fore-finger) *gekū* Wn 168  
[< Lhd. *gokhā*]. *wuzai* [*alang*, *langor*  
< \**ā-θanga*] Pš, *gurbizak* O<sup>1</sup>, *loho-*  
*gušco*, *pīx* Y, *bolis*, *čārangest*, *pēx* S.  
spark *skarwaša* (v. *skor*) Pš, *bacirāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*cərox* Y, *ax* W, *trāznik* Y, *čirγazek*,  
*ša'la* S.

sparkle, to *lapoir* Y.

sparrow *muryāl* (v. *maryə*) Pš, *gunjšik* O,  
*gi°* S, *mirga* O, *o°* O<sup>1</sup>, *murčē* P,  
*brāyiko* Y, *məryōk* S, *mingas* W,  
*videč* [w-] Š.

sparrow-hawk, v. hawk.

- speak, to wáy: wāi Wn 160/7, laudəl, wáyəl Pš, yuš O, yuəs O<sup>1</sup>, jar P, (gab) dāha. z. Y, (gab) deh, yēz S, žān W, luv Š.
- spear sāng O<sup>1</sup>, naiza P, nāizo Y.
- special nature xāsiatān P.
- spectacle sāils Y, tamāšā Š.
- spectacles ainake P.
- speech wrāša Pš, lauz S.
- spicery masāla P.
- spider yaṇa Pš, buzūš O, O<sup>1</sup>, jglā O, °āk, diuuyūk, yafak P, dorzkuryuz, ustada, zarishkyo Y, jilayok S, ustōdek, sop, šāmbāf W, gilimbāf W, Š, ʔn-dāl W, ʔa°, tanābak, tanizak Š. Cf. tarantula.
- spike (of grain) laša Pš, kišār Y.
- spill, to haṭ kan P.
- spin, to yaṇəl, wešəl Pš, ras O, O<sup>1</sup>, muza O<sup>1</sup>, yi Y, yev S, tip W.
- spindle cāšai Pš, čarzá, wahēwalš P, čarč Y, ife S, citr W, žib Š; (pin of the) čarmak Y; (wheel of) duk Y.
- spinning-wheel čārx Y, S, W, Š, °x(ā) O, tis O<sup>1</sup>; (piece of wood on the foot-board of) pūšura Y; (side plank of) zigaki Y; (threads on) tandeneū Y; (wheel of) paručārn Y.—V. III.
- spine murāi puṭ P, harko-yastē Y, kamak S, pērs Š.
- spit n. čamursū Y, kabābsēz Š.
- spit, to fērs Y. Cf. saliva.
- splash, to šilāp W.
- splashed up, to be strās W.
- spleen torai Pš, yās, spužak O<sup>1</sup>, nina-māšē, sporz, šipāzək(?) Y, sipērz, sūyūk S, sik, sipurz W.
- splendid wakhš P.
- splendour jalī O, julwā P.
- splint in the leg of a horse oba Pš.
- split dāra Pš, kəčl O.
- split, to čāwul (v. čāwēd) Pš, tār P. Cf. burst.
- spoil tāf Pš.
- spoil, to natəl Pš.
- spoke of a wheel špištai Pš.
- spoon kášuk O, camco O<sup>1</sup>, čamčā, dūrē P, kafčio Y, kapē W, čib Š. Cf. ladle.
- spot (place) šaya Y.
- spots (of leopard) širs W.
- spout cošai Pš.
- spread, to yuaredəl Pš; (manure) uriz Y.
- spring (season) swarla Wn 159, psarlai Pš, wōrai O, rhaṭām P, bohor, fšidro Y, baūr S, °hōr W, °hār Š; (early) [čarmūna Wn], \*čarmūnai Pš, čirmūnai O<sup>1</sup>; (late) wōrai O<sup>1</sup>, šombolā Š.
- spring (source) kāy, xōzi Wn 168/9, [čina Pš], cimi O, xāko O<sup>1</sup>, čišma P, °e S, teč P, xūyo Y, kik, žūc W, čāšma, žāc Š; (hot) čāšma W. Cf. well.
- spring from one seed, to petərš W.
- sprinkle, to pruzaw, pāzdaye O, čai Y.
- sprinkling pūž Pš, aupšēi O, čarfandegī S.
- squatting dīzo Y.
- squeeze out, to naštejəl Pš, °spilaw O, wezem W.
- squeezed pendi P.
- squirrel xarpāndāi O<sup>1</sup>.
- stab, to zanəl Pš.
- stablesturga O, āxur, kamand P, aspəlān Y, štaxāna Y, W, °xūna Š, artxānā S, taxil, weuner, žabd(?) W, pasāk Š. Cf. manger.
- stable-boy mīrāxūr W.
- stack [dalaī Pš], yelu Y, šu-i W, čāšvis Š (Notes on Shgh. incorr. °wis). Cf. heap.
- staff, v. stick.
- stag (elk) gawcazn Pš.
- stair šal Pš, sulān, šor, zinā P. Cf. ladder.
- staircase nāyūl P.



- stale *baranaï* (v. *parün*), *spor* Pš.  
 stallion *narāsp* P, *ynain*, *narasp* S.  
 stand, to *daredəl* Pš, *ašt* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *dar* O,  
*fsd(y)* Y, *ast*, *wərfəs* S, *wərfəs* W,  
*wirūd* Š.  
 standing *wəlār* Wn 159, *walār* Pš, *apā*,  
*papā* P, *aletk* (v. *āl*) W.  
 standing, to be *t* O, *erind* Y, *al* S.  
 star *storai* Pš, *sūtara* O, P, *ār* W,  
*starrak* O<sup>1</sup>, *estēc* P, *stārē* Y, *ustərūk* S,  
*štērs* Š; (evening-) *stur-žojo* Y;  
 (morning-) *karcōnkuš* Y.  
 starling *mainā* P, Y, *činuŋo* Y, *bad-*  
*xarak*(?), *mayon*(?) W.  
 starting *rāhī* P, Y, *rawān* P, S.  
 stature *qadd* P.  
 stay, to *dhar* P.  
 steal, to *ʔrif* Y, *təraf* S, *šviy* W.  
 steam *wažm* Pš, *tafta* O, *baŋās*, *tāu* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*tāf* P, S, W, *tux* Y, *textxē*(?) S,  
*teš* W, *manyār* Š.  
 steel *pōlād* O, *pū* Y, *fūlād* P, S, *pūlād* W,  
*kārē* Š.  
 steep *čund* P, *pasmīnaka* Y, *tənd* S,  
*lašn*(?) Š. Cf. *slippery*.  
 stem (of a tree) *mənza* O, *muŋdū* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*gaŋdā* P, *kundī* S, *tana* Š.  
 stench, v. *smell*.  
 step *yün* Pš, *qadam* P, W, *k* Y, *layat* S.  
 steppe, v. *plain*.  
 step-father *plandar* (v. *plār*) Pš.  
 step-mother *maira* Pš, *māendar* P.  
 step-son *bən-zai* (v. *bən*) Pš, *bačandar*,  
*winjok* O, *wēn-kālān* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 stick n. *largai*, *lažta* Pš, *gōn* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*bhōnt*, *dōstikōr*, *dezbhōnt*, *kōr* P,  
*kriŋsar*, *mōžē* Y, *ašd*, *durk*, *vōnd* S,  
*asōi*, *baŋd* W, *šārg*, *māb* Š.  
 stick, to *nšel* Wn 166, *buštədəl*, *nšatəl*  
Pš, *časp*-, *lag*-, *mač* P.  
 stiff *zič* Pš. Cf. *rough*.  
 still (adv.) *lā* Pš, *mēn* O, *digart* S.  
 still more *fai* S.  
 sting *laša* Pš.  
 sting, to *gas* P.  
 stinking *šribūk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *wačanbhām* P,  
*būgən* Y, *badbūt* Š.  
 stir, to *laŋ* O, *kərsav* Y, *pirkit* W.  
 stirring-stick *tucaniy* Y, *māl* Y, W.  
 stirrup *rəkāb* O, *re* O, *ri* S, Š, *krēb*  
O<sup>1</sup>, *čauliū*, *rikau* Y, *rikēb* W.  
 stirrup-strap *tasma-rikāb* Š.  
 stitch *skoc* Pš, v. *seam*.  
 stitch, to *pezl* Pš.  
 stocks of offenders *kunda* P.  
 stockings *kufčiliy*, *širabē* Y, *jerāb* S,  
*ji* O, *širib* Š.  
 stolen *γələ* O.  
 stomach (of kid) *siyalai* Pš. Cf. *belly*.  
 stone *sāz*, *zəar* Wn 169, *kāŋai*, *stāja*,  
*tiža* Pš, *gap* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *gir* P, *gar*, *kūko* Y,  
*song*, *yər* S, *žār* W, *k'imb*, *šir* Š;  
 (crushing-) *yurzujo* Y.  
 stoneliid (for the *čāro*), *čār-pāyālo* Y.  
 stool, to *xarəl* (v. *xər*) Pš, *fərx* Y.  
 stop, to *mān* Wn 166, *āredəl* (ar) Pš.  
 stopping band P, *karār* S.  
 store-room *guđōm* S, *zedūn* Š; (on a roof)  
*māra* W.  
 stork *laklak* P.  
 story *naql* Y.  
 stout *čāk*, *lāŋdā* P. Cf. *fat*, *thick*.  
 straight *sat* Pš, *durust* O, *da* S, *rāst* O,  
*six* O<sup>1</sup>, *rōst* S.  
 straight (to be) *daw* P.  
 strait, v. *narrow*.  
 straitness *taggi* P.  
 strange *nažan* Y.  
 strap *piāřma* Pš, *tazma* P, *soy* Y, *kasyōk*,  
*tasma* S, *ryndāg* W; (of pellet-bow)  
*pukara* Y; (for binding bull to plough)  
*šārūli* O.

straw *kaf* O<sup>1</sup>, *dīrmī*, *palē*, *xāstē* Y,  
*wuṣ* S, *wiṣ* W; (of maize) *paṭṭi* O<sup>1</sup>;  
 (of wheat or maize) *ganaskē* Y. Cf.  
 grass.  
 stream *toe*, *trai*, *wāla* Pš, *tāk* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*sind* O<sup>1</sup>, *zi* P, *baxšīyo*, *šēxōv* Y, *šāxāb*,  
*xarav* S.  
 street *kučlo*, *sūy* Y.  
 strength *bram* Pš, *qūcat*, *sitam*, *tāb*,  
*tāyat* P; (of the arm) *bāzūl* P.  
 stretch, to *ṣazedl* Pš, *kaš kan* P, *urzu*-  
 Y, *rūr* W; (the warp on the loom)  
*wār* Y.  
 strew, to, v. scatter.  
 strike, to, v. beat.  
 string *span̄sai* Pš, *sarbān* Š; (of an  
 instrument) *jēl* W. Cf. bow-string.  
 string, to *peudl* Pš, *pi-yāk* O.  
 strip *cira* Pš.  
 striped *naxšīn* S. Cf. piebald.  
 stroke n. *hawāla* P.  
 strong *mazai* Pš, *qābol* Y, *bāqūweat*,  
*qwatdār* S, *zūr* W. Cf. powerful.  
 stubble *drūza* Pš, *druja* O<sup>1</sup>, *aṣām* Y.  
 stubble(-field) *'stau* Y.  
 stumble, to *blavsedl* (v. *blōs*) Pš, *yošt* Y.  
 stump of a tree *kandē* S. Cf. stem.  
 stupid *jaban* Pš, *bēaql* O, *bi*<sup>o</sup>, *nādān*,  
*sāda* P, *biaql* Y, *ablā*, *axmaq* S,  
*ah*<sup>o</sup>, *mūg* W.  
 successful *wəp* Pš.  
 such *hēkezm* P, *zi* S.  
 suck, to *jbeṣl*, *rauedl*<sup>2</sup> Pš, *lip* O,  
*fūw*, *šuv* Y, *šāp* W; (trans.) *šuvā* Y.  
 suddenly *bixabar* P.  
 suffer, to *ṣyaml* Pš.  
 suffocation (bleeding from the nose)  
*aspa* Pš.  
 sugar *qānd* O, P, *šokor* Y.  
 suitable *barābar* P.  
 sulphur *gūgurt* Y, *gōgurd* S, *pīlta*(?) Š.

sultan *sultān* O, P.  
 summer *dobai* (v. *toḍ*), *toṣai* Pš, *tamūs*,  
*tāvistān* O, *tāve*<sup>o</sup> S, *tābi*<sup>o</sup> S, Š,  
*xāra* P, *tōvstōn* Y, *lobō*<sup>o</sup> W, *wāro* Y.  
 summon, to, v. call.  
 summons to prayer *azān* O.  
 sun *mīr* Wn 162, *ṣarma*, *nwar* Pš, *mēš*,  
*tōa* O, *mēš*<sup>r</sup> O<sup>1</sup>, *ruē* P, *mīra* Y,  
*ormōzd* S, *aftob*, *yīr* W, *xīr* Š.  
 sunny side of a valley *paitowai* Pš,  
*paraṭāf* P, *pīlou* Y, *āw* S, *au* W.  
 sun-rise *pələstuk* S. Cf. dawn.  
 sunshine *tōw* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 supine *stūn* Pš, *stīnjo* Y.  
 supper *šūma* Pš, *xšēma* Y, *šot* W.  
 surprise *dučār* P.  
 surrounding *šer* Y.  
 suspicion *gumān* P.  
 swaddle, to *bleḍdāl* Pš. Cf. wrap.  
 swallow *mīndelīc* W.  
 swallow, to *nyardl* Pš, *wargēw* P,  
*yurīcā*, *nuṣoz* Y, *neṣar* W.  
 swallow-wort *spalmaī* Pš.  
 swear, to *ywaš* O.  
 sweat, v. perspiration.  
 sweep, to *rūy* P, *'stōr* Y, *astar*, *zdar* S,  
*višiv* W, *zedār* Š. Cf. wipe.  
 sweeper(s) *makān-rūyak(ān)* P.  
 sweepings *repk* W.  
 sweet *xūrē* Wn 161, *xoṣ* Pš, *xwāš* O,  
*xwaš*<sup>r</sup> O<sup>1</sup>, *xīrō* P, *šīrīn* P, S, W, Š,  
*xwšurd* Y, *xāzok* S, *xūšg* W, *xīš* Š.  
 sweetness *xwāšrawī* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 sweets *xīrai* P, *halīcā* P, Y; (given at  
 a feast) *bat* S.  
 swell, to *šus* O, *peḍemeš* W.  
 swelling *paṣsob* Pš, *phuydō* P. Cf. in-  
 flammation.  
 swollen *xīrīnd* O, *lmoīya* Y.  
 swift, v. quick.  
 swim, to *zənay* Y.



swimmer n. *aubáz* O.

swimming [*lāmbō*, v. *nūnd* Pš]. *aubāzi* O, P, *āv°* S, *lambō* O<sup>1</sup>, *ānōwarē* W, *šenā°* Š.

swine, v. pig.

swing, to *zangəl* Pš.

sword *tey*, *tūra* Pš, *°o* O<sup>1</sup>, *selāba* (?), *talwār* P, *šamšēr* P, Y, S, *xugor* Y, *xingār*, *šamšēr* W, *šāp* Š; (double-edged) *bēbidi* W. Cf. dagger.

swordsman *šamšēri* P.

syrup *zoša* Pš.

## T

table *mēz* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, Š, *mīz* Y, W, *mēz* (?) S.

tadpole *kauležik* S.

tail *lām* Pš, *dumb* O, P, W, *likiz*, *lakandim* (?) O<sup>1</sup>, *dēra* (?), *dōyund* P, *lām* Y, *dumb* S, *bickā* W, *šum* Š; (of fat-tailed sheep) *mudyal* O; (end of) *curcun* W.

take, to *wu-nš* Wn 167, *āxistəl*, *nīcul* Pš, *wur* O<sup>1</sup>, *nas* S, *durz* W, *parjiv*, *zēz* Š.

take away, to *wē* Wn 167, *wēl* Pš, *g* O, *gl* O<sup>1</sup>, *zend* W, *yās* Š.

take on one's back, to *derz* P, *renz* S.

take out, to *nawar* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *nis*, *nəvor* Y, *zewēd* Š.

take care *xabardār* Š.

tale *kissl* O, *qissa*, *naql* P, Y, *su-yiko* Y, *šinda* W, *nakl* Š.

tallow *wōst* S. Cf. fat.

talon, v. claw.

tamarisk [*yaz* Pš], *henju* Y, *gāz* S.

tambourine *dāf* Š.

tame *watani* P.

tar *rānjara* Pš.

tarantula *sizalyo* Y.

target *nišān* P, *numay* Y.

taste *xwand* Pš, *mazāl* P, *maza* P, Y, W, *xāl* Y.

taste, to *čaš* P.

tasteless *belmag* (not *be°f*) (v. *mālga*) Pš, *waxān* Y.

tasting *nūš* S.

tasty *mazanāk* P, *mazadār* Y.

taught *āmuxta* P, *yāšk* W.

tea *čāl* P, Y, Š.

teach, to *fonul* Pš.

teacher, religious *xāja* Š.

tea-kettle *čāižus* Y.

tear *oša* Pš, *hēncē* O, *yēscak* O<sup>1</sup>, *āwō-i* *didaika*, *audida* P, *awē°* Š, *yāšk* Y, *āšk* S, *yāšk* W, *yūšk* Š.

tear, to (v.i.) *lwaredəl*, *waredəl* Pš; (v.tr.) *ray* O, *cir* O<sup>1</sup>, *dalēw* P, *f(ə)čē*, *patišā* Y, *kuḡdār ken* S, *čut car* W, *šicēnd* Š. Cf. break.

teat, v. breast.

tedious *zəq* W.

tell, to *naql kən* S, *naql car* W; (one's beads) *širāw* W. Cf. speak.

temperament *mezāz* P.

tempest *tufān* O.

temple *bədxāna* S.

temples (anat) *hweganda*, *məyāi* Pš, *kiliāk* O, *yrās°* *spiēu* O<sup>1</sup>, *čūki*, *šakikata* P, *yurpakə*, *pozayak*, *šāxek-i-sar* Y, *čakka* W.

ten *las* Pš, *das* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *dōs* P, *da*, *los* Y, *dos* S, *das* W, *šis* Š.

tendon *pala* Pš, *pai* S, *rāg* W.

tent *kišdai* Pš, *xaima* O, P, *čatir* Y.

tenth *dōsumi* P.

terrace, upper, of a house *pon* O.

terrify, v. frighten.

test *āzmāš* P.

test, to *izmau* O.

tether, horse's *škel* Pš.

than *kade* (az . . . *kade*) Š.  
 thanks (to God) *šukur* P.  
 that (*haya* Wn 194, *ha-ya* Pš, *afə* O, *afa* O<sup>1</sup>, *ān*, *hu*, *hōci*, *mundē*, *ōkū*, *udē*, *ō* P, *yō*, *ico* Y, *ađ(a)*, *ō* S, *ayāu*, *yau* W, *yū* Š; (-very) *hawī*, *mundhēk*, *udhēk*, *ōkəciyak* P; (rel. pron.) *ka* O.  
 that (conj.) *ce* Wn, *ci* Pš, *ka* O, *ce* P, *ke* Y, Š, *ki* S, W; (not-) *nēce* P.  
 that way, in *howerang* P.  
 theft [*ylā* Pš], *čūri*, *juŋi* P, *žūdi* W.  
 then (*nor*) Wn 162, *man* O, *eka* P, *icos* Y, *bāz*, *diga*, *ingē*, *psāt* S, *bād* W, *dade*, *tam* Š.  
 thence *uēnd*, *unhāki* P.  
 there *haltā* (v. *dole*) Pš, *uēal* O, *ōk*, *okēi*, *okistak*, *unhak* P, *kuro*, *olo*, *woko* Y, *wōd* S, *dra* W, *yēmand* Š.  
 therefore *jōka* (v. *j*) Pš, *nakma sabab* S, *cəm-jənib* W.  
 thick *licār*, *tat* Pš, *estōrō* P, *vəzok* S, *bāj* W. Cf. fat, stout.  
 thick milk, v. milk.  
 thief *zol*, *tor* Pš, *ylī* O, *čūr* P, *duzd* Y, W, *yāl* Y, *dəzd* S, *žūd* W, *duzd* Š.  
 thigh *rān*, *patūn* Pš, *rān* O, P, (*yuŋ*) *langāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *munḡarān* P, *pišcan* Y, *potūn* S, *rōn* S, W, *bištūn* Š.  
 thigh-bone *mištistē* Y.  
 thin *rangai* Pš, *mahīn*, *tunuk* P, *bārik*, *təndār*, *xarāb* Y, *būrik*, *tanik* S, *xənr* W, *nāzūk* Š.  
 thing *čiz* O, P, *šai* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zā* P, *trik* Y, *čizi* S.  
 think, to *diš* Y.  
 third *šiomī* P.  
 third day of the week *šuručīna* P.  
 thirsty *tərza* Wn 161, *tažai* Pš, *trunuk* O, *trənak* O<sup>1</sup>, *tan(a)*, *than* P, *kūk*, *trušnē* Y, *təšna* S, *taž* W, *tušna* Š.  
 thirsty, to be *tan*- P, *žeri-y*- Y.

thirteen *darlas* Wn 159, *dyarlas* (v. *dre*) Pš, *šēs* O, *šēs* O<sup>1</sup>, *šidōs* P, *šēzda* Y.  
 thirty *ders* Wn, *derš* Pš, *šistu* O, *šr* O<sup>1</sup>, *šus* P, *yūciastolos* Y, *si* Y, W, Š, *rus* S.  
 this *ai*, *indī*, *dā*, *daya* Wn 164/5, *dā* Pš, *a*, *ara* O, *ē*, *edē*, *he*, *hawē*, *mendē* P, *ma* Y, *i*, *am(a)*, *amin*, *in* S, *amī*, *yem*, *yāt* W, *de*, *ho*, *ikme*, *me*, *yam* Š; (from) *acet* W; (very) *ečendhēk*, *edhēk*, *ēke*, *ekciyak*, *heuyak*, *mendhēk* P, *amda* S, *iyam* W.  
 this year *saž* Pš, *asul* O, *asol cān* O<sup>1</sup>, *āsuy*, *emsay* P, *asāl* Y, *asāl* S, *imsol* S, W, *wuserd* W; (of-) *sērdingī* W.  
 this way, in *howerang* P.  
 thistle *xāzo* Y.  
 thither *uēal* O, *uēal* O<sup>1</sup>, *wū-bō* S, *tōrā* W.  
 thorn *ayzai* Pš, *sūg*, *zēš* O, *zyēš* O<sup>1</sup>, *kačō* P, *akadē* Y, *kandāk* S, *zāž* W, *žar* Š. Cf. bramble.  
 thou *de*, *tə* Pš, *tš* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, W, Š, *-a*, *-au* P, *-i* Y, *fak* S.  
 thought *škr* O, W, *er*, *xiyāl* P, *andiša*, *xiālē* Y, *fekr* S.  
 thousand *zər* Pš, *āzār* O, *ha* O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, *zār* O<sup>1</sup>, *azōr* S.  
 thread *mazai* (< \**mazja*- cf. *mazai*), *spaysai* Pš, *tār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *čišaintār*, *rištan* P, *loso*, *wirž* Y, *rišmōn*, *yiv-šok* S, *dārcē*, *žitr* W, *pedyāc*, *wūž* Š; (cotton-) *paxtai*, *wušāles*, *wizinga* Y, *wōsi* S; (goat's hair-) *žis* W.  
 threads on spinning-wheel *tandeneū* Y.  
 thread, to *pečedol* Pš.  
 three *dre* Pš, *šō* O, *šr* O<sup>1</sup>, *šī* P, *šroi* Y, *rōi* S, *trūi* W, *arai*, *sē* Š.  
 three days ago, hence, v. day.  
 three hundred *tēr sū* Wn [Pš] 163.  
 thresh, to *xā*- Y, *xūy*- S, *kās*- W.



- threshing *zunga* Wn 169, *yobal* Pš (v. *yāā*), O<sup>1</sup>, *čuyul* O, *khamōr* P, *xāj* Š.  
 threshing-floor *xarmanjāi* O, *šamənd* O<sup>1</sup>, *xirman-i-bibāt*(?), *xurom* Y, *xormən* S, *čērām* W.  
 threshing-fork *cāryašē*, *dyūyašē* O<sup>1</sup>, *čuanō* Y.  
 threshing-sledge *kulča* O.  
 threshold *pāšri* O<sup>1</sup>, (*tahə*)*alarasne* Y, *pərnīc* S, *yīšir* W.  
 throat *yaṛai* (v. *yaṛəl*), *marai*, *stūnai* Pš, *gulūn*, *kākurtak* O, *kurjār*, *marē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kāhī*, *kamā* P, *ālq*, *\*stuṣa*, *ṣurvo*, *kāyoko* Y, *yāl* S, *alqūm*, *kəlttēq* W, *nāi* Š.  
 through (prep.) *ze* P, *tar* S.  
 throw, to *āc*, *čāst* Wn 166, *ācaucul*, *pre-yastəl* (v. *prā-*), *taṣaucul*, *wištəl* Pš, *ban-ōk*, *g-* O, *andāz*, *ečw-*, *yūh* P, *čad-*, *wūl-* Y, *nūš-*, *purta(w)-* S, (*gār*)*kaṭ-* W, *wēš-* Š.  
 throw away, to *yastəl* Pš, *laṣan* Y, *saxand čər* W.  
 throw down, to *nikiz-* O, *būt-* W.  
 throwing *šut* P, *awāle* S.  
 thumb *nəgušā* Wn 161/8, [*yaṣa-gūta* Pš], *gušā-ngušt* O<sup>1</sup>, *šast* P, *\*sturogušē*, *narangušē* Y, *katta narxāk*, *narangušt*, *šast-ingit* S, *ṣəšiyāngəl*, *pəluk* W, *xedār* Š.  
 thunder *yaṛā* (v. *yaredəl*), *tanā* Pš, *tandar* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ōār* Y, S, W, *bumburū*, *yaṛambas* P, *doldorok* S, *bumbōriš*, *kampīrak* W, *tundur* Š.  
 thunder, to *ṣambəl* Pš, *ṣoromb-* P.  
 thus *dayal* Wn 160, *dāse* Pš, *guša* O, *hēwezail* P, *malmin* Y.  
 tick *koṣ*, *urāja* Pš, *kunāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *kəroyunu* Y, *xaməṇṇək* S, *kucend* W.  
 tickling *taxa* Pš.  
 tie, to, v. *bind*.  
 tiger [*ṣa'ra* Wn], *mzarai* (cf. *mazai* strong) Pš, *šəvəzmarai* O, *muzarāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *šər* P, S.  
 tighten, to *vəzb-* Y.  
 tightening-stick *čaxt* Y.  
 till pore Pš; (now) *yal* Š.  
 time *wār* Pš, *sāt* O, *waxt* O, P, S, Š, *gāhī*, *gašt*, *kāl*, *mausum*, *nūbat*, *wil* P, *auqāt*, *vār* Y, *wāda*, *waqt* W.  
 time, in *sarwaxt* P.  
 timidity *stāra* Pš. Cf. fear.  
 tinder *xuca* Pš, *šaxeq* Y.  
 tiny *xarmandai* Pš. Cf. small.  
 tired *stayai*, *stomān* Pš, *stōr* O, *stirāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *mānda* P, *šrind*, *ṣamī*, *partāwi* S, *mōnda* W.  
 tired, to be *wuzā-* Y; to get *pxuf-* Y.  
 to *la<sup>1</sup>*, *lara*, *ta* Pš, *ki* O, *da*, *kun*, *pa* P, *tar* P, S, Š, *nā* Y, *be* S, Š, *ma* S, *ke* W, *ar*, *be* Š.  
 tobacco *tamākū* Y, *ōkū* W.  
 to-day *nan* Pš, *šan* O, *san* O<sup>1</sup>, *nī(hək)* P, *dūr* Y, *nēr* S, *wūdg* W, *nur* Š.  
 toe *pale* *ogūšē* O, *pu-narxāk*(?) S.  
 together *jabla* (v. *bəl*) Pš.  
 together with *hum*, *jabla* (v. *j-*), *sara* Pš, *giḏi* O, *gol*, *yōl* S, *mešen* W. Cf. with.  
 toil *xārī* P.  
 tomb *kab(ə)r* O, *gūr* P, W, *qabr* P, S, *xāk* S, *qābr* W; (of a saint) *mazār* P.  
 to-morrow *sabā* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, *sahār* S, Š, *sārək*, *vərək* W, *aṣīb*, *šumnē* Š; (morning) *poḡē* S.  
 tong, v. pincers.  
 tongue *z(ə)b* Wn 162, *žaba* Pš, *zabān* O, P, *zān* O<sup>1</sup>, *bān* P, *zəvī* Y, *zəvūk* S, *zlk*, *zabōn*, *zevī* W, *zju* Š.  
 too little *dūs* Š.  
 tooth *yāš* Pš, *gišī* O, *gas* O<sup>1</sup>, *danān* P, *lad* Y, *dānd* S, *dendik*, *lānd* W, *šindūn* Š. Cf. back-tooth.

top of the head *tálák* O, *kakariš* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*fark* P, *kāka*, *tā-i-sar* Y, *tā°*, *farx-i-*  
*sur*, *tā-i-sar* S, *kasa-e-sar* W.

• top, of a hill *sor* Y.

top, of a wall *parcāl* P.

torch *rhīnēkōr* P, *diwēnū*, *laxaxē*, *pel-*  
*cio* Y.

torn *čir* O, P, *kəpēl* O, *xār* P, *ado* W.  
 Cf. tear, to.

torrent, v. stream.

tortoise *kašap* Pš, *škautatiš* O<sup>1</sup>, *girkaka*,  
*kasabaka* P, *sambaka* S, *sangbuqā* W.

totter, to *yoš* Y, *gač* W.

touch *blōs* Pš.

towards *zarma* Wn 169, *wanō*, *rux ba* P.

towards that mahak P.

tower *burj* P, *burz* Y; (loopholed) *us-*  
*dūn* W.

town *šār* O, *šār* P, S, W, *šahr* Y.

trace, v. foot-print.

trading *sauddgarl* O, P.

transform, to *pherēw* P.

trap *pāš*, *tūr* Y. Cf. snare.

travel *šum* S, *rōcōm*(?) W.

traveller *musāfer* S.

tray *tāšcāk* Š; (copper-) *tasa* Y; (wooden-)  
*pāško* Y.

tread down, to *naspar* W.

treasure *sāmān* P.

treasury *xazāna* P.

tree *wana* Pš, *d(a)raxt* O, Y, S, W, Š,  
*wunō* O<sup>1</sup>, *bhīn* P; (n. of a) *yūštūra*,  
*zenjak* P, *sawir*, *tavdoyo*, *xerīšcē* Y,  
*yārī* S, *arār* W; (stem of a-) *kondē* S.

trefoil, v. clover.

tremble, to *rešdedāl*, *šanedāl*, *taredāl* (v.  
*tarhedāl*) Pš, *larz* P; (to make-) *larzān-*  
*uk* O, *larzēw* P, *belarzān* S.

trembling *parjaz* Pš, *larzā* O, Y, *larja*  
 W, *larja* Š; (-fit) *larje* Pš.

trench *kandraq* Y.

tribe *xel* Pš, *ēl*, *kōm* P.

trick *čal*, *rēw* P.

trip, to *skaf* W.

tripod *cayan* O<sup>1</sup>, *špāl* P.

trotting *dəq²dəq* S, *doqdoq* W.

trouble *zahmat* P.

troubled *ranjō* P. Cf. distressed.

trough *tarnāw* Pš, *yuvē* Y, *pūtčārm* W.  
 Cf. tray.

troughs, maker of *kārga* Y.

trousers *partūk* O, *pur°* O<sup>1</sup>, *pašlūn* O,  
*bazu*, *yūšawal*, *paltūn*, *lambān* P,  
*woro* Y, *šavol*, *wāl* S, *pašlūn*, *tombūn*  
 W, *šawālak* Š.

trouser-string *waricađen* Y, *wāwēš* S.

true *rištūnai* Pš, *rāst* O, P, *urruy*,  
*mōyāw* Y, *rōst* W.

trunk, v. stem.

truth *rištiyā* (v. *rištūnai*) Pš, *rāxa* O,  
*rax* O<sup>1</sup>, *haqq*, *tāqīq*, *rāstī* P, *rōsk* S.

truthful *rāstgū* S, *rōstgū* W.

try, to *kicažol* Pš, *izmau* O.

tube *nāwa* Pš.

tulip *lāla* P; (-bed) *lālazar* P.

turban *dustār* O, *paškai* O<sup>1</sup>, *langōja* P,  
*čadūr*, *kalpic* Y, *salā* Š.

turn *daur*, *gašt*, *gerde*, *nūbat* P.

turn, to *aučūtāl* Pš, *gīrz*, *šar* O, *šar*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *pher*, *rēm* P, *nēz* Š. Cf. trans-  
 form.

turn over, to *wāraw* Wn 166.

turn round, to *gord* Y, *šir* W.

turnip *šalām* S.

tusk *wāranai* Pš.

twelve *duelas* (v. *dua*) Pš, *ducās* O,  
 O<sup>1</sup>, P, *ducāda* P, *duwō* Y, *dūdūs* S.

twenty *šwi* Wn 160, *šil* [and *wešl*] Pš,  
*jistu* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *yūšt* P, *bīst* Y, W, Š,  
*wisto* Y, *wīšt* S, *wist* W, *šōšis* Š;  
 (-one) *sawijistu* O<sup>1</sup>; (-two) *duwišt* S;  
 (-four) *čēriwust* Wn 160, *čerijistu* O<sup>1</sup>;



(five) *pənjiŋistu* O<sup>1</sup>; (-six) *šewiŋistu* O<sup>1</sup>; (-seven) *hawŋiŋistu* O<sup>1</sup>; (-eight) *aštāŋistu* O<sup>1</sup>; (-nine) *newiŋistu* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 tweezers *mūi-čino* Y. Cf. pincers.  
 twig *šax* S, *yaŋ* W.  
 twigs, dry *dyūr* O.  
 twin *brayūnai* (v. *bray*) Pš, *dūgāni* O, P, *dagōni*, *luānekē* Y, *juftakī* S, *yūm* W.  
 twist *tāuc* Pš.  
 twist, to *gal* O<sup>1</sup>, *zryc* Y. Cf. spin.  
 twisted, to be *māz-ŋek* O.  
 two *dica* Pš, *dō* O, *dyō* O<sup>1</sup>, *dī*, *du* P, *lo<sup>h</sup>* Y, *dou* S, *būi* W, *šiwon* Š.  
 two-hundred *ducē sū* Wn 163, *loswist* Y, *dasad* S, *šosād* Š.

## U

udder *γwalānz* Wn 169, (*γu*)*lanja* Pš, *pīstān* Y, *pēšten* S, *lox*, *pezin* W.  
 ugly *bodruī* Y.  
 ulcer *dāna* P. Cf. sore.  
 umpire *mumaiž* P.  
 unaccustomed *nāwalāt* P.  
 unbridled *biłayām* P.  
 uncle *kākā* O, *bai* Y; (paternal) *trə* Pš, *audur* O, *tā* O<sup>1</sup>, *amū*, *petē* P, *amək*, *boči* S, *bəč* W, *bāb* Š; (maternal) *nūe* Pš, *māmā*, *nīyāk* O, *nyāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *kāki*, *māwul* P, *tāyō*, *xōlōk* S, *yangā* Š; (father's sister's husband) *bōjā* S.  
 unconscious *bidel*, *bihuš* P.  
 unconsciousness *bihušī* P, Y.  
 unexpected meeting *dučār* P.  
 under *lānde* (v. *lar*) Pš, *zēr* P, *šitāhān* Y, *biš* S, *bun* Š. Cf. below.  
 under-bailiff *nāyōb* S.  
 understand, to *pahēz* Wn 166, [*pohedəl* Pš], *fām* P, *pzin* S, *fām* Š.  
 understanding *pōi* O, *pōē* O<sup>1</sup>, *pō* P.  
 unhappy *zurgir* P.

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unirrigated *lalmī* Pš.  
 united *jiŋt* Y.  
 unjust *zolim* W.  
 unknown *nāwalāt* P.  
 unless *γaira*, *magam* P.  
 unmarried, to be *sōy* W.  
 unmixed *noŋ* Pš.  
 unripe, fruit *wōzak* Wn 169.  
 untie, to, v. loosen.  
 until *tā* P, Y, Š, *zān* P.  
 untimely *biŋāi* P.  
 unwell, v. ill.  
 up *wakhē* P, *walyo* Y, *wuc* S.  
 uphill *šid* W.  
 upon *bānde*, *par* Pš.  
 upper bar Pš, *siri*, *woru* Y.  
 uproar *γauyā* P.  
 upside down *naskor* Pš.  
 up, to *tu-manak* O.  
 upwards *patarāj* Š.  
 urine *mātiā* Wn 168, *mitiyāzai* (v. *mītāl*) Pš, *mizi* O, *miži* O<sup>1</sup>, *miz*, *šāša* P, *čkyūgo*, *mizyo* Y, *člš* S, *mizg*, *pēšau* W, *mičc* Š.  
 urinate, to *mītāl* Pš, *miz* Y, *šōšc-kən* S.  
 us, v. we.  
 useful *bakār* P.

## V

valley *kōl*, *rōt* P, *darō* Y, *°ē* S, *koša* Y, *šor* W, *darra* Š; (small-) *dargāv* S.  
 value *xerāj* P.  
 vanity *wiyār* Pš.  
 vegetable *sābah* Pš, *savzi*, *sawi* Y; (a kind of) *biłaxša*, *kulyo*, *narirau*, *riv*, *šēša* Y.  
 veil *parūnai* Pš, *buγra*, *parda* P.  
 veiled *rūpūš* P.  
 vein *rōg* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, W, Š, *rīyo* Y.  
 veranda *muḡan* Y, *dāliz* S, *dōlōn*, *dirgā* W; (latticed) *hursī* P. Cf. vestibule.

- very *zut* O, P, *zulū* P, *fai* S, *ʔaf*, *ʔafē* W, *lap* Š.  
 \*verily *magam* Y.  
 \*vessel *loʔai* PŠ; (wooden-) *kāra* PŠ; (large, for grain) *kandū* O; (water-) *ʔudāra* S.  
 vestibule *dāliz* O, *dālān* P, *astano*, *piš-wēzi* Y, *nēx*, *pāiga* Š. Cf. veranda.  
 victorious *bar* PŠ.  
 victory *fata* P.  
 vigorous *čāk* P.  
 village *icagura* Wn 169 [= PŠ *icugarai* person, people], *kəlai* PŠ, *grām* O, *kilāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *deāt*, *sāf* P, *lāmo* Y, *q'islāq*, *wulat* S, *diōr* W, *kišlāk* Š.  
 vine *melawa* PŠ, *tāk* P, *šindik* W.  
 violence *haiḡ* P.  
 violent *zūl* Y.  
 violet (n.) *benafšā* P, *banafšo* Y.  
 violin *rabāb* Š.  
 voice *āwāz*, *ʔax* P, *sadā* P, Š, (*hāwāz* Š.  
 vomit, to *girza*- O<sup>1</sup>, *kušm*- Y.  
 vomiting *kāngem* (corr.: I vomit) O<sup>1</sup>, *bok* S.  
 vulture *kargas* P, *šiz* Y, *koryos* S.  
 vulva *kus* [PŠ], O<sup>1</sup>, Y, S, *būn*, *dewet* P, *šino* Y, *kuš* S, *kiš* W, *šam* Š.

## W

- waist *mā* PŠ, *biyān* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *mēn* P, *mālān* Y, *mēd* S, *mād*, *məlung*, *miyōn* W, *mā* Š.  
 waist-band *mēnd* Š. Cf. belt.  
 waistcoat *wāskəf* O, *ʔaf* P, *woskāt* W.  
 wait, to *āl*- W.  
 wait! *dhar* P.  
 waiting *udrāk* P, *karār* S.  
 walk, to *ʔorz*- Wn 167, *šar*- O<sup>1</sup>, *š(h)im*- ram- P, *tōyā* S.  
 walk, about, to *girz*- O, *gudar*-, *pal*- P, *zəpāh*- Y, *fəryort*-, *ʔart*-, *wəniʔ*- S. Cf. go, turn.  
 walking *čəb*, *čiməb*, *guzar*, *guzarān* P, *sail* P, W, *gām*, *qadam* S.  
 wall *jar* Wn 168, *dīwāl* O, *de* O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š, *dušt* P, *haule*, *xeyo* Y, *dīwəl*, *šiz* W. Cf. back-wall.  
 wallow, to *layar*- O.  
 walnut *ūʔz* PŠ, *čārmāʔ* O, S, *wəfk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *deʔe* P, *oʔuzo* Y, *čormāʔz*, *ʔor* W, *bājak* Š; (-tree) *ʔor* Š; (-shell) *baʔālē* Y.  
 wandering *kūē* P.  
 want, to *xəš* *kən*- S, *for*- W, *far*- Š. Cf. wish.  
 wanting, to be *daruzeh*- P.  
 war *jang* O, P, S, W, *šang* Y, *šəd* Š; (belonging to the) *jangi* P.  
 ward *kandai* (v. *kandəl*) PŠ.  
 warm, v. hot.  
 warm, to *tapšw*- P; (the hands) *vedō*- Y.  
 warrior *pālawān* P.  
 wart *kanayiko* Y.  
 wash, to *winzen*:- *wā* Wn 160/6, (pre-) *wēnʔəl* (v. *prā*-), *wələl* PŠ, *ʔuʔaw-ʔk* O, *ʔwəʔa*- O<sup>1</sup>, *sunī*- P, *wuzd*- Y, *zənē*- S, *wuzdi*- W, *zenē*- Š.  
 watch *paira* P.  
 watchman *kaʔai* PŠ, *pairadār* P. V. guardian.  
 wasp *ʔalbuz* Wn, *zambūr* O, P, S, W, *bamburiē*, *qambur* O<sup>1</sup>, *bhambur*, *kāftek* P, *ʔoribombur*, *wəʔšlo* Y, *šus*, *vizvizak* W, *cevinj* Š; (red) *surz-boburē* Y.  
 water *obō* PŠ, *wəʔk* O, *wak* O<sup>1</sup>, *āwə* P, *ʔduyo* Y, *wək* S, *yupk* W, *šac* Š [\**xšudrā*].  
 water, to make, v. urinate.  
 watercourse, v. irrigation channel.  
 waterfall *ʔarʔarā*, *šaršarā* P, *ʔre* S, *šif-čeko* Y, *ābšār* S, *jūš*, *širširā* W, *rišūw* Š.



- water-fowl (n. of a) *waryjifin*, *kutā\**, *jikyā\**.  
 watering, v. irrigation.  
 water-melon *phydōbuj* P, *tarbæz* S, *°iz* W, *°üz* Š.  
 water-mill, v. mill.  
 waterpipe *čilim* Y, S, *°em* P.  
 water-pot *garāi* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. bucket.  
 way, v. road.  
 way (in this) *hawerang* P; (in that) *howerang* P.  
 wave *zēi* W.  
 we *mōš* Wn 164, *mū*, *mūš* Pš, *māx* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *mā*, *mākhān*, -an P, *max* Y, *amax*, *mič* S, *sak* W, *māš* Š.  
 weak *naza*, *sādai* P.  
 wear, to *psoləl* Pš.  
 weasel *dala* P, *dela* S.  
 weave, to *ūdəl* Pš, *gal*- O, *γaf*- O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *wāf*- Y, *if*- S, *uf*- W, *wāf*- Š.  
 weaver *dūr* O<sup>1</sup>, *jolā* P, *gūlambāf* S, *dorzkurγuz* Y.  
 weaving *dōrz* Y.  
 web *londa* Pš.  
 wedding *zudba* Y, *nikā* S, *tūi* S, W, *serištā*, *sūr* Š. Cf. marriage.  
 wedding guest *wreza* (v. *wrā*) Pš.  
 wedge *špešta* Pš, *pərsif* W; (for plough-share) *šiγ* W.  
 Wednesday *čāršambē* P.  
 wedding *lalun* Pš, *°ān* O<sup>1</sup>, *zešāwa* P, *šōv* S, *nešdun* W, *šūč* Š.  
 week *afta* O, S, *ašcomiž* Y, *yaftā* W.  
 weep, to *žayəl* Pš, *žū*- O, *š°w*- O<sup>1</sup>, *ruh*- P, *xši*- Y, *žid*- S, *nev*- W, *nav*- Š.  
 weeping *rhintō* P.  
 weigh, to *tal*- O<sup>1</sup>.  
 weight *girāngi*, *tāl* P.  
 well (adj.) *rōγ* Pš, *jōr* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *wōr* O, *γē*, *jōr*, *xair* P, *xūb* P, S, Š, *jōr* Š.  
 well (n.) *sparya* Pš, *čā* O, P, Š, *tuwāi*, *xākō* O<sup>1</sup>, *čukuri* P, *sardawo* Y.  
 west *kiblarū* O, *āftdb nišastan* S, *mayrīb* S, W.  
 wet *ndu* Wn 160, *nūnd*, *xušt* Pš, *šūr* O, *šūr*, *tānd* O<sup>1</sup>, *phyd* P, *xalōu*, *xusto* Y, *čal* S, *namb* S, Š, *namndk*, *šōlōk*, *tar* S, *nam*, *tari*, *xašē* W, *xest* Š.  
 wetch *mūγo* Y.  
 what *ca* Pš, O, *cēn* O, *zanēgg* [\**zanahya kahya*] P, *če* P, Y, *šti*, *cē*, *cəmin*, *ces* Y, *ce*, *ceci*, *čiz* S, *čiz* W, *ca*-, *či*-, *čir* Š; (of—kind) *min* Y, *zanēngi* P; (manner in) *kērangī* P.  
 whatever *harči* P, *čes* Y.  
 wheat *γandəm* Wn 161, *γanēm* Pš, *ganum* O, P, *gu* O<sup>1</sup>, *afšrnē*. *γādm*, *pai-zanē* Y, *γōndəm* S, *židm* W, *zindam* Š.  
 wheel *arāba* O, *čarzak* Š.  
 when *kala* Pš, *ka*, *kōn* O, *kabi* P, *kəla* Y, *ki*, *kādi* S, *ca-waxt* W.  
 whence *khānjāi*, *kujēnd* P, *žukū* Y.  
 where *čarta* Pš, *guda* O, *khānjāi* P, *kū* P, Y, *kužā* Y, *kunjā* S, *kumjei* W, *k'ā* Š.  
 wherever *harkū* P.  
 whet-stone *psān* Pš, *muzāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *afšeno* Y, *wsān* S, *pisōn* W.  
 whey *xinj* S. Cf. buttermilk.  
 which *kam* Pš, *če*, *khān*, *khāin* P, *kvim* Y, *kuđum* S. Cf. who.  
 while (n.) *gari*, *lāza*, *wil* P.  
 whip *kamētn* P, *činto*, *čawuk* Y, *rešip* W, *kamēč* Š.  
 whip, to *hai kan*- P.  
 whirlpool *γernānu* Y.  
 whirlwind *gulbād* (k), *γorđāv* S.  
 whistle *špelai* Pš, *šxēlān* W.  
 white *spīn* Pš, *spēw* O, *spiu* O<sup>1</sup>, *čhačō*, *čhašō* P, *spī* Y, *safed* S, Š, (°) *spēšō*, *surxūn* S, *ruzn* W; (of the eye) *°spēwi ta cimi* O; (of an egg) *čhašai ēvika* P.  
 whitebeard *čhašadhāri* P. Cf. old.

- white-muzzled rūisafed S.  
 whittle shavings, to tāl- Y.  
 who *cok* Wn 161, *cok* Pš, *ka* O, P, *kək* O, *kī* P, *kōi* Y, S, *kōdī* Y, *kūi* W, *čōdām* Š. Cf. which.  
 whole *tamām* P.  
 why *wale* Pš, *kyē* O, *čā*, *čekun* P, *nakōi* Y, *čē-ba*, *čē* *bā*, *kirā* S, *cerak* W, *čir* Š.  
 wicked, v. bad.  
 wide ["wurlun" Wn < \**fraðana*?], *arat*, *plan*, *wit* [< \**wi-š(i)ta*] Pš, *ārat* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pan* O, *hāšrat* O<sup>1</sup>, *pašoy*, *wosa* Y, *pām*, *wasē* S, *kšād* W, *γulā*, *kešād* Š.  
 widow *bēwa* O, S, W, Š, *būwo*, *wosorwō* Y, *bōdōq* W.  
 widower *bek'and* W.  
 wife *koyma* (v. *kor*), *šəja* Pš, *nāk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *jīnē* P, *wulo* Y, *kuč(i)*, *wuzinjak* S, *kend* W, *šin* Š.  
 wild *sor-xaš* S; (animal) *dhāri* P.  
 willow *wažā* Wn 160, *wala* Pš, *bēd* O, W, *wulo* O<sup>1</sup>, *yi* P, *awusto*, *čilikyč*, *maž-num-bit*, *wiyya* Y, *bēd*, *šikār* *bēd*, *šūrmāk* *bēd*, *wēd* S, *tūk*, *wanuk* W, *wēd*, *wān* Š.  
 willow's bark (strip of) *lenju* Y.  
 win, to *bušā* Y.  
 wind *wagā* Wn 160, *wo* Pš, *bād* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *dhamān*, *γā*, *γāphunē*, *xunuk* P, *šamāl* S, *ol* W, *wūi* Y, *bād(i)* S, *dəma*, *xūz* W, *šūj* Š; (autumn- or winter-) *ayōs* W; (cold blast) *sūz* W.  
 windless *bibāt* Y.  
 winding-sheet *kafan* O.  
 windpipe, v. throat.  
 window *ursī* O, *calandurē*, *derbačo*, *riz-švora* Y, *rauzan*, *vōrok* S, *panjara*, *tāk* (niche?) Š.  
 wine *mai*, *šarāb* P, *araq* Y.  
 wing *warzar* Pš, *bāl* O, P, S, W, *parāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *vārčəp* Y, *tap* W.  
 wink, to *zambol* Pš, *sparaw-vek* O, *jam*, *xurta* O<sup>1</sup>, *cipō* Y.  
 winking *čmak* O, *nəmis* Y, *camōk* S.  
 winning *wažāna*, *wəz* Pš.  
 winnow, to *hwastəl* Pš, *loban* Y, *dəvin* S, *būn*, *gān* car- W.  
 winnowing *farmāl* O, *devēnič* Š.  
 winnowing-fork *xurom-fia* Y, *apčün* S, W, *būn* W.  
 winter *zimai* Pš, *zemāk* O, *zimak* O<sup>1</sup>, *zōmā* P, *zəmizstān* Y, *zem* S, *zemistōn* W, *zemistān* Š; (the coldest part of-) *čilē* S.  
 wipe, to *astar*, *menth* P.  
 wire *šim* P.  
 wisdom *aql* O, *xirāt* P.  
 wise *āqel*, *aqlī* P, *dānā*, *hušyār* P, S, *dāna*, *lānawo*, *uškijār* Y, *bāql* S, *bafikr*, *uškōr* W, *uškār* Š.  
 wish *xāč* P.  
 wish, to *γəštəl* Pš, *xāi* P, *kəmay*, *təlap*, *xəš* *kən* S, *kəmi*, *xəš* car- W.  
 with *la* Pš, *gičī*, *nēla* O, *ba*, *pen* P, *la*, *sko*, *šəlo* Y, *pa* S, *pu* W. Cf. together with.  
 wither(ed), v. fade(d).  
 within *mən* P.  
 without *bī* P; (-chief) *bisōr*, *bitamiz* P; (-fighting) *bijang* P; (-head) *bisōr* P; (-reward) *bimujrā* P.  
 witness *šāid* O, *šāhed* P.  
 wolf *lūw* Wn 168, *lewə*, *šarmaš* Pš, *dāmī* O, *lēcū* O<sup>1</sup>, *γurj* P, *wurj* Y, *wərk* S, *šapt* W, *wūrf* Š.  
 woman *šəja* Pš, *zarkā* O, *jarkə* O<sup>1</sup>, *zalf* P, *šingko*, *šingiko* Y, *janj* S, *kend* W, *šēnik* Š; (married) *majoša* (P. *majanai*) Pš, *mālidari* O; (unmarried) *wasəwico*, *wosorwico* Y.



womb *vəzāšo* Y, *rām* S.  
 wonderful *ajab* O, P, *ažəp* Y.  
 wood *largai* Pš, *gōn* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *skut* Y, *čub*,  
*durk* S, *šūng* W, *šārg* Š; (chip of)  
*froi* Y.  
 wooden *korin* P.  
 wood-carving *arəyevdə* Y.  
 woof *icawana* (*ūdūl*) Pš.  
 wool *waṛai* Pš, *pōm* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pōč* P, *pām* Y,  
*pām* S, *žer*, *pašm* W, *wəʔa* Š; (carded)  
*mṛkič* Y; (a kind of) *polās* O; (lambs')  
*krabəṛ* Y; (yak's) *ṛəṛəb* W.  
 woollen jacket, v. jacket.  
 word *gā(i)* Wn 168 [*< gāḡā-*], *kissī* O,  
*āwāz*, *harf*, *sūy* P, *gap* P, Y, S, W, Š,  
*lauz*, *rōi* Y, *lavz* S, *səzan* W.  
 work *čār* Pš, *kār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ker* P, *hor* Y,  
*arī* S, *yark* W, *k'ār* Š.  
 world *dinyā* O, *ālam* P, S, *dunyā* P,  
*dō* S, *jehān* P, *ji* S; (the lower)  
*tā-duniā* Y; (next-) *āxerat* Y.  
 worm *kirm* O, *kirmāk* P, *p'čuk* S, *p'ṛič*,  
*paṭ* W, *čirəm* Š.  
 worry, to *yus* Y.  
 worse *battar* P.  
 worth *lāyiq* O.  
 worthless *bīnagō* P.  
 wound *parhār*, *zam* Pš, *zaxm* P, Y,  
 S, W.  
 wounded \**paraželai*, *zobal*, *xūž* Pš, *jak* O,  
*zaxmi* O, S, *sār* P, *zār* Š.  
 wrap up, to *nyaštəl* (v. *yaštəl*) Pš, *yar*-  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *polarz*-Y, *pēz*-S.  
 wrestling *kušli* P.  
 wrestling-ground *harkāra* P.  
 wring, to *špilaw*-, *pašt*-O, *šūmānd*-W.  
 wrinkles *kalakəri* Y.  
 wrist *marwand* Pš, *mand* O<sup>1</sup>, *bānd*-e  
*dōst* P, *dest* S, Š, *dast* W, *last-bot*,  
*icuški-ostia* Y, *pərsəngəl* W, *lakak*  
 (corr.: middle finger) Š.

write, to *līkən*-Wn 166, *pis*-O, *lik*-O<sup>1</sup>,  
*nuriš*-Y, *nə* S, W, *nəwiš*-Š.  
 written *nimišta* O, *nūwišta* P.

## Y

yak *juy* W.  
 yard, v. ell.  
 yarn *aneai* Pš.  
 yawn [*aswelai* Pš], *arjūmai* O<sup>1</sup>, *fāza* P,  
*niaske* Y, *damfāiek* S, *je*, *zim* W,  
*fāza* Š.  
 yawn, to *kašēc*-P, *zōm*-Y, (*axse*) *deh*-S,  
*istīnd*-W.  
 year [*kāl* Pš], *cān*, *sul* O, *cān* O<sup>1</sup>, *sāl*  
 P, Y, S, W, Š, *saṛ* P; (of drought)  
*uškaš* Y.  
 year, last, v. last.  
 year, this, v. this year.  
 year before last *tətvārt* W.  
 year, three—s ago *čurmosāl*, *širasāl* Y.  
 year, one—old *yūsaxo* Y.  
 years, period of two—*lohsaxo* Y.  
 yearly *arsəl* S, W.  
 yeast *ṛareaden* Y.  
 yellow *ziyaṛ* Pš, *zyēr* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zītō* P,  
*spišē*, *zīt* Y, *zāl*, *zard* S, *zart* W,  
*zīrd* Š.  
 yes *wōya* O, *hā* P, *in* S, *balē* S, W,  
*yān* W, *amā* Š.  
 yesterday [*pārənd* Wn], *parūn* Pš, *prān*  
 O, O<sup>1</sup>, *aze* P, *souzir* Y, *karēr*, *parūzd*,  
*wəcorin* S, *yēz* W, *beyār* Š; (evening)  
*bēgū* O, *iziko* Y.  
 yesterday, two days before *y*°, etc., v.  
 day.  
 yesternight *nēr-fərsōu* S.  
 yet, v. still.  
 yoke *yūy-luṇḡa* O, *ziy* O<sup>1</sup>, *jauza*, *fūy* P,  
*yūy* Y, W, *fəryay*, *yəy* S, *səmwər* W.  
 yoke-peg *kāriak*, *sām* Y, *kefi* W.

yoke-rope *sar-wāndē* (v. *wandanai*) Pš,  
*sārālī* O, *frāiyo*, *yūelo* Y, *yelyār-*  
*band* S.

yolk of egg *zita-i ēxika* P.

you *tās* Wn 164, *tāsu*, *mū* Pš, *tōs* O,  
*wā*, *wākhān*, -*ō(u)* P, *maf* Y, *təmax* S,  
*sāist* W, *tama* Š.

young *worḡai* (v. *wur*) Pš, *biḡ* P, *jucān*  
P, S, W, *z°* Y, *naucā* P; (man)  
*zalmāi* Pš.

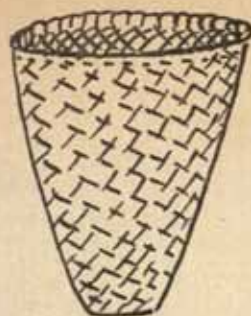
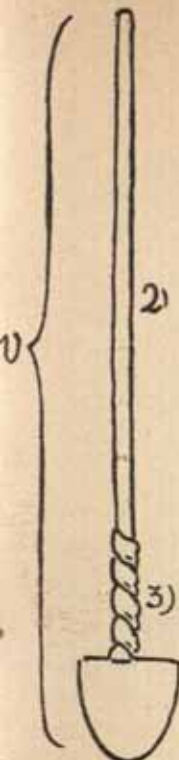
young of an animal *sārai* Pš, *ēucā* P.

younger *kašr* Pš, *kvāmdr* Y.

youth *jucānī*, *nōjucānī* P.

youthful *xīšrūt* Š.

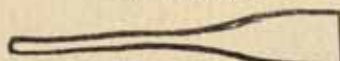




Yd. savde



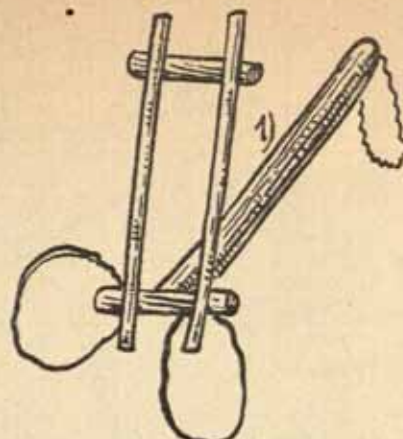
Yd. boriko



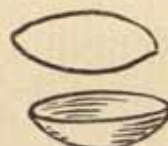
Yd. novnoyo



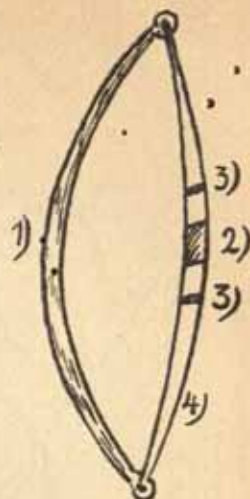
Yd. su'ntko



Yd. kušco. 1) pašku'sti



Yd. narkaf'ci

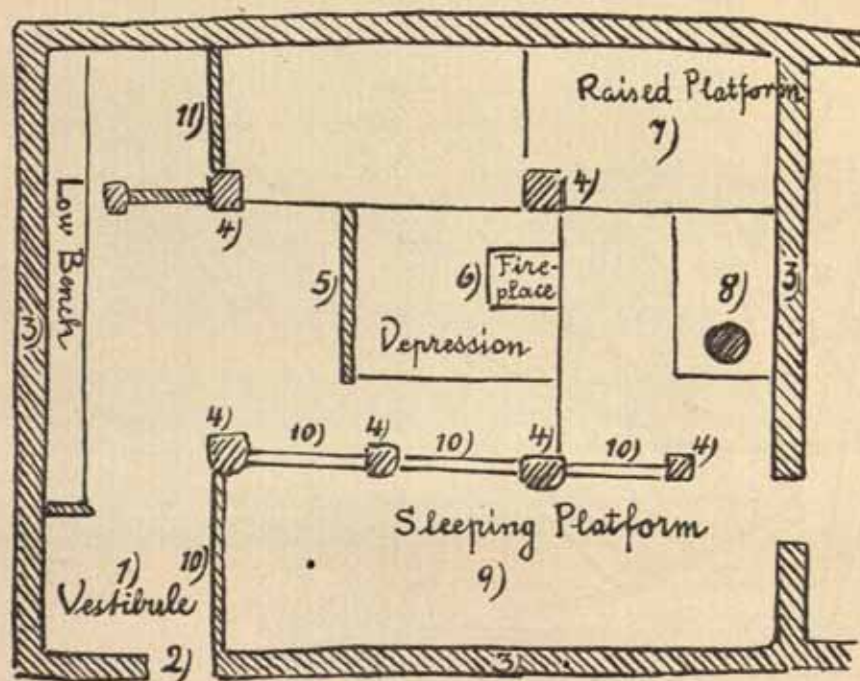


Yd.

- 1) xas'mānek (sas'mānek)
- 2) puka'ra soy
- 3) cūr
- 4) žio

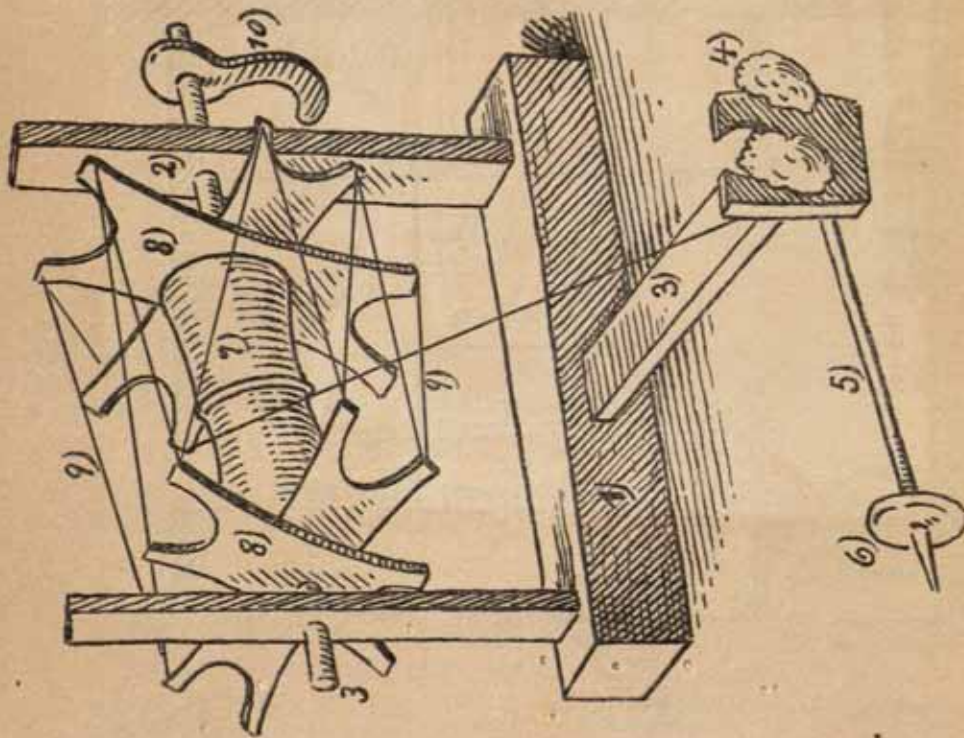
Yidgha:

- 1) fia
- 2) lastē
- 3) tīyo



Plan of a Yidgh House from Burbunu.

- |           |                |            |                                |
|-----------|----------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| 1) astano | 4) astu'no     | 7) cār'sir | 10) san'jā                     |
| 2) b'voro | 5) taxta'bandē | 8) cāro    | 11) Low, wooden partition wall |
| 3) xeyo   | 6) lleden(i)   | 9) zan     |                                |

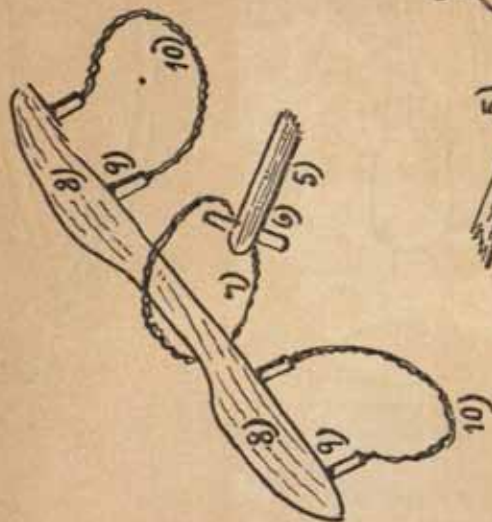


Yidgha Spinning-Wheel (čarvč).

- 1) alarag'ni
- 2) 'zigaki
- 3) 'pisura
- 4) čar'mak

- 5) 'česā
- 6) par'vač'in
- 7) 'itra

- 8) 'čarvč-č
- 9) tandene'ā
- 10) čar'zanuk (Yp)



Yidgha

- 1) 'spero
- 2) kando
- 3) ačar'dine
- 4) (h)ostaganē
- 5) d'wusp
- 6) sar'yār
- 7) frai'yo
- 8) yūy, (takijē f)
- 9) 'kāriak
- 10) sabo'ranj

Plough ka'tā



Plough and Yoke

Munji

- 'spero
- kēnd
- yuvazgo
- dasta
- awusp
- yūlo
- guy
- sām
- sam'lasiko
- kugo

Sangtechi

- kirug
- spor
- yā'lak
- awisp
- yoy
- yel-yār'band
- kirug





Ghulam Haidar from Lutkuh  
and Ali Mahmad from Munjan.



Mahmad from Zhitr in Lutkuh.





Yidgh peasants from Lutkub.



From Zhitr in Lutkuh.



Spinning-wheel from Zhitr.





Garm - Chishma in Lutkuh.



The Maulai Shrine near Izh in Lutkuh.



From the Parabek Plain in Lutkuh.



Village at the head of the Lutkuh Valley.





Cliffs above Shoghor, Lower Lutkuh.



On the road from the Dorah Pass.

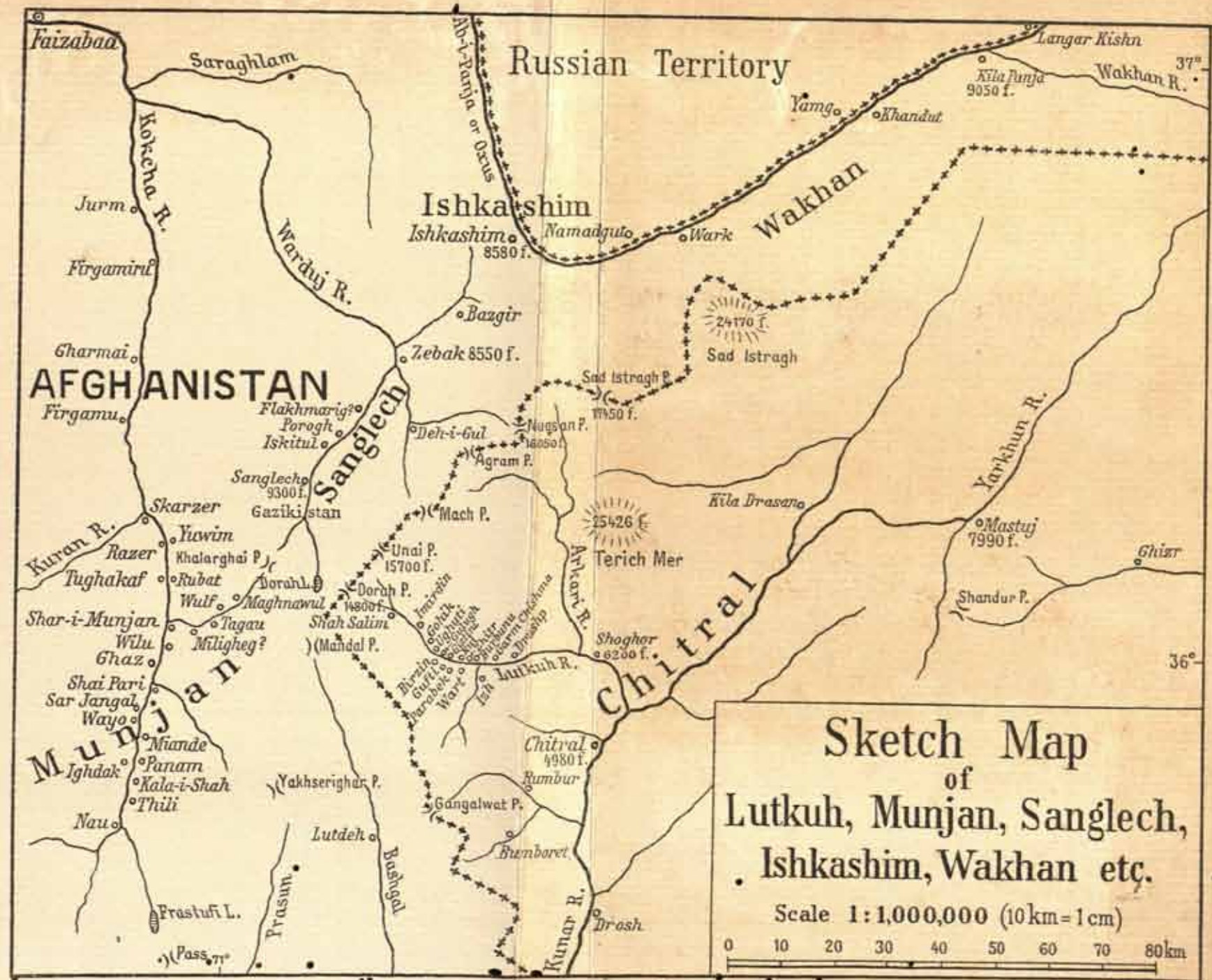


From the Dorah Pass towards Munjan and Sanglech.



The Ustich Valley south of the Dorah Pass.









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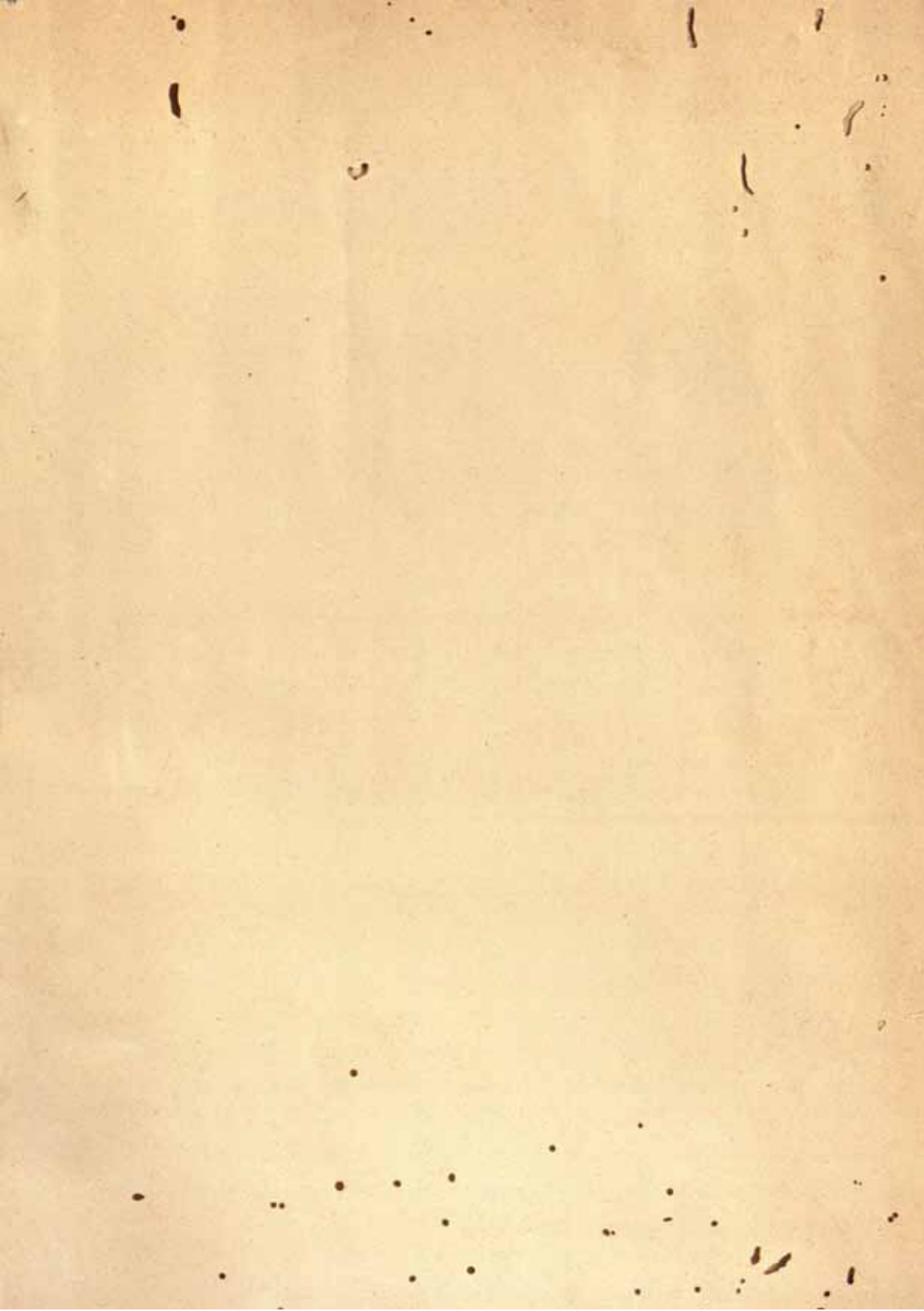
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